

EDITED BY

ALISON G.
SALVESEN

TIMOTHY MICHAEL
LAW



≡ The Oxford Handbook of
THE SEPTUAGINT

THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF

THE SEPTUAGINT

THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF

THE
SEPTUAGINT

Edited by

ALISON G. SALVESEN

and

TIMOTHY MICHAEL LAW

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS

OXFORD

UNIVERSITY PRESS

Great Clarendon Street, Oxford, OX2 6DP,
United Kingdom

Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford.
It furthers the University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship,
and education by publishing worldwide. Oxford is a registered trade mark of
Oxford University Press in the UK and in certain other countries

© Oxford University Press 2021

The moral rights of the authors have been asserted

First Edition published in 2021

Impression: 1

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in
a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without the
prior permission in writing of Oxford University Press, or as expressly permitted
by law, by licence or under terms agreed with the appropriate reprographics
rights organization. Enquiries concerning reproduction outside the scope of the
above should be sent to the Rights Department, Oxford University Press, at the
address above

You must not circulate this work in any other form
and you must impose this same condition on any acquirer

Published in the United States of America by Oxford University Press
198 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016, United States of America

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
Data available

Library of Congress Control Number: 2020951308

ISBN 978-0-19-966571-6

Printed and bound by
CPI Group (UK) Ltd, Croydon, CRO 4YY

Links to third party websites are provided by Oxford in good faith and
for information only. Oxford disclaims any responsibility for the materials
contained in any third party website referenced in this work.

CONTENTS

<i>List of Figures</i>	xi
<i>List of Tables</i>	xiii
<i>List of Contributors</i>	xv

Introduction	1
ALISON G. SALVESEN	

PART I FIRST THINGS

1. What Is the Septuagint?	13
CAMERON BOYD-TAYLOR	
2. The History of Septuagint Studies: Early Modern Western Europe	33
SCOTT MANDELBROTE	
3. The History of Septuagint Studies: Editions of the Septuagint	53
FELIX ALBRECHT	

PART II THE CONTEXT OF THE SEPTUAGINT

4. The Social and Historical Setting of the Septuagint: Palestine and the Diaspora	73
JAMES K. AITKEN	
5. The Social and Historical Setting of the Septuagint: Hellenistic and Roman Egypt	81
LIVIA CAPPONI	
6. The Nature of Septuagint Greek: Language and Lexicography	91
TREVOR V. EVANS	
7. Theology in the Septuagint?	105
MOGENS MÜLLER	

8. <i>The Letter of Aristeas</i>	121
DRIES DE CROM	
9. Manuscripts, Papyri, and Epigraphy: Papyri and Epigraphy Relating to the Septuagint	135
MICHAEL P. THEOPHILOS	
10. Manuscripts, Papyri, and Epigraphy: Manuscripts of the Septuagint from Uncials to Minuscules	145
LUCIANO BOSSINA	
11. Translation Technique	165
HANS AUSLOOS	

PART III THE CORPUS OF THE SEPTUAGINT

12. The Pentateuch	183
DIRK BÜCHNER	
13. Joshua and Judges	201
NATALIO FERNÁNDEZ MARCOS	
14. The Books of Samuel	217
ANNELI AEJMELEAUS	
15. The Books of Kings	225
TUUKKA KAUKANEN, ANDRÉS PIQUER OTERO, TIMO TEKONIEMI, AND PABLO A. TORIJANO	
16. Chronicles/Paralipomena	235
LAURENCE VIANÈS	
17. Isaiah	245
RODRIGO F. DE SOUSA	
18. Jeremiah and Baruch	259
MATTHIEU RICHELLE	
19. Ezekiel	275
KATRIN HAUSPIE	
20. Daniel, Susanna, Bel and the Dragon: Old Greek and Theodotion	291
OLIVIER MUNNICH	

21. The Twelve Minor Prophets	307
CÉCILE DOGNIEZ	
22. Megillot (Ruth, Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations, Esther)	321
ROBERT J. V. HIEBERT	
23. The Psalter	337
STAFFAN OLOFSSON	
24. Proverbs	353
LORENZO CUPPI	
25. The Book of Job	369
MARIA GOREA	
26. Deuterocanonical and Apocryphal Books	385
ALISON G. SALVESEN	

PART IV THE SEPTUAGINT IN ITS JEWISH CONTEXT

27. Philo and the Septuagint	405
SARAH J. K. PEARCE	
28. Josephus and the Septuagint	421
TESSA RAJAK	
29. The Scrolls from the Judean Desert and the Septuagint	435
EUGENE ULRICH	
30. Kaige and 'Theodotion'	449
SIEGFRIED KREUZER	
31. Aquila	459
GIUSEPPE VELTRI WITH ALISON G. SALVESEN	
32. Symmachus	469
MICHAËL N. VAN DER MEER	
33. Quinta, Sexta, and Septima	481
BRADLEY JOHN MARSH, JR.	
34. The Samaritan Pentateuch in Greek	489
BRADLEY JOHN MARSH, JR.	

35. The Constantinople Pentateuch and Medieval Jewish Use
of Greek Biblical Texts 501
JULIA G. KRIVORUCHKO

PART V THE SEPTUAGINT AS CHRISTIAN SCRIPTURE

36. Citations in the New Testament 523
DAVID LINCICUM
37. The Proto-Lucianic and Antiochian Text 537
TUUKKA KAUKANEN
38. Origen's Hexapla 553
PETER J. GENTRY
39. The Use of the Septuagint in the Liturgy and Lectionary
of the Greek Orthodox Church 573
JOHN A. L. LEE
40. Reception of the Septuagint among Greek Christian Writers 589
REINHART CEULEMANS
41. The Septuagint in the Latin World 605
MICHAEL GRAVES

PART VI THE SEPTUAGINT IN TRANSLATION

42. The Vetus Latina (Old Latin) 623
PIERRE-MAURICE BOGAERT
43. Armenian, Georgian, and Church Slavonic Versions 639
PABLO A. TORIJANO
44. The Syrohexapla 655
MARKETTA LILJESTRÖM
45. Coptic, Arabic, and Ethiopic Versions 671
ANDRÉS PIQUER OTERO
46. Modern Translations of the Septuagint 691
EBERHARD BONS

PART VII CONVERSATIONS

47. Textual Criticism	709
BÉNÉDICTE LEMMELIJN	
48. New Testament	723
J. ROSS WAGNER	
49. Christian Theology	731
JOHN BARTON	
50. Illustrated Manuscripts of the Septuagint	745
MAJA KOMINKO	
<i>Index to Scriptures and Other Ancient Sources</i>	759
<i>Index of Subjects</i>	781

LIST OF FIGURES

10.1	Chronological distribution of the LXX MSS	147
10.2	Layouts of catenae MSS	155
50.1	Joseph and Potiphar's wife, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod. theol. gr. 31, fol. 12r	747
50.2	Canticle of Moses, Paris Psalter, Bibliothèque nationale de France cod.gr.139, fol. 422v	749
50.3	Abimelech is killed by a woman dropping a millstone on him (Judg. 9:50–3), Smyrna Octateuch, from D. C. Hesselring, <i>Miniatures de l'Octateuque grec de Smyrne</i> , Leiden, 1909, ill. 325. (With kind permission of the Bodleian Library, Oxford)	751

LIST OF TABLES

10.1	Septuagint Manuscripts according to Rahlfsnummer	146
10.2	Contents of the Four Pandect Bibles	151
29.1	The Greek Manuscripts from Qumran and Naḥal Ḥever	437
29.2	Examples of $OG = Q \neq MT$	444
38.1	Chronology of Classical Textual Scholarship in Alexandria	554
38.2	Manuscripts derived from the Fifth Column of the Hexapla	557
38.3	Greek manuscripts	557
38.4	Syrohexpala manuscripts	558

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

Anneli Aejmelaeus is Professor (emerita) of Old Testament and Ancient Near Eastern Culture and Literature at the University of Helsinki.

James K. Aitken is Reader in Hebrew and Jewish Studies at the University of Cambridge, and a Fellow of Fitzwilliam College.

Felix Albrecht is *Arbeitsstellenleiter* of the project ‘Die *Editio critica maior* des griechischen Psalters’ at the Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.

Hans Ausloos is Professor of Biblical Studies at the Université catholique de Louvain (Belgium) and *Maître de recherches* of the Fund for Scientific Research (F.R.S.-FNRS).

John Barton is Emeritus Oriel & Laing Professor of the Interpretation of Holy Scripture at the University of Oxford, and a Senior Research Fellow at Campion Hall, Oxford.

Pierre-Maurice Bogaert is Professor Emeritus of the Université catholique de Louvain, and director of the *Revue bénédictine*.

Eberhard Bons is Professor of Old Testament at the University of Strasbourg, France.

Luciano Bossina is Professor of Classical Philology at the University of Padua, Italy.

Cameron Boyd-Taylor is an affiliate of the John William Wevers Institute, Trinity Western University, Canada.

Dirk Büchner is Professor of Biblical Studies at Trinity Western University, Langley, Canada.

Livia Capponi is Associate Professor of Roman History at the University of Pavia, Italy.

Reinhart Ceulemans is Associate Professor of Greek and Byzantine Literature at KU Leuven.

Lorenzo Cuppi (PhD Durham) is Professor of Italian and Latin at the Keynes High School, Bologna, and PhD student at the University of ‘La Sapienza,’ Rome.

Dries De Crom is Lecturer in Classical Languages at the School of Catholic Theology, Tilburg University.

Rodrigo F. de Sousa is Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament at the Faculté Jean Calvin, Aix-en-Provence.

Cécile Dogniez, Dr. Habil., is honorary researcher at UMR 8167 Orient & Méditerranée (CNRS/Université Paris Sorbonne).

Trevor V. Evans is Associate Professor in the Department of Ancient History at Macquarie University, Sydney.

Natalio Fernández Marcos is Research Professor at the CSIC, Madrid and Fellow of the British Academy for humanities and social sciences.

Peter J. Gentry is Donald L. Williams Professor of Old Testament Interpretation at The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky.

Maria Gorea is Professor of Ancient Semitic Languages at the University Paris VIII and Auxiliary of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, for the Cabinet of *Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum*.

Michael Graves is Armerding Professor of Biblical Studies at Wheaton College, Illinois.

Katrin Hauspie is co-author of *Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*.

Robert J. V. Hiebert is Professor of Old Testament at the Graduate School of Theological Studies of Trinity Western University, Langley, BC, Canada.

Tuukka Kauhanen is an Academy of Finland Research Fellow at the University of Helsinki.

Maja Kominko is Director of Cultural Programmes, Arcadia Fund, London.

Siegfried Kreuzer is Professor emeritus at the Kirchliche Hochschule/Protestant University in Wuppertal, Germany.

Julia G. Krivoruchko is Research Associate of the Taylor-Schechter Genizah Research Unit, University of Cambridge.

Timothy Michael Law was a British Academy Postdoctoral Fellow at the University of Oxford and an Alexander von Humboldt Fellow at the University of Göttingen.

John A. L. Lee is Honorary Fellow at Macquarie University, Sydney.

Bénédicte Lemmelijn is Professor of Old Testament and Director of the Centre of Septuagint Studies and Textual Criticism at the Faculty of Theology and Religious Studies of KU Leuven, Belgium.

Marketta Liljeström is a doctoral student at the University of Helsinki and associate member of the Centre of Excellence 'Changes in Sacred Texts and Traditions'.

David Lincicum is Rev. John A. O'Brien Associate Professor of Theology at the University of Notre Dame, Indiana.

Scott Mandelbrote is Fellow, Director of Studies in History, and Perne Librarian at Peterhouse, Cambridge.

Bradley John Marsh, Jr. is an Alexander von Humboldt Foundation Postdoctoral Researcher at the Martin-Luther-Universität, Halle-Wittenberg.

Michaël N. van der Meer teaches religious education at a secondary school and Old Testament exegesis at several universities in the Netherlands.

Mogens Müller is Professor emeritus of New Testament Studies at the Theological Faculty, University of Copenhagen.

Olivier Munnich is Professor of Greek Language and Literature at the Sorbonne, Paris, and Chair of Religious Literature in Late Antiquity.

Staffan Olofsson is Professor Emeritus of Old Testament Exegesis at the University of Gothenburg, Sweden.

Sarah J. K. Pearce is Ian Karten Professor of Jewish Studies, Department of History, University of Southampton.

Andrés Piquer Otero is Professor of Hebrew Studies at Universidad Complutense de Madrid and current editor of 2 Kings for the HBCE project.

Tessa Rajak is Professor of Ancient History Emerita at the University of Reading and Senior Research Fellow of Somerville College, Oxford.

Matthieu Richelle is Professor of Old Testament at the Université catholique de Louvain (Belgium).

Alison G. Salvesen is Professor of Early Judaism and Christianity at the Oriental Institute, University of Oxford, and Polonsky Fellow at the Oxford Centre for Jewish Studies.

Timo Tekoniemi is a postdoctoral researcher in Biblical Studies at the University of Helsinki, Finland.

Michael P. Theophilos is Senior Lecturer in Biblical Studies and Ancient Languages at the Australian Catholic University, Melbourne.

Pablo A. Torijano is Associate Professor of Hebrew and Aramaic Studies at Universidad Complutense de Madrid.

Eugene Ulrich is John O'Brien Professor of Hebrew Scriptures emeritus at the University of Notre Dame, Indiana.

Giuseppe Veltri is Professor of Jewish Philosophy and Religion, Director of the Maimonides Centre for Advanced Studies, and Director of the Academy of World Religions at Hamburg University; and Honorary Professor of Comparative Religion at Leipzig University.

Laurence Vianès is Maître de Conférences in Greek Language and Literature at Grenoble Alpes Université, France.

J. Ross Wagner is Associate Professor of New Testament Studies at Duke University Divinity School.

INTRODUCTION

ALISON G. SALVESEN

THIS volume is a response to the growing recognition of the phenomenon of the Septuagint, whose significance is much wider than is often perceived among biblical scholars. The term ‘Septuagint’ is not limited either to the first Greek translation of the Torah or to the interface between the Hebrew texts and their Greek renderings, as demonstrated by Cameron Boyd-Taylor’s overview essay ‘What Is the Septuagint?’ at the start of this volume (Chapter 1). The Septuagint is a complex entity, which developed over a long period. Moreover, the study of the Septuagint relates in important ways to many other fields, including Hellenistic and Byzantine Judaism; New Testament and early Christianity; patristic biblical exegesis; Greek lexicography; ‘daughter’ versions; liturgy; papyrology and manuscript studies; translation studies; modern theology. We have endeavoured to cover as many of these areas as possible.

The two other essays in Part I set out the development of Septuagint studies in Western European scholarship, following the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and the consequent flow of Greek scholars and manuscripts to the West. Scott Mandelbrote (Chapter 2) notes the way in which the rediscovery of the Septuagint and the Greek language influenced and was itself influenced by the movements of Reformation and Counter-Reformation. Such study was therefore not merely an academic pursuit but until well into the nineteenth century was regarded as of great significance for the ‘recovery’ of authentic biblical tradition: the Oxford scholar Edward Grinfield even set up an annual lectureship to promote the Septuagint’s ‘value as an evidence of the authenticity of the Old and New Testaments.’ Over the course of five hundred years, printed Septuagint books have moved from diplomatic editions of single manuscripts (sometimes in polyglot volumes) to full eclectic critical editions that aim to recover the oldest possible form of the Septuagint (usually termed ‘Old Greek’ in the case of translations), based on a very large number of manuscripts and with one or more detailed apparatus. The most important of these are the editions of single books of the Septuagint corpus produced by the Göttingen Unternehmen and still to be completed, as detailed in Chapter 3 by Felix Albrecht. However, Albrecht also notes that the concept of editing the Septuagint ultimately goes back to both early Jewish Hebraizing revisions and to the

Classical Alexandrian tradition of text-editing, both reflected in the work of Origen on the Hexapla.

Part II reviews the socio-historical setting of the Septuagint translations and related Jewish religious literature in Greek. Although it is usually assumed that all originated in the substantial Jewish communities in Egypt, especially in Alexandria, this may not be so for every book. In Chapter 4 James Aitken looks at the political situation and the extent of Greek knowledge in Palestine and the Diaspora outside Egypt, concluding that although there can be no certainty, a non-Egyptian origin is possible in the case of some compositions in Greek such as Sibylline Oracle 3 and 4 Maccabees. Livia Capponi (Chapter 5) assesses the evidence for the civic status and social circumstances of the very large Jewish community in Egypt, especially in Alexandria, during the Hellenistic and Roman periods until the virtual destruction of Egyptian Jewish life in the suppression of the revolt in 117 CE. She reflects on issues of Jewish identity for Jews living in the land of Egypt, speaking Greek. The Septuagint was translated into the Greek of the Hellenistic period, yet demonstrates some features alien to both literary and Koine Greek of the period, most often due to the nature of translation from Hebrew. For instance, the verbal system and basic syntactical constructions are very different in the two languages. In his chapter on language and lexicography (Chapter 6), Trevor Evans describes the development of the study of the syntax and vocabulary of the Septuagint, from the notion that the language of the LXX was a kind of Jewish Greek dialect, to a more informed appreciation of the points of contact between the usages of the LXX corpus, contemporary documentary papyri, and literary Greek. He also compares the methodologies employed by modern lexicons of the Septuagint. A controversial area is the degree to which LXX translators introduced religious ideas of their own period into their renderings. Mogens Müller (Chapter 7) argues for the importance of distinguishing between what translators may have intended and how later readers understood the resulting texts. He examines terms used for God, the rendering of the Hebrew word *Torah* by the Greek *nomos*, and possible messianic and eschatological references, all of which in due course influenced the New Testament and later Christianity as well as being an integral part of Judaism expressed in Greek. The origins of the Septuagint translation, which it is generally agreed began with the renderings of the books of the Pentateuch (*Torah*), are shrouded in mystery. However, a pseudonymous work known as the *Letter of Aristeas* composed by a well-educated Greek Jew in the second century BCE tells of the rationale and circumstances behind the Pentateuch's translation in such a compelling manner that it was not until the seventeenth century that its historicity was challenged. It is due to this work that we use the term 'Septuagint', derived from Pseudo-Aristeas's account of seventy-two translators who came down from Jerusalem to Alexandria at the invitation of King Ptolemy to translate the books of the *Torah* for his library. Dries De Crom in Chapter 8 notes how much of a sway 'Aristeas' still has on the scholarly imagination. He provides a critique of recent attempts to rehabilitate aspects of the narrative, concluding that it should be seen as 'performative rather than objective history'. More reliable indicators of the early history of the Septuagint can be obtained from the papyrus fragments and inscriptions that attest it. In Chapter 9 Michael Theophilus explains the

methodology of papyrological study and epigraphy, and their significance for Septuagint studies, as well as the difficulties in distinguishing Jewish and Christian provenance of manuscript fragments. In the next phase of transmission of Septuagint texts, as Luciano Bossina writes (Chapter 10), the codex began to replace the roll: traditionally regarded as indicating a distinction between Jewish and Christian practice, along with the use of the *nomina sacra*, in recent times this dichotomy has been questioned. In the ninth century the use of Greek uncials in manuscripts was superseded by minuscules. The dates of surviving manuscripts can give an indication of fluctuations in book production, usually related to economic and social stability of a particular period. Prior to the adoption of printing books were very expensive to produce in terms of materials and scribal labour, with 'complete' Bibles, pandects, being particularly rare. In Chapter 11 Hans Ausloos explains the methods and purpose of translation technique as seen in the Septuagint translations. The Hebrew and Greek languages are very different in structure as well as script. Literary translation between the two was virtually unknown in the period in which the first LXX books came into being. Moreover, there was no scientific understanding of Hebrew grammar, and little in the way of lexical aids until the early Islamic period. The translators employed various ways of dealing with idioms in Hebrew, and in the Pentateuch they established certain patterns in syntax and lexicography that would prove influential for the rendering of later books. The study of such practices by modern scholars is now well-established and has great importance for textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible in that it plays a vital role in establishing the details of the original Hebrew text that the translators worked from.

In Part III, the focus shifts to the corpus of the Septuagint itself, with an emphasis on the translated books, but also including those often found in Christian collections from early times. As mentioned above, the Pentateuch covering the five books from Genesis to Deuteronomy was almost certainly the foundation for the other translations, both because the books of the Torah were at the heart of Jewish life everywhere, and also because the influence of the Pentateuch translation can be seen in other books. Dirk Büchner (Chapter 12) notes the presence of adaptations to the new Hellenistic environment, as in the example of the legal issue of a householder's killing of a burglar, as well as the possibility of exegetical interpretation of passages concerning sacrifice, and what this might imply about the audience's expectations of a rendering of the Hebrew Torah. The books known as the Former Prophets within the Jewish canon, and the Historical Books from a Christian point of view, have a complex textual history in both Hebrew and Greek. Natalio Fernández Marcos (Chapter 13) believes that Joshua was translated early, after the Pentateuch, noting that the book is a little shorter than in its Hebrew Masoretic version. However, although LXX Judges appears in two different forms in the oldest manuscript tradition, a single translation seems to underlie both, and goes back to a form of Hebrew close to the Masoretic Text (MT). The Books of Samuel, examined by Anneli Aejmelaes in Chapter 14, are treated by LXX tradition as part of a four-book group covering 1 Samuel to 2 Kings known as 1–4 Kingdoms or Reigns. The challenge in the LXX manuscripts of Samuel, as also in Kings, is to find the original Greek rendering (Old Greek, OG) of the translator behind the layers of revision and recension in the

manuscript tradition, especially the Hebraizing activity termed Kaige and the stylistic changes found in manuscripts and quotations associated with the region of Antioch and sometimes attributed to Lucian. However, there are clear differences in the lexical equivalents used by the original translator compared with the vocabulary used not only by the Kaige revisers but also with that of books apparently translated later than Samuel. Recovering the OG enables us to perceive developments in the older Hebrew textual tradition as well. Similar issues affect the study of LXX 1–2 Kings (3–4 Kingdoms): in Chapter 15, Andrés Piquer Otero, Pablo Torijano, Timo Tekoniemi, and Tuukka Kauhanen discuss evidence for the probable history of the literary development of those books in Hebrew and Greek. The books of Chronicles in Hebrew have a complicated relationship with Samuel and Kings, and their LXX version, Paralipomena or ‘things omitted’, only serves to increase the difficulty. Laurence Vianès sets out the main issues (Chapter 16), and highlights that not only does the end of 2 Paralipomena also coincide to a large extent with chapters 1–2 of Greek 1 Esdras, because at that point they each translate very similar Hebrew texts, but those same chapters also show influence from 4 Kgdms 23–4. The pattern of divergences and parallels between LXX Kingdoms and Paralipomena is not easy to unravel. Unusually among the LXX translations, Paralipomena may have originated in Palestine.

Among the Prophetic books, the Septuagint version of Isaiah has provoked the most scholarly discussion in recent decades. Highly influential among New Testament and appreciated by patristic authors, the Greek rendering is often attractive yet may diverge considerably from what we would consider to be the meaning of the Masoretic Hebrew text. Rodrigo de Sousa (Chapter 17) sets out the debates over whether the translator was ‘actualizing’ the message of Isaiah for his contemporary community in Alexandria, or grappling with a Hebrew text beyond his capabilities. De Sousa argues for caution in detecting consistent theological exegesis in the translation, but stresses that the translator was intent on communicating meaning to his community in his translation. The issues in Jeremiah are quite different (Chapter 18): as recognized even in antiquity, the book exists in a long Hebrew form (MT) and a short LXX form, with differences in the order of chapters. Furthermore, the book of Baruch is appended to Jeremiah in the manuscript tradition. Matthieu Richelle agrees with a number of other scholars that the two forms of Jeremiah must reflect two literary editions, with the Greek text reflecting an earlier Hebrew version, but he disputes the notion that differences between the first and second halves of LXX Jeremiah are due to two different translators or revisers. As for Baruch, it is unclear whether the whole or a part of it is a translation of a lost Hebrew original, as opposed to a composition in ‘Septuagintal’ style. In Chapter 19 Katrin Hauspie surveys the development of scholarship on LXX Ezekiel over the course of the past hundred years, noting how the publication of the pre-hexaplaric Papyrus 967 has revolutionized perception of the book’s origins, even though critical editions still give it only a ‘marginal’ place. Like Jeremiah, Ezekiel probably existed in variant literary editions. The newest line of approach has been the application of *Skopostheorie* to the difficult issues in the last nine chapters. This method, along with further investigation into the vexed question of divine names, may be usefully directed towards the rest of the

book in future. Daniel is not considered among the Prophetic books in the Hebrew canon of Scripture. However, the book and the associated tales of Susanna and Bel and the Dragon, along with extra material within Daniel itself, are part of the Greek tradition, but represented by two different translations. These are referred to 'Septuagint Daniel' (Dan- σ) and 'Theodotion Daniel' (Dan- θ). Olivier Munnich (Chapter 20) demonstrates the importance of Papyrus 967 for the study of Daniel also. He also considers the problem of the differences between MT and Theodotion Daniel, and the question of the order of the deuterocanonical additions. He concludes that along with the Qumran fragments of Danielic material, both Greek forms provide information about the literary evolution of the Hebrew and Aramaic text of the book. In Chapter 21 Cécile Dogniez describes the nature of the Old Greek translation of the Twelve Minor Prophets, which was probably carried out by a single translator in Alexandria sometime after that of Isaiah. The style of the rendering varies between literalism and freedom, perhaps because of the difficulty of the underlying Hebrew coupled with the desire to offer readers a degree of eloquence in translation. The discovery at Naḥal Ḥever in 1952 of a scroll of the Twelve Minor Prophets containing a Hebraizing version of the LXX Minor Prophets led to Dominique Barthélemy's groundbreaking theory that a revision of this nature preceded the work of the second-century CE translator Aquila. Features of this isomorphic 'Kaige' recension may be seen not only in this Dead Sea text but also in the manuscript tradition of some other books.

Chapter 22 focuses on the corpus of short books known in Judaism as the five Megillot, or Scrolls, and associated with festivals in the Jewish calendar: Ruth, Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes (Qoheleth), Lamentations, and Esther. As Robert Hiebert points out, in their Septuagint Greek form the first four often have features in common with the Kaige recension. However, OG Esther incorporates sections not found in MT Esther, and there is a further Greek Esther text known as the Alpha-Text: the precise relationship of OG Esther and this Alpha-Text remains obscure. The Septuagint Psalter has been particularly influential in Christian liturgy and devotion, as attested by the huge number of manuscripts containing it. Staffan Olofsson (Chapter 23) notes the debates over an Egyptian versus a Palestinian provenance, over a liturgical versus educational origin for the translation, and over the possible presence of Kaige elements in the translation. Olofsson argues that in the last case, the influence goes the other way, with vocabulary from the LXX Psalm translation being adopted by later Hebraizing revisers of other books. Another issue is the position of those who believe that the LXX Psalter was designed from the outset to be treated in an 'interlinear' manner, effectively as a crib to the Hebrew and to be understood only in the light of the meaning of the original, never having been designed to be read independently of its source text. While agreeing that the general tendency in the LXX Psalter is towards literal renderings, Olofsson notes that it also has non-literal traits. The Septuagint of Proverbs is a very different proposition as a translation. Lorenzo Cuppi (Chapter 24) lists the many features that conspire to make this a peculiarly difficult text to pin down. It has free renderings and additions, double translations, and different ordering of sections and chapters, all of which render the editor's task particularly challenging. The Hebrew *Vorlage* may also have differed

from MT Proverbs. However, there are also intriguing renderings suggestive of the translator's cultural ambience in second-century BCE Alexandria. In the case of the book of Job (Maria Gorea in Chapter 25) we have two much clearer layers: there is the Old Greek rendering of its difficult Hebrew poetic text, which it has effectively abridged or summarized in many places, often ducking the more problematic theological ideas of the Hebrew book, plus the supplementation with wording supplied from 'Theodotion' by Origen, marked in the best witnesses by asterisks. The hybridity of the resulting text must have been puzzling for readers since it combined stylish and more literary Greek with Hebraizing renderings. In Chapter 26 Alison Salvesen surveys the miscellaneous books labelled 'deuterocanonical' or 'apocryphal'. These were Jewish in origin, and either compositions in Greek or translated from a lost Semitic *Vorlage*. They were adopted by Christians as further religious literature, even though their status was lower than that of the canonical works or even disputed as worthy of consideration.

Part IV examines the Septuagint in its Jewish context, starting with the two most important Jewish authors writing in Greek, Philo of Alexandria and Flavius Josephus. Their use of forms of the Septuagint text indicates its acceptance as Jewish Scripture in both Egypt and Palestine. As is well known, Philo's primary interest was the Pentateuch, whereas Josephus's interest in historiography meant that he focused on narrative. Sarah Pearce (Chapter 27) reviews Philo's treatment of the LXX Pentateuch in his works, his citation practice, the account he gives of the origin of the Pentateuch translation, and his high view of the Torah in Greek. Finally she discusses the question of how much Hebrew he would have known. In Chapter 28 Tessa Rajak establishes the significance of the Greek Bible for Josephus, especially in view of his sound knowledge of both Hebrew and Aramaic, and discusses recent scholarship on the type of Greek text that he knew. Taking examples from the Tabernacle account in Exodus, the stories of Samuel and Esther, she concludes that Josephus used the Greek Scriptures as 'a literary springboard' but that the Hebrew text remains 'a tantalizing presence' in his works. His largely faithful retelling of the *Letter of Aristeas* implies a precedent for his own reworking of biblical narrative. In Chapter 29 Eugene Ulrich notes how the discovery of the scrolls from the Dead Sea region in the mid-twentieth century revolutionized biblical studies. It has raised the possibility of variant Hebrew *Vorlagen* and alternative literary editions behind the Septuagint translations. In addition to the scriptural texts in Hebrew, a handful of small fragments of Greek versions of the Pentateuch were also found in Qumran Caves 4 and 7, along with the scroll of the Minor Prophets at Naḥal Ḥever containing a revision of the Old Greek text. As the earliest, and non-Christian, witnesses to Greek renderings of Scripture, these have all been highly significant for our knowledge of the early history of the Septuagint. As the Naḥal Ḥever text of the Twelve Minor Prophets reveals, dissatisfaction with the original form of the Septuagint translations set in early, with revisional activity taking place even before the Common Era. Such activity, which aimed to make the Greek translation of Scripture conform more closely still to the wording and current interpretation of the emerging Hebrew standard text, continued to at least the end of the second century CE. In Chapter 30, Siegfried Kreuzer discusses the nature of what has been termed the Kaige recension, how it may be identified in various texts by its more

literal and Hebraizing renderings, and its likely relationship to the version known as Theodotion. Until the identification of the Kaige recension, Aquila's work was considered to be the first radical attempt to modify the Greek text. Even though this has been disproved, Aquila's work is important in other ways, not least stylistically and lexicographically as well as for its long-term influence on later Jewish Greek interpretation of Scripture. In Chapter 31 Giuseppe Veltri and Alison Salvesen review Christian patristic and rabbinic Jewish attitudes towards Aquila's version, and the surviving evidence for it. Another reviser, Symmachus, is often called the freest translator, yet his work is demonstrably close to the standardized Hebrew text. Thus, while he certainly issues a more stylistically impressive Greek text, he stands in the same stream of revision that sought conformity to the Hebrew. Michaël van der Meer (Chapter 32) explores the motivation behind his version, and what we may know of the translator's religious affiliation, identity, and political outlook. Further revisions were included in Origen's Hexapla, though the names of their revisers are unknown. Their versions, however, have been recognized for their importance in the text history of several books. In Chapter 33, Bradley Marsh, Jr. examines what is known about the versions known as Quinta, Sexta, and Septima ('Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh'), perhaps from their position in the columns of the Hexapla. Bradley Marsh also looks at the phenomenon of the Greek version of the Samaritan Pentateuch (Chapter 34), evidence for which is preserved almost exclusively by Christian sources. Finally, although the Septuagint's influence in Jewish circles faded over time, conceptually it enjoyed an afterlife, in the continuing need for Greek renderings and glosses for the Hebrew Bible, as evidenced by manuscripts and fragments discovered in the Cairo Geniza. In Chapter 35 Julia Krivoruchko surveys this afterlife of Greek biblical texts in Byzantine and medieval Jewish communities, into the Constantinople Pentateuch and beyond.

Part V moves on to the reception of the Septuagint as Christian Scripture. The obvious starting point is the use of citations from Greek Scripture by New Testament writers, surveyed by David Lincicum in Chapter 36. He points out that the New Testament 'supplies a unique window into the shifting state of the Greek text in the first century', and a 'key stage' in the process of appropriation of the Septuagint as the Christian Old Testament. As time went on, educated Christians found it more difficult to defend the Greek style of the Septuagint, and textual witnesses originating from the region of Antioch may display stylistic adjustments. The character of the Greek version apparently edited by Lucian in Antioch at the end of the third century CE is one of the most significant and contentious issues in current research. It has been argued that the oldest readings in the Greek tradition may be found in Antiochian witnesses to the Kaige sections of 1–4 Kingdoms; these would then predate the historical Lucian and approximate to the Old Greek. Untangling the layers of the Antiochian text has proven difficult, as Tuukka Kauhanen explains in Chapter 37. Another direction for revision among early Christian scholars was that of Origen of Caesarea, whose massive work of biblical scholarship known as the Hexapla is responsible for preserving much of what we know of the ancient Jewish revisions. However, little survives of the version, and there has been a great deal of debate about several aspects of Origen's textual work, including its precise

format, as Peter Gentry details in Chapter 38. Gentry sets out the patristic testimonies about the Hexapla, and also provides translations of several colophons of manuscripts containing texts ultimately deriving from Origen and his successors in Caesarea. John Lee's contribution (Chapter 39) focuses on the liturgy of the Greek Orthodox Church. Being full of allusions to Scripture, the liturgy is steeped in the language of both the Septuagint and the Greek New Testament. Lee notes many instances of vocabulary derived from LXX sources, demonstrating the Septuagint's profound influence on early Christian spirituality as well as theology, from antiquity to the present. Questions remain, however, about how the liturgy relates to or derives from synagogue practice in the earliest period, and especially regarding the central role of the Psalms in Christian worship. Following on from this, Reinhart Ceulemans (Chapter 40) looks at the way in which the Septuagint profoundly shaped patristic and Byzantine Christianity, an influence seen not only through the vast literature of Greek biblical exegesis, but in a wide variety of other texts, documents, amulets, buildings, and ceremonies. Ceulemans explains the nature of various forms of exegesis, including commentaries, homilies, synopses, and catenae, the last being one of the most understudied areas of research on the LXX. Catenae often contain fragments from earlier, lost commentaries, so work in this area is throwing fresh light on the entire tradition. The Septuagint was also enormously influential in Latin Christianity, being rendered into Latin very early, as described by Michael Graves (Chapter 41). Revisions took place in the third and fourth centuries, and were even undertaken by Jerome before dissatisfaction with translating a translation led him to return to the 'Hebrew Truth' for what became the Vulgate Old Testament. However, the Old Latin version remained very popular for a long time, and both Augustine and Jerome used it for their commentaries.

Part VI concerns the Septuagint in its many translated forms, starting with the ancient 'daughter' versions. The first of these was the *Vetus Latina* or Old Latin (VL), mentioned already above. Chapter 42, Pierre-Maurice Bogaert's detailed overview, explains the nature of this version and the challenges in using it. The early date of the *Vetus Latina* makes it highly significant for reconstructing a possibly older form of the Septuagint that predates much revisional activity, and it may even hint at the existence of variant literary editions in Hebrew. However, the origins of the VL are shrouded in mystery and due to the success of Jerome's *iuxta Hebraeos* version, it is poorly preserved. Bogaert notes its importance for the textual history of the books of Exodus, Jeremiah, Daniel, and Proverbs in particular. Pablo Torijano provides a survey of the Armenian, Georgian, and Church Slavonic translations (Chapter 43). These 'represent the first works of their national literatures and caused the invention of their respective scripts', allowing access to the Christian Bible for the Caucasus and the Slav peoples. However, it has proved difficult to create modern critical editions of each of them. In Chapter 44 Marketta Liljeström discusses the version known as the Syrohexapla, dating from the early seventh century. Although the Syriac churches already possessed the Old Testament books rendered directly from Hebrew since the beginning of the third century, the Syrohexapla represents part of a theological and translational movement that looked to Greek sources. Uniquely, it is largely but not entirely dependent upon the Hexaplaric

manuscripts deriving from Origen's Hexapla, and preserves many of Origen's critical signs. Its marginal notes give many readings from Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. The 'mirror-translation' nature of the Syrohexapla makes it especially valuable for discovering the nature of Origen's textual work. Chapter 45 (Andrés Piquer Otero) sets out the main issues involving the study of three other daughter versions of the Septuagint: Coptic, Arabic, and Ethiopic. The situation with Coptic is complicated by the existence and influence of different dialects, principally but not exclusively Sahidic and Bohairic. Arabic renderings of the Septuagint were used by Christian communities whose vernacular was Arabic and who sometimes used Greek letters to write the language, but other Arabic versions of Old Testament Scripture based on Syriac or Hebrew also circulated. In the case of Ethiopic, the Septuagint was rendered only into Gêez, but the witnesses are hard to date and also tend to be comparatively late. Much more recently, different teams of scholars have translated the Septuagint into several major modern languages including English, German, French, and Italian. Eberhard Bons (Chapter 46) compares the various approaches taken by these large-scale projects, and notes the difficulties involved in translating a text that is itself a translation.

Part VII takes a wider look at the significance of the Septuagint, principally for biblical studies and theology, but also for art history. In Chapter 47 Bénédicte Lemmelijn reflects on the changing role of the Septuagint for biblical textual criticism: from a tool to help establish a single Urtext, with the LXX as 'handmaid' to the Hebrew, to become in the post-Qumran period a witness of scribal and editorial activity indicating textual plurality. In the case of the New Testament, Ross Wagner (Chapter 48) demonstrates that the Septuagint is vital for understanding both religious terminology and investigating the pluriformity of scriptural texts in the first century CE. In Chapter 49 John Barton discusses the implications of the Septuagint for Christian theology more broadly, singling out some areas for further reflection. These include the lack of a fixed and stable text of the Septuagint; the problem of what a canon of the LXX corpus would consist of, and how this could be seen as a single entity for the purposes of an overarching interpretation; whether it is desirable or possible to attempt a 'Theology of the LXX'; and the possibility of seeing both LXX and MT as canonical or at least authoritative. Finally, Maja Kominko (Chapter 50) shows how image and text work together in illustrated manuscripts of the Septuagint, sometimes drawing on extra-biblical or non-canonical elements, and providing visual exegesis of the Bible.

The present volume should be seen as complementary to other projects, especially to the series *La Bible d'Alexandrie*, the New English Translation of the Septuagint, the two-volume commentary *Septuaginta Deutsch: Erläuterungen und Kommentare*, the Septuagint Commentary Series, and most especially to the exceptional and ongoing textual work of the Göttingen Septuaginta Unternehmen. The contributions in this Oxford Handbook owe a great deal to all of these, and they will be referred to many times in the following pages. Other important projects were published during the extended period this volume took to appear, among them the first volumes of the *Handbuch zur Septuaginta* series edited by Martin Karrer, Wolfgang Kraus, Siegfried Kreuzer, and others; the *T&T Clark Companion to the Septuagint* edited by James

Aitken; Brill's *Textual History of the Bible* edited by Armin Lange and Emanuel Tov. It therefore proved difficult to incorporate many references to them throughout the volume without delaying its submission to the Press even further. The reader is strongly encouraged to consult these works alongside the present one.

Thanks are due to Tom Perridge, Commissioning Editor at OUP, who suggested back in 2011 (apparently at the prompting of John Barton) that the Press should publish a Handbook of the Septuagint; and to Michael Law, who persuaded me to take on this project, came up with a fully developed overview of the subject, and did much of the initial work securing and working with contributors. Most of all, I thank the contributors themselves for their patience.

The volume is dedicated to Sebastian Brock, for his ongoing inspiration both academically and personally; but most pertinently in the case of this volume, for teaching me Septuagintal textual criticism when I was an undergraduate, and then suggesting I should write my doctoral dissertation on Symmachus, work which he then supervised. Though he is best known for his enormous contribution to Syriac studies, his name appears many times in the pages of this volume as well.

PART I

FIRST THINGS

CHAPTER 1

WHAT IS THE SEPTUAGINT?

CAMERON BOYD-TAYLOR

INTRODUCTION

THE term Septuagint is derived from the Latin *septuaginta*, an abbreviation of *interpretatio secundum septuaginta seniores*, that is, ‘the interpretation of the seventy elders.’ Since late antiquity it has served as something akin to a proper name for the Greek version of the Jewish Scriptures. Such use of a proper name, as Foucault (1977: 123) has taught us, enables one to group together a body of texts, differentiate them from other texts, and establish a relationship among them; moreover it marks out their reception, and confers upon them a certain status. Reference to the Septuagint has long functioned thus, enabling interpreters to delimit, fix, and assign value to what would otherwise be a relatively fluid and heterogeneous literature.

Contemporary scholarship uses the term Septuagint to denote four notionally distinct corpora: (1) a Greek translation of the five books of Moses (the Pentateuch) believed to have been undertaken in third-century BCE Alexandria; (2) the so-called Alexandrian Bible, a Jewish scriptural corpus in Greek dating to the late Hellenistic period; (3) the Greek Old Testament, a Christian corpus comprised of the books of the Hebrew Bible as well as the so-called Deuterocanonical books (or Apocrypha); and (4) the earliest recoverable translations of the Jewish Scriptures into Greek, often referred to as the Old Greek versions. While there is substantive overlap between these four corpora, each raises its own literary and historical issues, and each has a distinct cultural value. Of each one may ask, what is the Septuagint? Or more precisely, for each iteration of the term, one may ask how the Septuagint has been constituted as an object of discourse, and to what extent that object has been contested. To this end, the present chapter offers a series of introductory sketches.

THE GREEK PENTATEUCH

The Greek phrase κατὰ τοὺς ἑβδομήκοντα, ‘according to the Seventy’, began appearing in Christian biblical manuscripts around the fourth century CE (Dines 2004: 1). It alludes to a Jewish legend according to which a Greek version of the Law was commissioned by Ptolemy II Philadelphus (r. 283–246 BCE), and undertaken by seventy (or seventy-two) Judean scholars. If the testimony attributed to the Jewish philosopher Aristobulus (c.170 BCE) is genuine (ap. Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* 13.12.2), then the main features of the legend were already taking shape within a century of the supposed events.

The *Letter of Aristeas*

Our primary literary source for the story of the Seventy is a Hellenistic work known as the *Letter of Aristeas* (see Chapter 8). All subsequent traditions regarding the origins of the Septuagint would appear to have stemmed from it (Wasserstein and Wasserstein 2006: 18). Preserved by Christian scribes, the *Letter* is extant in twenty-three Greek manuscripts (Wright 2015: 30). While its historical veracity has been challenged, it remains an invaluable document.

In a purported letter from Aristeas, a courtier of Ptolemy Philadelphus, to his ‘brother’ Philocrates, we learn that the royal librarian wished to secure a translation of the Jewish Law for the library in Alexandria (*Let. Aris.* §§9–11). An embassy was dispatched by Philadelphus to the high priest in Jerusalem requesting six learned elders from each of the twelve tribes (§39). The seventy-two elders duly arrived in Alexandria with a copy of the Law (§173). After attending banquets over seven successive days, they retired to the island of Pharos, where they completed the translation in seventy-two days (§307). It was received enthusiastically by the local Jewish community, and a curse was pronounced upon anyone who dared alter it by addition, transposition, or omission (§310–11).

The authenticity of the *Letter* was generally taken for granted until the early modern period. The earliest registration of doubt was made in passing by the Spanish humanist Juan Louis Vives (1492–1540) in his commentary on Augustine’s *City of God* (Wasserstein and Wasserstein 2006: 241). Azariah dei Rossi (1513–78), a learned Jewish physician, devoted an entire monograph to the *Letter*, drawing upon both Jewish and Christian sources, and thus preparing the way for a critical examination of the text (Wasserstein and Wasserstein 2006: 247). It was, however, the publication of Humphrey Hody’s devastating *Contra historiam Aristeae de LXX interpretibus dissertatio* in 1684 that sealed its fate. Since Hody it has been agreed by most scholars that the document is a fiction, its author in all likelihood a Greek-speaking Jew living in Egypt sometime during the late second century BCE. There are indications that he was elaborating upon a local tradition, though whether it counted seventy or seventy-two translators is unknown. The Jewish historian Josephus, writing in the late first century CE, uses both interchangeably

(*Ant.* 12.57). The figure seventy, which prevailed, signals a typological relationship between the birth of the Septuagint and the giving of the Law at Sinai—a ‘constitutional fiction’, as Jellicoe (1968: 57) happily put it, which invests the translation with both sacred and secular authority (Honigman 2007: 142).

While it has proven tempting to infer the polemical aims of the text from its solemn curse against revision (§§310–11), this places too much exegetical burden on what Orlinsky (1975: 94) has shown to be a Deuteronomistic ratification formula. More secure ground is staked out by Wright (2013: 45), who situates the letter with respect to the question of scriptural authority in late Hellenistic Judaism, specifically the relative status of the Greek version of the Law over against its Hebrew source. On this view the letter represents an apologia for the former, its rhetorical strategy aimed at securing extra-translational legitimacy for the Greek text by placing it in ‘proximity to the institutions controlling interpretations of authorial intentions’ (Pym 2004: 170).

Lagarde and Kahle

If contemporary specialists do not, as a rule, subscribe to the Aristeas legend, they too assign value to ancient texts, and must likewise trade in theories of origin. For much of the twentieth century two such theories polarized Septuagint scholarship. Both were stimulated by problems in textual criticism, and both addressed the question of *which text* the *Letter of Aristeas* was attempting to legitimate (Fernández Marcos 2000: 53). Each conceptualizes the Septuagint very differently. The Urtext theory, associated with German polymath Paul de Lagarde (1863), posits a single autograph for the Greek Pentateuch, produced sometime in the third century BCE, a lineal descendent of which was defended by Aristeas. Although the text of the autograph has been transmitted through continuous copying, every existing manuscript contains material conflated from later editions (Wevers 1985: 21).

The assumption of an Urtext remained uncontested until 1915 when it was challenged in an article by Paul Kahle (Jellicoe 1968: 61). According to Kahle, the received text of the Greek Pentateuch represents a late first-century BCE Jewish recension derived from earlier partial translations (or Targums) that had been intended to accompany the public reading of the Hebrew Law. It was the legitimacy of this later standardized edition that was at issue for the author of Aristeas. In support of what became known as the Greek Targum theory, Kahle (1959: 209–64) drew attention to a wide range of textual witnesses, which, on his analysis, did not fit Lagarde’s binary model of an original text subject to interference from later recensions.

Persuasive though it was, Kahle’s argument was ultimately rejected by most specialists. Quite simply, the hypothesis of common descent from a single archetype accounts more economically for the evidence. The current consensus holds that the autograph of each book of the Greek Pentateuch was a unique once-off undertaking by translators who did not substantially revise their work (Tov 2010: 16). Moreover analysis of translation technique points to marked divergences in method between each of the five

books, a finding which militates against Kahle's contention that the text underwent standardization (Wevers 1985: 20). Yet if Lagardian assumptions have prevailed, they have also been significantly qualified. Critical editors have been forced to reckon with a textual situation far more complex than that envisioned by Lagarde (Wevers 1988: 27). Recent study of the Greek scriptural fragments found at Qumran, particularly 4Q119, containing Leviticus ch. 26 (dating to the late second or first century BCE), has reopened the question of textual fluidity (Faulkenberry Miller 2007: 27). To what extent the Urtext theory will be further qualified remains to be seen.

Sitz im Leben

One merit of Kahle's account is that it explains how the Greek Pentateuch was initially used, namely, as a Targum on its Hebrew source. It thus locates the social impetus for the translation in a liturgical context. A variation on this *Sitz im Leben* was proposed by Thackeray (1921: 12), who characterized the Greek text as 'a people's book designed undoubtedly for synagogue use'. Despite its intuitive appeal, the liturgical theory of Septuagint origins is vulnerable to the charge of anachronism. As Bickerman (1959: 7) pointed out, a regular cycle of Pentateuchal readings is not attested until the second century CE. Nevertheless there are hints of a trend towards liturgical standardization in the writings of the Jewish philosopher Philo (c.25 BCE–40 CE) which might be enlisted in support of Thackeray. Cohen (2007: 68) has found that of the twelve distinct quotations of the Latter Prophets made by Philo, at least nine are represented in the string of *Haftarot* (passages from the prophets that accompany the Torah reading) currently appointed for the liturgical cycle from the 17th of Tammuz to the Day of Atonement. While the statistical significance of this correlation is difficult to assess, it remains highly suggestive.

For an explanation of why the Law of Moses was translated book by book (rather than piecemeal), Bickerman looked to the initiative of the Ptolemaic regime. It is certainly conceivable that a translation of the Law was officially sponsored, but the question of motivation remains to be satisfactorily answered. In this regard, it has been suggested that the Greek version was intended for use in the law courts, an idea for which Egyptian parallels may be adduced (Mélèze Modrzejewski 1995: 99–119). Another possibility is to view it in connection with the administration of the Jewish community in Alexandria (Barthélemy 1978). Despite the appeal of such hypotheses, the problem remains that there is little evidence to support the idea that the Law of Moses was officially sanctioned for the regulation of Jewish affairs in Ptolemaic domains.

The discussion of *Sitz im Leben* was advanced by Brock (1972) in a seminal paper which suggested that the Greek Pentateuch had played a role similar to that of the *Iliad* in Hellenistic education. In Brock's memorable phrase, it was 'the Homer of the Jews'. This idea has enjoyed renewed attention since the publication of *A New English Translation of the Septuagint* (Pietersma and Wright 2007). According to the so-called 'interlinear model' adopted by the editors, the Greek Pentateuch was originally

conceptualized along the lines of the vernacular translations of Homer used as an aid to reading (Pietersma 2002: 346–50). A signal advantage of this proposal is that it speaks to the linguistic evidence. Although the language of the Greek Pentateuch is firmly rooted in the contemporary Koine, it is characterized by varying degrees of formal equivalence (isomorphism) with its Hebrew source. On the hypothesis that the translation was in some sense a school text, this phenomenon is attributable to its ancillary role with respect to the Hebrew. Whether the verbal makeup of the Greek text is such as to warrant the inference of interlinearity has, however, been vigorously debated. It is of course not difficult to cite instances where isomorphism has trumped idiomatic expression. Yet the detailed findings reported by Lee (2018) must also be taken into account, as they underscore the relative acceptability of much Pentateuchal Greek.

In the absence of secure knowledge regarding contemporary Jewish social practices in Alexandria—whether liturgical, judicial, or educational—all theories of Septuagint origins must remain somewhat speculative. Taking a cue from recent developments in cultural studies, it is tempting to prescind from the question of use and look rather to the significance of the translation as an event within a literary system (Boyd-Taylor 2011: 336–41). By translating the Torah into Greek, Jewish subjects of the Ptolemaic regime co-opted the language of the hegemonic culture for the purposes of cultivating a subaltern tradition. Understood thus, the linguistic oddness of the translation (its tolerance of interference) comes to represent an expression of communal independence and resistance (Rajak 2009: 156). This would account in part for its emulation by later Graeco-Jewish authors.

Early Jewish Reception

The earliest literary witness to the Greek Pentateuch is the Jewish historian Demetrius the Chronographer, an Alexandrian who likely flourished in the last quarter of the third century BCE. Fragments of his work preserved by later authors evince a detailed knowledge of the Greek version (Holladay 1983: 52). Half a century later a Jewish historian by the name of Eupolemus was active in Palestine. Extant fragments of his work, written in a crude Greek style, also exhibit dependence on the Greek text (Holladay 1983: 95). It thus seems that a relatively stable form of the Greek Pentateuch was in circulation before the turn of the second century BCE and was being consulted by learned Jews. Its dissemination was not limited to the Diaspora. Pre-Christian manuscript fragments have been discovered not only in Egypt but also in Palestine (Kraft 2003: 54–8; see Chapters 9 and 29).

As to the cultural value of the Greek Pentateuch, it may be inferred that for some Jews it eventually attained a normative status. This is certainly evident in the case of Philo, for whom the Greek version is not so much a daughter version as a sister with equal rights—a conception of the translation that obviously precludes revision (Müller 1996: 63; see Chapter 27). Philo's interpretation of the Aristeian legend (*Mos.* 2.37), which invests the Greek translation with prophetic authority, represents the pivot

between Jewish and Christian reception (Seidman 2006: 50). Just how widespread this view was amongst Greek-speaking Jews is uncertain. A rather different understanding of the Septuagint underlies Josephus's paraphrase of the *Letter of Aristeas* (*Ant.* 12.11–118). Following the acclamation of the translation, Josephus omits the Deuteronomistic curse against alteration, and introduces a provision for textual revision. For Brock (1992: 309) such ambivalence bespeaks a context in which the normative status of the Greek version was acknowledged, but its authority was held to be derivative of the Hebrew.

The context envisioned by Brock is consistent with the evidence of the earliest papyri witnesses, P^{Ryl.} 458, P^{Fouad} 266b, and 7Q1 (see Chapters 9 and 29). For each of these Wevers (1977; 1978; 1990) has made a strong case for partial revision to an exemplar resembling the Masoretic Text. The sporadic quality of the revision points to a distinct model of reception: not recension as such, but an environment in which the Greek text was transmitted alongside its Hebrew parent, and at times corrected against it (Boyd-Taylor 2018: 370). Yet despite the fact that certain copyists had recourse to the Hebrew version, there is no indication that the Greek Pentateuch was regarded as inherently deficient or suspect at this time (Müller 1996: 66).

THE ALEXANDRIAN BIBLE

It is generally assumed that by the first century CE a corpus of Jewish Scriptures in Greek was taking shape in Alexandria parallel to the formation of the Hebrew Bible in Palestine. Some scholars thus refer to the Alexandrian Bible, though such a conception of the matter perhaps owes more to the Aristeian legend than to sober historiography (Tov 2010: 4).

Hebrew–Greek Translation in Hellenistic Judaism

Subsequent to the Pentateuch, there was a flurry of Hebrew–Greek translation activity, including not only the books of the later rabbinic canon, but numerous others. For most of these the extant manuscript evidence points to a single Hellenistic archetype. There are, however, apparent exceptions. Judges, Esther, Tobit, and Daniel are each extant in two textual forms, and the textual history underlying them remains somewhat uncertain. While Dines (2004: 59) is inclined to favour the idea of textual multiplicity, and sees the so-called double texts as a challenge to the Lagardian model, Fernández Marcos (2000: 103) concludes that we are dealing with distinct recensions of the same underlying translation (see Chapters 13, 20, 22, 26). In some instances the earliest recoverable form of the Greek text points to a Vorlage at considerable remove from MT. Greek Jeremiah, for instance, is shorter than its Hebrew counterpart and differently ordered; it was likely translated from a Hebrew text that preceded the expanded version transmitted by the Masoretes (Fernández Marcos 2000: 81; and Chapter 18).

What is perhaps most striking about the translations of the Hellenistic period is the heterogeneity of method and style to which they attest, suggestive, as it is, of a diversity of origins and purposes. Thus while the Greek Psalter adheres closely to the linguistic form of its Hebrew source (see Chapter 23), the language of Greek Proverbs exhibits a remarkable sensitivity to stylistic and rhetorical effects (Aitken and Cuppi 2015: 347; see Chapter 24). Some of the translations differ significantly from their Hebrew counterparts with respect to content. Greek Esther, for instance, is more than twice as long as the extant Hebrew version, probably due to novelistic expansion (Hengel 2004: 87; see Chapter 22). The Old Greek of Job, on the other hand, would appear to have abbreviated its source by as much as one sixth (at least in its original form); verses are passed over sometimes two or three at a time (Cox 2015: 386; see Chapter 25). The Hellenistic translations also vary widely in the amount of interpretation or actualization evident to modern readers. According to Wagner (2013: 235) the Greek translator of Isaiah both elucidates and contextualizes the message of his source (and see Chapter 17). This is in stark contrast to the impression given by a text such as Greek Ecclesiastes (see Chapter 22). Yet despite the heterogeneity of translation technique, there is undoubtedly an element of literary coherence in the texts that come down to us, and Joosten (2016: 695) is right to emphasize the many linguistic and intertextual links that, taken together, point to a milieu in which the biblical books were studied in their Greek translation.

Little can be said with confidence regarding date and provenance. The book of Sirach contains a Preface written in Egypt about 130 BCE by its translator, the grandson of Ben Sira, in which he refers to the translation of ‘the Law itself, the Prophets and the rest of the books’ (Sir 1:23–4). This implies a sizeable Greek corpus. Beyond this, one must look to the linguistic and ideological features of the texts. Intertextual references indicate a relative order for some books; the translator of Job, for instance, interpolates material from the Greek Psalter (Heater 1982: 6; see Chapter 25). The analysis of translation technique also provides a clue. Thus Qoheleth, Song of Songs, and Ruth have been dated to the first century BCE/CE on typological grounds (Dines 2004: 20; see Chapter 22). As to provenance, the influence of the Aristeeas legend has been such that Alexandria tends to be presumed, though current scholarship is exploring other possibilities. Aitken (2015: 3) draws attention to the papyri and inscriptions from this period which attest to a Jewish presence throughout Egypt. Tov (2010: 14), for his part, believes that a better case can be made for Palestine in many instances. Given the mobility of both scholars and manuscripts, to which Ben Sira’s grandson is a prime witness, the question of provenance may not be as significant as traditionally assumed. Rather a story involving both Egypt and Palestine seems most probable (Cook and van der Kooij 2012).

The Alexandrian Canon

The idea of an Alexandrian canon arose amidst early modern confessional debate over the text of the Old Testament. At issue was the status of the Apocrypha, that is, those Jewish works included in the Vulgate, and attested in ancient Christian sources, but

absent in the Hebrew canon: 1 Esdras, Ben Sira, Wisdom of Solomon, Judith, Tobit, Baruch, Epistle of Jeremiah, 1 and 2 Maccabees (see Chapter 26). To account for the undoubted authority of these books in the early church it was conjectured, first by John Ernest Grabe (1666–1711), and then independently by John Salomo Semler (1725–91), that Alexandrian Jews had formally authorized a Greek rival to the Hebrew scriptural canon (Sundberg 1964: 18).

This hypothesis, which became widely accepted in the late nineteenth century, accounts for both the quotation of apocryphal books by early Christian authors, and their inclusion in the nascent Christian Bible, thereby grounding Christian scriptural practice in the institutions of pre-Tannaitic Judaism. Yet, as Sundberg (1964: 51–79) demonstrated, it is not without its problems. Patristic lists of Old Testament books are inconsistent. More significantly, the scriptural quotations of the New Testament and other early Christian literature do not fit the expected pattern. Underlying the scholarly fiction of an Alexandrian canon is a picture of first-century CE Judaism neatly divided along linguistic and geographical lines (Sundberg 1964: 52). Yet use of the Greek Scriptures was not exclusive to the Alexandrians, nor did they possess the authority to establish norms for the Diaspora. It seems rather that Greek-speaking Jews in various centres assembled scriptural corpora which differed from one another both in their order and in their contents, a pluralism inherited by early Christianity (Trebolle Barbera 1998: 302).

If there was no single Greek Bible, a tendency towards normalization was nevertheless likely with the rise of the Hebrew canon in the second century CE. At the same time, some degree of variation probably lasted as long as Greek synagogues enjoyed relative independence from rabbinic circles. On this view it is altogether possible that a distinct scriptural tradition was cultivated in Alexandria, a ‘rolling corpus’ (Joosten 2016: 695), as it were, such that a canonical impulse motivated the translation, redaction, and composition of the literature that comes down to us. This local tradition would have ended abruptly with the near-annihilation of the Jewish community in the wake of the Diaspora Revolt (115–17 CE) under Trajan (98–117 CE). Yet, perpetuated by Alexandrian Christians, it may well have contributed to the formation of the Christian Scriptures.

Jewish Recensions

In his Schweich Lectures of 1920, Thackeray (1921: 14) proposed that the ecclesiastical text of 1–4 Reigns derives from a composite archetype. According to Thackeray an early partial translation by the Alexandria school had been supplemented by translators in Asia Minor, whose work aimed at the representation of minute distinctions in the Hebrew source. External support for Thackeray’s model came with the discovery at Naḥal Hever of the remnants of a leather roll of the Greek Minor Prophets dated to the late first century BCE (8HevXIIgr). Barthélemy (1963) was able to demonstrate that the text was a systematic revision of the Septuagint version to a current Hebrew exemplar, and bore a strong resemblance to Thackeray’s so-called Asiatic version of Reigns. He

further showed that the core characteristics shared by these texts, which he dubbed *Kaige* due to the rendering of Hebrew כּאִיגֵי by *καίγῃ*, were present in other Hebrew–Greek translations dating to the late Hellenistic period. Current scholarship refers to the *Kaige*–Theodotion recension, though, as Gentry (2001: 85–6) emphasizes, the linguistic evidence points neither to a monolithic recension, nor even to a group of revisers, but rather to a shared model of translation (see Chapter 30).

There was undoubtedly an impetus for recension early on, and it is against this background that the transmission of the text should be understood. Trebelle Barrera (1998: 302) points out that by the first century CE the text used by a particular community could have been either the original Hellenistic version, or a revision more closely approximating a current form of the Hebrew text. Such heterogeneity is evident in the scriptural quotations of both Philo and the New Testament authors (Salvesen 2020). The Tannaitic period saw a continued interest in recension, resulting in new editions of the Greek Scriptures, in particular the so-called ‘Three’, Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. Much of what we know about these versions comes from Origen of Alexandria (185–254 CE), who in the early third century produced a synoptic edition of the Bible. Known as the Hexapla, the original was preserved for a number of generations in the library of Pamphilus at Caesarea, where it was consulted by scholars, and used to correct manuscripts of the Septuagint. Readings from the other versions made their way into biblical commentaries, catena texts, and the margins of ecclesiastical manuscripts (see Chapter 38).

Of the Tannaitic versions, the Theodotonic text is of particular significance to the received form of the Greek Bible, as it directly influenced its transmission. Most Septuagint manuscripts contain the Theodotonic version of Daniel, and Greek Job, originally shorter than the Hebrew, comes down to us conflated with material from Theodotion (Gentry 1995). Symmachus, which likely post-dates the others, is notable for the nice balance it strikes between the competing values of adequacy to the Hebrew and an acceptable Greek style (Salvesen 1991: 296–7; see Chapter 32). According to Origen (*Ep. Afr.* §2), Aquila was the preferred translation amongst those Jews without Hebrew in third-century CE Palestine (see Chapter 31). Like the *Kaige* (see Chapter 30), this recension is characterized by a high degree of formal equivalence. Its transparency to the Hebrew text may have made it a useful philological source: it is quoted ten times in rabbinic literature (Tov 2008: 373). Yet despite the popularity of Aquila, it is reasonable to infer the continued use of the earlier Hellenistic versions in Greek-speaking synagogues well into the Amoraic period (230–500 CE). So much is evident from a survey of both patristic and rabbinic sources (Boyd-Taylor 2010: 274–9).

The Reception of the Greek Scriptures in Byzantine Judaism

When Constantine the Great transferred the imperial capital from Rome to the city of Byzantium in 330 CE the Greek Scriptures still figured prominently in Jewish life, not only in the Diaspora, but also in Palestinian centres such as Caesarea. This state of affairs

likely persisted wherever Greek continued to serve as a first language for Jews (de Lange 1999: 148). An edict issued by the emperor Justinian in 553 CE (*Novella* 146) authorizes both Aquila's version and the Septuagint for use by his Jewish subjects.

What happened after the time of Justinian remains, however, somewhat uncertain. That Jews continued to use Greek versions is not in doubt. Nevertheless the inscriptional evidence would suggest that by the sixth century Greek had yielded to Hebrew as a liturgical language (de Lange 1999: 150). This development undoubtedly had a profound impact on the subsequent history of the Greek Scriptures. Displaced to an ancillary role, perhaps as an oral Targum, the character of the Greek text would have changed accordingly. A high degree of textual fluidity might be expected under such circumstances—a prediction confirmed to some extent by the textual evidence (de Lange 2010: 51).

Much of the relevant evidence is comprised of fragmentary manuscripts recovered from the Cairo Genizah in the late nineteenth century. These manuscripts extend chronologically from about the eighth to the twelfth century CE, and present a range of genres, including glossaries, scholia, and annotated biblical texts. The Greek is for the most part medieval and colloquial. Where readings of the Three are extant, they derive mainly from Aquila. There are, however, parallels with the Septuagint, a finding of considerable significance (Boyd-Taylor 2010: 282–7). While Fernández Marcos (2000: 176) envisions a number of distinct translations in circulation during this period, de Lange (2012: 379) has described the Greek Scriptures in Byzantine Judaism in terms of an evolving tradition, free and colloquial but with ancient roots (see Chapter 35).

THE GREEK OLD TESTAMENT

Although originally a Palestinian phenomenon, primitive Christianity used the Greek versions of the Jewish Scriptures from very early on. With the rapid spread of a missionary church at once predominantly Gentile and almost entirely Greek-speaking, the ascendancy of the Greek Bible was inevitable. The Septuagint withstood the internecine struggles of the second century CE, and emerged as the scriptural norm for the early church (Campenhausen 1972: 63). Its impact on the culture of late antiquity and the middle ages—both literate and popular—is incalculable. Translated into Latin, Coptic, and eventually Syriac (from Origen's LXX recension), not to mention Arabic, Ethiopic, Armenian, Slavonic, Gothic, and Georgian (see Chapters 42, 43, 44, 45), it gained immense scope beyond the Greek-speaking world. These so-called 'daughter versions' often marked the starting point for regional literary traditions (see Salvesen 2010).

Early Christian Scriptures

The earliest Christian source to invoke the Seventy is Justin's *Dialogue with Trypho* (c.150 CE). A fictional encounter between Justin and a Jewish interlocutor, the text is a key

witness to the scriptural practices of both Christians and Jews in the second century CE. An exchange over the virgin birth turns on a textual variant in the Greek version of Isa. 7:14. Whereas Trypho's text has 'behold the *young woman* (*νεᾶνις*) shall conceive', the Septuagint reads 'behold the *virgin* (*παρθένος*) shall conceive'. Justin attributes Trypho's text to Jewish adulteration of the prophetic witness of 'the seventy elders who were with Ptolemy' (§71). In this way he extends the authorial fiction of the Seventy beyond the Pentateuch and puts it to a new rhetorical use (Hengel 2004: 26).

Notwithstanding the charge of adulteration, Justin's argument with Trypho presupposes a common scriptural patrimony in the received text of the Septuagint. His real polemical target was not his Jewish contemporaries, but Christian Gnosticism (Campenhausen 1972: 92). Against Gnostic rejection of the Jewish Scriptures, Justin asserts a Jewish scriptural norm. He evidently had in mind a corpus roughly coextensive with the rabbinic Bible (Hengel 2004: 28–9). Yet it was the authority of the Greek version that was at stake; hence the importance of the Seventy as a source of legitimation. This was unavoidable. By Justin's time the church was all but cut off from Hebrew learning; insofar as its scriptural norm was the Jewish Bible, the Septuagint had to possess authority independently of its Hebrew source.

Growing popularity of Aquila amongst Greek-speaking Jews in the Amoraic period likely placed further pressure on the church to reassert the status of the Seventy. In an anonymous Christian document dating to the fifth century CE, the so-called *Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila*, the Jews are accused of possessing a falsified text in Aquila (Lahey 1999: 120–1). The author seems to regard the Septuagint as the exclusive heritage of the church. Interestingly enough this idea is not mirrored in rabbinic literature. While the rabbis embraced Aquila, there is no indication that they viewed the Greek Pentateuch as anything but Jewish. There is, however, evidence that some rabbis sought to relativize its authority. In a late stratum of tradition (bMeg. 9a–b), it is referred to as 'a Torah for King Ptolemy', an interesting spin on the legend of the Seventy, evidently aimed at delegitimizing a hitherto canonical text (Veltri 2006: 104).

Christian Recensions

By the third century CE the textual state of the Greek Scriptures was complex, and in some ecclesiastical centres there was an impetus for editorial intervention. From this time onward, the texts most commonly used in Christian churches were likely recensional (Jobes and Silva 2015: 48). According to Jerome (340–420 CE) there were three distinct recensions of the Septuagint prevalent in his time (*Praef. in Paralip.* 28.1324–5): (1) a text attributed to Origen, used in Palestine; (2) one attributed to a certain Hesychius and used in Egypt; and (3) another associated with the martyr Lucian (d. 311 CE), dominant throughout Asia Minor. While the Hesychian text continues to elude modern scholarship, the Origenic and Lucianic recensions are well attested.

On his own testimony, Origen (*Comm. Matt.* 15.14) produced a revised 'edition' (*ἐκδοσις*) of the Septuagint. Where there was disagreement between his manuscripts, he

adopted the reading which agreed with the Three (typically Theodotion); in the absence of a consensus, he noted the discrepancy, adapting the practice of editorial marking pioneered by the Hellenistic editors of Homer (Heine 2010: 42–9). Implicit in Origen's methodology is the use of the source text as an arbiter between textual variants in the Greek: the Three are a proxy for the Hebrew. If the scriptural theology of Justin attests to the Christianization of the Septuagint, then the textual criticism of Origen attests to its Hebraization (Salvesen 2003: 242). It seems unlikely that Origen intended his edition to displace the received text; nevertheless it was disseminated by ecclesiastical authorities and spread throughout Palestine and Syria. Although its influence was curbed after 400 CE due to the accusations of heresy brought against Origen, few surviving Septuagint manuscripts escaped its impact (Salvesen 2003: 245; see Chapter 38).

The so-called Lucianic recension was identified by modern scholarship for the books of Reigns and in the Prophets on the basis of textual agreements between certain Septuagint manuscripts and the scriptural quotations of Theodoret (393–457 CE) and John Chrysostom (347–407 CE), two Christian scholars associated with Antioch (ter Haar Romeny 1997: 35; see Chapter 37). The text exhibits opposing tendencies: on the one hand, the conservation of what were perceived to be older readings (often through conflation); on the other, stylistic improvement of the Greek together with explanatory additions. To account for the former it was hypothesized that the recension drew on an earlier Jewish revision (Jellicoe 1968: 168). With regard to the latter, work by Dörrie in 1940, followed by Barthélemy in 1963, raised the question of whether the text is rightly viewed as the product of systematic editorial intervention, rather than simply the evolution of a local (Antiochian) text-type (ter Haar Romeny 1997: 35–7). In this respect it is significant that no Lucianic text has yet been identified for the Pentateuch.

Christian Codices

The increasing textual stabilization of the Greek Scriptures in the late antique Christian milieu is attested by the order and contents of the uncial manuscripts of the fourth and fifth centuries CE. It is arguably no coincidence that these codices appear at roughly the same time as the earliest ecclesiastical lists of authoritative works (Hengel 2004: 57). Both reflect the institutionalization of the liturgy within an increasingly centralized religious polity. Yet local differences with respect to both order and contents persisted. The Septuagint never attained a definitive shape.

It is in the codices that the Christian Old Testament comes into view. Three manuscripts in particular—the great uncials—have decisively shaped our concept of the Septuagint: Codex Vaticanus, copied in the fourth century CE, and the oldest and best preserved of the three; Codex Sinaiticus, also dated to the fourth century (between 340 and 360 CE), and associated with the library of Pamphilus in Caesarea; and Codex Alexandrinus, dated to the fifth century CE (Jellicoe 1968: 177–88; see Chapter 10). These manuscripts originally contained the New Testament (and sometimes other Christian works), preceded by the Old Testament. The latter included the books of the rabbinic

canon as well as the other Jewish works which together comprise the so-called Apocrypha (see Chapter 26). Within the books shared by the Greek and Hebrew Bibles there are a number of differences in content. Most notably Daniel contains four compositions lacking in the Semitic text (the story of Susanna, Bel and the Dragon, the Prayer of Azarias, and the Song of the Three Children; see Chapter 20), and in some manuscripts, the Psalter has appended to it the so-called Odes, a collection of canticles excerpted from both testaments (see Chapter 26).

Whereas the Hebrew canon is invariably tripartite, consisting of the Law, Prophets, and Writings, the ordering of the Greek Old Testament was evidently of literary origin, and, as such, liable to variation (Swete 1902: 219). The Former Prophets (Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings) are typically grouped together with the historical works, and separated from the Latter Prophets by the poetical Writings. The non-poetical Writings are classified as either historical or prophetic works; hence the book of Daniel is included with the Prophets, and Ruth follows Judges. Descriptive titles are preferred, and where the Hebrew title consists of the first word or words of the book, its Greek counterpart is drawn from the contents (Swete 1902: 214). Elsewhere the two usually accord, though there remain salient differences, e.g. Samuel and Kings are grouped together in the Greek Bible as a four-part work entitled Reigns.

The stylistic, translational, and textual character of the books which comprise the great uncials is remarkably heterogeneous. This is attributable to two distinct factors (Trebolle Barrera 1998: 318). The first is internal: as indicated above, the texts had been produced at different times, and according to different models of translation. Some had undergone extensive recension; others had not. The second factor is external: the codices were produced by combining scrolls irrespective of textual form. The result is a variegated anthology of biblical texts. Yet the literary process underlying its compilation could hardly have been accidental, which raises the question of how to account for it. Joosten (2016: 689) attributes the distinct form of the Greek corpus to the scriptural practices of Alexandrian Jews, a proposal that warrants serious consideration.

The Hebraica Veritas

The authority of the Septuagint never faced a serious challenge in the Eastern Church. In the Latin West, however, it was subject to a crisis of confidence, crystallizing in the confrontation between Jerome and Augustine (Dines 2004: 77). Augustine (354–430 CE) regarded the translation as divinely inspired: the same Spirit that was in the prophets was also present in the Seventy, hence the Hebrew and Greek texts must be taken together to understand God's revelation (*Civ.* 18.43–4). Gallagher (2012: 208) sees this as the first sustained effort to divorce the authority of the biblical text from the Hebrew version. For Jerome, on the other hand, the Hebrew text held absolute primacy (Williams 2006: 124). With his decision to translate his new Latin version from the Hebrew the normative role of the Septuagint effectively ended for the Western church.

In Jerome the movement towards the Hebraization of the Christian Scriptures which had begun with Origen reached its logical conclusion (see Chapter 41).

THE OLD GREEK TEXT AND ITS INTERPRETERS

When the term ‘Septuagint’ entered the English language in the mid-sixteenth century CE from the Latin *septuaginta*, the philological study of Greek literature had only recently become part of the university curricula in England, and Greek language was still new to many scholars (Hardy 2015: 119). Yet a critical reckoning with the translation of the Seventy would become a desideratum for seventeenth-century scholarship. The Greek version could be used by polemicists to undermine the authority of the Hebrew and the Vulgate alike, and thus served both sides of the confessional debate, a state of affairs that would play a decisive role in the development of modern biblical studies (Hardy 2015: 118), ultimately leading to a new conception of the biblical text.

Early Modern Editions

Serious study of the Septuagint in early modern Europe was initially quite localized. It depended on manuscripts found in northern Italian libraries, and in part on the scholarship of the Greek exiles (Mandelbrote 2006: 76). The principal editions of this time were all ecclesiastical initiatives: the Complutensian Polyglot, printed at Alcalá de Henares in Spain between 1514 and 1517 under the auspices of the Archbishop of Toledo; the Aldine Septuagint, published in Venice in 1518; the Antwerp Polyglot of 1568–73; and the Roman (or Sixtine) Septuagint of 1587, commissioned by Pope Sixtus V (Hardy 2015: 123). These impressive publications emphasized the role of the Septuagint as a privileged witness to the Old Testament, a status which fitted coherently with the received Catholic understanding of scriptural tradition, but which for Protestant scholars would prove potentially threatening (Mandelbrote 2006: 74) (see Chapter 3).

Whatever their ecclesiastical allegiance, most Christian scholars of this period believed the translation of the Septuagint to have been providential. What was problematic for certain Protestants was the status of the Greek version relative to its Hebrew parent. According to the Westminster Confession (1646) only the Hebrew text was ‘immediately inspired by God’; moreover it ‘had been kept pure in all ages’ (§8). A serious challenge to the latter assumption came from Paul Morin’s *Exercitationes biblicae* (Paris, 1633). Morin argued that the received Hebrew text had been corrupted by its Jewish tradents, and that the Septuagint, especially the text of Codex Vaticanus, was consequently the more authentic scriptural witness (Mandelbrote 2006: 75).

Morin’s argument was obviously disquieting, and when Codex Alexandrinus was presented to Charles I of England, there was hope that it would vindicate the current

form of the Hebrew Bible. The axis of textual scholarship was already shifting, however, and Alexandrinus did not have the expected impact (Hardy 2015: 125). There was an emerging consensus that no manuscript of the Septuagint was free of interference from later tradition. At the same time, many scholars acknowledged that the received Hebrew text required mending. Henceforth the goal would be to establish the biblical text through the comparison of witnesses. In practice, however, this meant the preparation of diplomatic editions, in which variants were collated to the text of a single manuscript. Thus Brian Walton used Vaticanus as the base text of the London Polyglot in 1690, but included variants from Alexandrinus. This set the pattern until the advent of critical editions in the twentieth century, until which time the so-called Sixtine edition served as the *Textus Receptus*.

Modern Editions

All existing manuscripts of the Septuagint are eclectic, which is to say, they contain spurious material from later revised editions or recensions; critical scholarship aims to rid the text of all such confections (Wevers 1985: 21). Propaedeutic to this task is collation. The first major collation of Septuagint manuscripts was completed by Holmes and Parsons in 1827. This publication paved the way for the manual edition of Henry Barclay Swete (1887–94), followed by the more ambitious undertaking of Brooke, McLean, and Thackeray, known as the *Larger Cambridge Septuagint* (1906–40), which was only partially completed. Both editions provided a diplomatic text based on Vaticanus, though the Cambridge edition introduced a critical apparatus drawing on the Greek manuscript evidence as well as the daughter versions, and a second apparatus containing Hexaplaric readings. A watershed occurred in the early twentieth century, when the Göttingen scholar Alfred Rahlfs produced a partially critical edition of the Septuagint in 1935. Rahlfs's text was based on Vaticanus, but incorporated preferred readings from Alexandrinus and Sinaiticus. For most practical purposes Rahlfs's edition has come to define the Septuagint. A recent revision by Robert Hanhart in 2006 guarantees the ongoing influence of this important work.

For the purposes of scholarship, however, the volumes produced by the Göttingen *Septuaginta-Unternehmen* since 1908 have superseded all previous editions. The series aspired to establishing through critical means the earliest recoverable form of the text. While the three great uncials (especially Vaticanus) continued to play a fundamental role, all available textual evidence was taken into account. This breadth of coverage was unprecedented. The Göttingen Septuagint also saw a significant methodological development over the course of its publication. Whereas the earlier practice had been to rely on manuscript combinations to determine secondary readings, John William Wevers, who edited the *Pentateuch*, made translation technique his Archimedean point (Wevers 1985: 26). In this way the Hebrew source was brought back into the textual critical picture as an arbiter of Greek manuscript variants (see Chapter 3).

Septuagint Studies Today

Western scholarship, at least since the early modern period, has tended to regard the Septuagint primarily as a textual witness to its parent (Law 2013: 168). In recent years, however, there has been a burgeoning interest in the Old Greek versions as products of Hellenistic Judaism. There is undoubtedly a wealth of information yet to be gleaned. Attention is also turning to the multiplicity of ancient Greek versions, their transmission and recension, not merely as textual witnesses, but as documents—and indeed material artifacts—in their own right.

With respect to the interpretation of the Old Greek, current discussion tends to circle around the question of how the phenomenon of translation should be conceptualized (Wagner 2013: 2–5). In this regard, the field is polarized by two rival conceptions of the object of study. We may follow Pietersma (2008: 487) in distinguishing between the text-as-produced, on the one hand, and the text-as-received, on the other. The text-as-produced is framed in terms of cross-linguistic transfer—the text *qua* translation—and hence with respect to the processes (or transformations) underlying its production. The text-as-received, conversely, is conceptualized as a product of the receptor culture—the translation *qua* text. Each approach draws its own hermeneutic inferences. By adopting the former one locates textual meaning in the translator’s manipulation of the source text; by adopting the latter one’s interpretative commitments are more reader-oriented. The integration of these two perspectives is a desideratum for the field.

Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) offers a partial solution. Under DTS translation is theorized as an interplay of two sets of cultural norms: those which determine the *adequacy* of the translation to the source text, and those which determine its *acceptability* to the target culture (Boyd-Taylor 2011: 55–62). Production and reception are thus functionally related. Yet this is not yet interpretation. Pietersma (2008: 495–8) usefully supplements DTS by drawing upon Paul Ricoeur’s concept of the text as dialogical. Wagner (2013: 37–45) looks to the semiotics of Umberto Eco, specifically the idea of the Universal Encyclopedia. A very different path is marked out by Gauthier (2014: 82–104), who has recourse to the work of Ernst-August Gutt, a key figure in current translation theory. Gutt views translation as inherently interpretative, and mobilizes the relevance theory of Sperber and Wilson to give a unified account of its communicative function.

Future Prospects

In antiquity the received text of the Septuagint was an oracular document for Jews and Christians alike—words with power, normative for belief. This of course remains true in Eastern Christianity, where there is a rich exegetical tradition based on the Greek text. For Western scholarship the Septuagint is typically treated as an historical document. Yet one detects the stirrings of a movement reaching beyond the historical-critical paradigm.

A desire to read the text as literature in its own right has given rise to rhetorical and stylistic studies (Bons and Kraus 2011). Meanwhile the Greek versions are increasingly

subject to methodologies and modes of analysis developed for other purposes. Not only are Septuagint scholars adopting interdisciplinary approaches, but the corpus has attracted investigators from other disciplines, including corpus linguistics, statistics, and cognitive linguistics, a trend that has in large part been facilitated by the digital humanities (Garcés 2014). At the same time there have been exegetical stirrings, and one notes the recent calls for a reappropriation of the Septuagint as a scriptural witness (Law 2013: 169). It is hoped that this call will lead to renewed theological engagement with the text.

SUGGESTED READING

Aitken (2015: 1–9) provides a succinct and recent overview of Septuagint studies, and the rest of the volume devotes a chapter to each book of the corpus. The *Journal of Septuagint and Cognate Studies*, as its name suggests, has a particular focus on current Septuagint research, and vols. 50 and 51 (2017: 7–127; 2018: 9–64) include several articles on the current state of Septuagint research in various countries. Wright's commentary on *The Letter of Aristeas* (2015) gives a detailed commentary on the work as well as a full survey of previous scholarship. For further reading on Descriptive Translation Studies as applied to Septuagint translations, see van der Louw (2007). Lee (2018) is the most recent book-length study to examine the language of the Septuagint Pentateuch in the light of the Greek of the period.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aitken, J. K. (2015). *T & T Clark Companion to the Septuagint*. London: Bloomsbury T & T Clark.
- Aitken, J. K. (2015). 'Introduction', in J. K. Aitken, ed., *T & T Clark Companion to the Septuagint*, 1–12.
- Aitken, J. K. and L. Cuppi (2015). 'Proverbs', in J. K. Aitken, ed., *T & T Clark Companion to the Septuagint*, 341–55.
- Barthélemy, D. (1963). *Les Devanciers d'Aquila*. VT Sup 10. Leiden: Brill.
- Barthélemy, D. (1978). 'Pourquoi la Torah a-t-elle été traduite en grec?', in D. Barthélemy, ed., *Études d'histoire du texte de l'Ancien Testament*. OBO 21. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 322–40.
- Bickerman, E. J. (1959). 'The Septuagint as a Translation'. *PAAJR* 28: 1–39.
- Bons, E., and T. J. Kraus, eds. (2011). *Et Sapienter et Eloquentes: Studies on Rhetorical and Stylistic Features of the Septuagint*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Boyd-Taylor, C. (2010). 'Echoes of the Septuagint in Byzantine Judaism', in W. Kraus, M. Karrer, and M. Meiser, eds., *Die Septuaginta: Texte, Theologien, Einflüsse*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 272–88.
- Boyd-Taylor, C. (2011). *Reading between the Lines: The Interlinear Paradigm for Septuagint Studies*. BTS 8. Leuven: Peeters.
- Boyd-Taylor, C. (2018). 'Faithful Scribes and Phantom Texts: Jewish Transmission of the Septuagint Prior to the Amoraic Period', in M. Meiser, M. Geiger, et al., eds., *Die Septuaginta: Geschichte, Wirkung, Relevanz*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 359–82.
- Brock, S. P. (1972). 'The Phenomenon of the Septuagint'. *Old Testament Studies* 17: 11–36.

- Brock, S. P. (1992). 'To Revise or Not to Revise: Attitudes to Jewish Biblical Translation', in G. J. Brooke and B. Lindars, eds., *Septuagint, Scrolls and Cognate Writings*. SBLSCS 33. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 301–38.
- Cohen, N. G. (2007). *Philo's Scriptures: Citations from the Prophets and the Writings*. JSJSup 123. Leiden: Brill.
- Cook, J., and A. van der Kooij (2012). *Law, Prophets, and Wisdom: On the Provenance of Translators and Their Books in the Septuagint Version*. BETL 68. Leuven: Peeters.
- Cox, C. E. (2015). 'Job', in J. K. Aitken, ed., *T & T Clark Companion to the Septuagint*, 385–400.
- de Lange, N. (1999). 'A Thousand Years of Hebrew in Byzantium', in W. Horbury, ed., *Hebrew Study from Ezra to Ben-Yehuda*. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 147–61.
- de Lange, N. (2010). 'The Greek Bible Translations of the Byzantine Jews', in R. S. Nelson and P. Magdalino, eds., *The Old Testament in Byzantium*. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 39–54.
- de Lange, N. (2012). 'The Greek Bible in the Medieval Synagogue', in R. Bonfil, O. Irshal, et al., eds., *Jews in Byzantium: Dialectics of Minority and Majority Cultures*. Leiden: Brill, 371–84.
- Dines, J. (2004). *The Septuagint*. London: T&T Clark.
- Faulkenberry Miller, J. B. (2007). '4QLXXLeva and Proto-Septuagint Studies: Reassessing Qumran Evidence for the Urtext Theory', in M. T. Davis and B. A. Strawn, eds., *Qumran Studies: New Approaches, New Questions*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1–28.
- Fernández Marcos, N. (2000). *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Versions of the Bible*. Tr. W. G. E. Watson. Leiden: Brill.
- Foucault, M. (1977). 'What Is an Author?', in D. F. Bouchard, ed., *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*. Tr. D. F. Bouchard and S. Simon. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 113–38.
- Gallagher, E. L. (2012). *Hebrew Scripture in Patristic Biblical Theory: Canon, Language, Text*. VigChr Sup 114. Leiden: Brill.
- Garcés, J. (2014). 'The Seventy and Their 21st Century Heirs', in C. Clivaz, A. Gregory, and D. Hamidović, eds., *Digital Humanities in Biblical, Early Jewish and Early Christian Studies*. Leiden: Brill, 93–143.
- Gauthier, R. X. (2014). *Psalms 38 and 145 of the Old Greek Version*. Leiden: Brill.
- Gentry, P. J. (1995). *The Asterisked Materials in the Greek Job*. Septuagint and Cognate Studies Series 38. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.
- Gentry, P. (2001). 'The Greek Psalter and the *καί γέ* Tradition: Methodological Questions', in R. Hiebert, C. Cox, and P. Gentry, eds., *The Old Greek Psalter*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 74–97.
- Hardy, N. (2015). 'The Septuagint and the Transformation of Biblical Scholarship in England, from the King James Bible (1611) to the London Polyglot (1657)', in K. Killeen, H. Smith, and R. Willie, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of the Bible in Early Modern England, c. 1530–1700*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 117–30.
- Heater, H. (1982). *A Septuagint Translation Technique in the Book of Job*. CBQMS 11. Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America.
- Heine, R. E. (2010). *Origen: Scholarship in the Service of the Church*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hengel, M. (2004). *The Septuagint as Christian Scripture: Its Prehistory and the Problem of Its Canon*. Tr. M. E. Biddle. London: T & T Clark.
- Hody, H. (1684). *Contra historiam Aristee de LXX interpretibus dissertatio*. Oxford.
- Holladay, C. R. (1983). *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors, Volume I: Historians*. Chico, CA: Scholars Press.

- Honigman, S. (2007). 'The Narrative Function of the King and the Library in the Letter of Aristeas', in T. Rajak, S. Pearce, et al., eds., *Jewish Perspectives on Hellenistic Rulers*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 128–46.
- Jellicoe, S. (1968). *The Septuagint and Modern Study*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Jobes, K. H., and M. Silva (2015). *Invitation to the Septuagint*. 2nd edn. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker.
- Joosten, J. (2016). 'The Origin of the Septuagint Canon', in S. Kreuzer, M. Meiser, and M. Sigismund, eds., *Die Septuaginta: Orte und Intentionen*. WUNT 361. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 688–99.
- Kahle, P. (1915). 'Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Pentateuchtextes'. *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* 88: 399–439.
- Kahle, P. (1959). *The Cairo Genizah*. 2nd edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kraft, R. (2003). 'The "Textual Mechanics" of Early Jewish LXX/OG Papyri and Fragments', in S. McKendrick and O. A. O'Sullivan, eds., *The Bible as Book: The Transmission of the Greek Text*. London: British Library, 51–72.
- Lahey, L. (1999). 'Hebrew and Aramaic in the Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila', in W. Horbury, ed., *Hebrew Study from Ezra to Ben-Yehuda*. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, pp. 106–21.
- Law, T. M. (2013). *When God Spoke Greek: The Septuagint and the Making of the Christian Bible*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Lee, J. A. L. (2018). *The Greek of the Pentateuch: Grinfield Lectures on the Septuagint 2011–2012*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Louw, Th. van der (2007). *Transformations in the Septuagint: Towards an Interaction of Septuagint and Translation Studies*. CBET 47. Leuven/Paris/Dudley, MA: Peeters.
- Mandelbrote, S. (2006). 'English Scholarship and the Greek Text of the Old Testament, 1620–1720: The Impact of Codex Alexandrinus', in A. Hessayon and N. Keene, eds., *Scripture and Scholarship in Early Modern England*. Aldershot: Ashgate, pp. 74–93.
- Mélèze Modrzejewski, J. (1995). *The Jews of Egypt: From Rameses II to Emperor Hadrian*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Müller, M. (1996). *The First Bible of the Church: A Plea for the Septuagint*. JSOTSS 206. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- Orlinsky, H. M. (1975). 'The Septuagint as Holy Writ and the Philosophy of the Translators'. *HUCA* 46: 89–114.
- Pietersma, A. (2002). 'A New Paradigm for Addressing Old Questions: The Relevance of the Interlinear Model for the Study of the Septuagint', in J. Cook, ed., *Bible and Computer*. Leiden: Brill, 337–64.
- Pietersma, A. (2008). 'Text-Production and Text-Reception: Psalm 8 in Greek', in M. Kasser, W. Kraus, and M. Meiser, eds., *Die Septuaginta: Texte, Kontexte und Lebenswelten*. WUNT 219. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 487–501.
- Pietersma, A., and B. G. Wright (2007). 'To the Reader of NETS', in A. Pietersma and B. Wright, eds., *A New English Translation of the Septuagint*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, xiii–xx.
- Pym, A. (2004). *The Moving Text: Localization, Translation and Distribution*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Rajak, T. (2009). *Translation and Survival: The Greek Bible of the Ancient Jewish Diaspora*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Salvesen, A. (1991). *Symmachus in the Pentateuch*. JSSSup 15. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

- Salvesen, A. (2003). 'A Convergence of the Ways? The Judaizing of Christian Scripture by Origen and Jerome', in H. Becker and A. Y. Reed, eds., *The Ways That Never Parted: Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 233–58.
- Salvesen, A. (2010). 'A Well-Watered Garden (Isaiah 58:11)', in R. J. V. Hiebert, ed., *'Translation is Required': The Septuagint in Retrospect and Prospect*. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 191–208.
- Salvesen, A. (2020). 'Jewish Greek Scriptures ("Septuagint") in the First and Second Centuries: What Did Early Christian Authors Have in Their Hands When They "Searched the Scriptures"?', in R. Deines and M. Wreford, eds., *Epiphanies of the Divine in the Septuagint and the New Testament: V. International Symposium of the Corpus Judaeo-Hellenisticum Novi Testamenti, 14–17 May 2015, Nottingham*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 3–31.
- Seidman, N. (2006). *Faithful Renderings: Jewish-Christian Difference and the Politics of Translation*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Sundberg, A. C. (1964). *The Old Testament of the Early Church*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Swete, H. B. (1902). *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*. 2nd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- ter Haar Romeny, R. B. (1997). *A Syrian in Greek Dress: The Use of Greek, Hebrew, and Syriac Biblical Texts in Eusebius of Emesa's Commentary on Genesis*. Leuven: Peeters.
- Thackeray, H. St. J. (1921). *The Septuagint and Jewish Worship: A Study in Origins*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Tov, E. (2008). 'Evolution of the Greek Scripture Translations in Rabbinic Sources', in *Hebrew Bible, Greek Bible and Qumran: Collected Essays*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 365–77.
- Tov, E. (2010). 'Reflections on the Septuagint', in W. Kraus, M. Karrer, and M. Meiser, eds., *Die Septuagint: Texte, Theologien, Einflüsse*. WUNT 252. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 3–22.
- Trebolle Barrera, J. (1998). *The Jewish Bible and the Christian Bible: An Introduction to the History of the Bible*. Tr. W. G. E. Watson. Leiden: Brill.
- Veltri, G. (2006). *Libraries, Translations and 'Canonic' Texts: The Septuagint, Aquila and Ben Sira in the Jewish and Christian Traditions*. Leiden: Brill.
- von Campenhausen, H. (1972). *The Formation of the Christian Bible*. Tr. J. A. Baker. Philadelphia, PA: Fortress.
- Wagner, J. R. (2013). *Reading the Sealed Book*. FAT 88. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Wasserstein, A., and D. J. Wasserstein (2006). *The Legend of the Septuagint: From Classical Antiquity to Today*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wevers, J. W. (1977). 'The Earliest Witness to the LXX Deuteronomy'. *CBQ* 39: 240–4.
- Wevers, J. W. (1978). *Text History of the Greek Deuteronomy*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Wevers, J. W. (1985). 'An Apologia for Septuagint Studies'. *BIOSCS* 18: 16–38.
- Wevers, J. W. (1988). 'Barthélemy and Proto-Septuagint Studies'. *BIOSCS* 21: 23–34.
- Wevers, J. W. (1990). 'Pre-Origen Recensional Activity in the Greek Exodus', in D. Fraenkel, U. Quast, and J. W. Wevers, eds., *Studien zur Septuaginta: Robert Hanhart zu Ehren*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 121–39.
- Williams, M. H. (2006). *The Monk and the Book: Jerome and the Making of Christian Scholarship*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Wright, B. G. (2013). 'Pseudonymous Authorship and Structures of Authority in the Letter of Aristeas', in I. Kalimi, T. Nicklas, and G. Xeravits, eds., *Scriptural Authority in Early Judaism and Ancient Christianity*. Göttingen: de Gruyter, pp. 43–61.
- Wright, B. G. (2015). *The Letter of Aristeas: 'Aristeas to Philocrates' or 'On the Translation of the Law of the Jews'*. CEJL. Berlin: de Gruyter.

CHAPTER 2

THE HISTORY OF SEPTUAGINT STUDIES

Early Modern Western Europe

SCOTT MANDELBROTE

INTRODUCTION

THE study of the Septuagint in the West between the fifteenth and the nineteenth centuries can be divided into three distinct phases. To some extent these reflect the impact of humanism, the growth of new techniques of criticism in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and the scepticism towards received textual authority that characterized eighteenth-century attitudes to the past. They might equally be thought of in terms of the reactions to three great uncial manuscript codices of the Septuagint, identified by Western scholars respectively in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and nineteenth centuries: Codex Vaticanus, Codex Alexandrinus, and Codex Sinaiticus. Such a division was not foreign to early nineteenth-century criticism: it was, for example, implied by the Franeker theologian, librarian, and Semitic scholar Jacobus Amersfoort (1786–1824). He separated the modern history of textual emendation of the Old Testament into the foundational period from the publication of the Complutensian polyglot Bible to the late seventeenth century; the critical age inaugurated by the preparations of Johann Ernst Grabe (1666–1711) for a new edition of the Septuagint based on Codex Alexandrinus; and the contemporary world of collation and emendation characterized by the editorial labours begun by Robert Holmes (1748–1805) that Amersfoort himself reviewed (Amersfoort 1815: 23–50).

SOME BACKGROUND REMARKS

Knowledge of the Septuagint both shaped and was shaped by the upheavals of the Reformation and the confessionalization of Europe during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Awareness of the complexity of the Septuagint text grew

alongside the success with which manuscripts were collected and studied. Partisanship for the Septuagint as a unique source for revealed truth and the best means of reconciling the Old Testament with the New reached its zenith in the second half of the seventeenth century. Doubts about the extent to which historical evidence corroborated belief in the inspiration of the Septuagint thereafter encouraged an increasingly complex attitude to the transmission of the Old Testament, which recognized, among other things, the variety of linguistic versions that bore witness to the Greek tradition of the Hebrew Bible. The idea of recovering that tradition in full survived well into the nineteenth century, as did the belief that it might provide a uniquely accurate transmission of revealed truth. At the same time, the growth of new historical techniques of analysing the language, composition, and antiquity of the Hebrew Bible fundamentally altered the status of all the surviving witnesses of the text, including the Septuagint. Increasingly, the Septuagint helped scholars to understand the mortal processes of the transmission and indeed creation of Scripture, instead of offering to uncover aspects of divine revelation that human beings had obscured.

Information about the Septuagint came initially from two sources which have always remained important for study of the Greek Bible. First, the manuscript tradition of the Old Testament in Greek itself, as represented by the establishment of a complete text based on a hierarchy of witnesses. In its infancy at the start of the sixteenth century, this endeavour acquired greater depth and sophistication through a succession of discoveries made in libraries located in Western Europe, Greece, Egypt, and the Ottoman Empire. Textually significant manuscripts made princely gifts, whether they were loans made from the Vatican Library to Cardinal Jiménez de Cisneros; books procured from his friends by Benito Arias Montano, acting as an editor for Philip II of Spain; or pawns sacrificed by Cyril Lucaris, beleaguered Patriarch of Constantinople, in an effort to raise the stakes offered by competing foreign ambassadors (Delitzsch 1886; Sáenz-Badillos 1990; Dunkelgrün 2012; Roberts 1967; Davey 2000). They were trophies carried off by paid agents building the royal library in Paris in the late seventeenth century, extracted by gentlemanly travellers for their own collections a hundred and fifty years later, or expropriated for the Tsar's library from the monks at St Catherine's monastery in 1859 (Darouzès 1950; Curzon 1881; Elliott 1982). The growing textual complexity to which they bore witness, however, was put in context by the second source that shaped understanding of the Septuagint. This was awareness of the patristic tradition of citation of the Bible in Greek and of the history of the editing of the text, beginning with the Hexapla compiled by Origen at Caesarea in the third century. Argument based on patristic usage of the Septuagint and engagement with the reconstruction of the Septuagint column of the Hexapla developed over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as Western scholarship on the Greek Fathers grew in importance. It was, however, shaped throughout the period by what Latin writers such as Augustine or Jerome had said about the creation, authority, and significance of the Greek Old Testament (Grafton and Williams 2006; Schär 1979; Pollman and Otten 2013; Rice 1985; Law 2013: 128–66). As such, understanding of the Septuagint was consistently situated in the context of debate over issues such as the divine inspiration of Scripture, the preservation and survival of revealed truth over time, and the importance or otherwise of

vernacular communication for the successful transmission of God's word. Polemical testimony about the origins of the Septuagint provided by patristic authors such as Justin Martyr and the authority of supposedly historical sources such as the so-called *Letter of Aristeas* paved the way for positive assessment of editions of the Septuagint as they appeared in the sixteenth century. Debate over the usefulness of the Septuagint would take place in the setting generated by the evaluation of sources about the history of the Church, whether Jewish or Gentile, in the centuries immediately before and after the birth of Jesus. In that debate, Classical philology played as important a role as ecclesiastical history, knowledge of Hebrew and its related languages, or the concerns of editors or critics of the biblical text itself (Wasserstein & Wasserstein 2006; Canfora 1996; Lebram 1975).

Modern critics have largely rejected Paul Kahle's technical representation of the Septuagint as a Greek Targum (Jellicoe 1968: 59–63; Fernández Marcos 2000: 53–7, 101–3). Nevertheless, it is instructive to consider the early modern reception of the Septuagint for a moment in this way. Early modern readers knew and used the Septuagint in part through its effects on liturgical practice and in part as a result of traditions of learned commentary on fragments of the biblical text. They did so because of their recognition of the role of the Septuagint as translated in the Old Latin version of the Psalms that persisted in the Vulgate (and indeed because of the difficulties which they faced in untangling the Latin text of the Psalter: see Dunkelgrün 2012: 296–319). More profoundly, their knowledge of the text depended in large part on its fragmentary transmission in the exegetical context of the Byzantine tradition of *catenae*. Early modern readers made themselves aware of the Septuagint alongside their discovery of other *targumim*, for example on the pages of the earliest printed polyglot Bibles (Houtman, Van Staaldvine-Sulman, Kirn 2014). The dissemination of such texts complicated the story of the transmission and readership of the Hebrew Bible. In similar fashion, access by scholars in early modern Western Europe to Samaritan, Arabic, Syriac, or Ethiopic versions of all or part of the Old Testament raised complex questions relating to the identity and use of the original text of the Bible which were solved for many in the seventeenth century by positing a relationship that gave primacy to the Septuagint over the Hebrew Bible. Moreover, as early as the mid-sixteenth century, scholars recognized that the reconstruction of such an *Urtext* of the Greek Old Testament might require its recovery from manuscripts preserving it in translation: in particular, the Syro-Hexaplaric version of Joshua (Masius 1574; cf. Norberg 1787; Bugatus 1788).

FROM THE COUNCIL OF FLORENCE TO THE COUNCIL OF TRENT

Western European attitudes to the Septuagint were shaped by debates that took place within local intellectual cultures and in the context of the confessional development of the Catholic and Protestant Churches following the Reformation. Nevertheless, from

the start they were also affected by the relationship between the Western and Eastern Churches, both before and after the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453. Changes in this relationship, especially as a result of the consolidation of Ottoman domination of the Levant, south-eastern Europe, and the eastern Mediterranean in the early sixteenth century and the subsequent efforts of Western European powers both to limit Ottoman expansion and to exploit contacts with Eastern Christians for competitive political, confessional, missionary, and commercial benefit, shaped both the availability of sources for the study of the Septuagint and knowledge of and interest in the linguistic tools necessary for such study. This was apparent as early as the discussions for the union of Churches that took place at the Council of Florence in 1438–9, which, among other things, established the ongoing position of the Catholic Church, largely confirmed at the Council of Trent in the mid-sixteenth century, that the canon of Scripture consisted for the Old Testament of the books to be found in the Septuagint and was thus not confined to the Hebrew Bible. A member of the Greek delegation at Florence, Bessarion (1403–72), moreover, took a leading role after his return to Italy at the end of 1440 in establishing a bridge between the world of Byzantine scholarship and the burgeoning interest in Greek as well as Latin classics that was a feature of fifteenth-century humanism. His patronage embraced many Greek exiles who would help promote the teaching of the language in Italian schools and whose activity as scribes helped to establish the forms of humanist Greek in both script and print, as well as supplying libraries with copies of texts that they sought from the East. Bessarion's own collection, donated to the Church of San Marco in Venice from 1468 and eventually made available to scholars from the 1490s, included several of the manuscripts from which the text of the Septuagint was first established in print in the early sixteenth century (Labowsky 1979; Wilson 1992; Ciccolella 2008).

Patronage of Greek scribes and scholars, alongside interest in the inspiration provided by the account of the stocking of the library of Alexandria given in the *Letter of Aristeas*, contributed to the establishment of the Vatican Library by Nicholas V in the mid-fifteenth century. They continued to shape the institutional development, self-presentation, and iconography of that institution over the next century and a half, particularly during the papacy of Sixtus V (Manfredi 2010; Frascarelli 2012). The Vatican was not the only ecclesiastical library in Italy to possess or copy manuscripts containing Septuagint texts. Such texts had indeed been known in monastic libraries such as that of Monte Cassino throughout the Middle Ages. But the industry with which Vatican librarians and copyists collected, catalogued, and collated manuscripts of the Septuagint would eventually play a unique role in the editing and printing of the Greek Bible in the second half of the sixteenth century.

The initial publication of texts based on the Septuagint reflected the liturgical use of the Bible among exile communities of Greeks in Italy and the broader market served in particular by the Venetian press. Editions of the Psalter were published in Milan in 1481, by Cretan exiles in Venice in 1486, and, before October 1498, by the greatest humanist printer of that city, Aldus Manutius (1449–1515). Within a few years, Aldus was planning a trilingual edition of the Bible, in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin (Barker 1985; Flogaus 2008).

Among the Greeks who worked with Aldus was Demetrius Ducas (c.1480–c.1527), who took up a chair of Greek at the University of Alcalá and worked there with Hernán Núñez de Guzmán on what would become the first printed text of the Septuagint. Alcalá was one of a number of universities and colleges in which the teaching of Greek took on a new significance in the early sixteenth century. Its patron, Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros (1436–1517), was also the moving spirit behind the preparation and publication of the Complutensian polyglot Bible, in which the Greek Old Testament was printed with an interlinear Latin translation prepared by Juan de Vergara. The Complutensian text of the Septuagint, which ran through the four Old Testament volumes of the polyglot, drew on manuscripts lent by the Vatican and a copy of one of Bessarion's codices sent by the Venetian Senate. It was also based on other texts that Cisneros had collected, some of which remain unidentified but appear to have preserved readings that are otherwise unattested except in papyri that have become available only in modern times (Delitzsch 1886; Sáenz-Badillos 1990; Fernández Marcos 2005; O'Connell 2006; Barthélemy 1990). Printed in an edition of 600 copies (of which more than 150 survive), the Old Testament volumes of the Complutensian polyglot were completed in July 1517 but appear not to have been distributed until after 1520, when a papal privilege was obtained for the publication (Norton 1966: 38–9). Copies were available in Rome by December 1521, by which time, however, the successors of Aldus in Venice had issued their own edition of the Septuagint in 1518, representing the Old Testament part of a Greek Bible that also reprinted the New Testament which Erasmus had recently established.

Although edited from a relatively narrow base of manuscripts, the Aldine Septuagint overseen by Andrea Torresani (1451–1528) provided the text that was most often reprinted in the sixteenth century. That text was widely distributed in northern as well as southern Europe thanks to the efforts of publishers in Strasbourg (1524–6), Basel (1545), and Frankfurt (1597). From the point of view of a biblical editor, none of these sixteenth-century editions is adequately explicit about its use of manuscript sources or its relationship to earlier printed texts. The annotations of early readers thus often draw attention to discrepancies between them, to departures from the expected order of the biblical text (whether compared to the Hebrew, the Vulgate, or other Septuagint editions), as well as to differences between the biblical text as printed and citations given in works of the Fathers. Both the Strasbourg and Basel editions carried prefaces (in the latter case, by Philip Melancthon) that were censored when the books circulated, as they did extensively, in Catholic Europe, and particularly when intended for the use of readers in Spain or Italy.

The editorial conservatism of these publishing ventures must be contrasted with the most intellectually important biblical editions of the later sixteenth century, which were the product of the reformation of the Catholic Church that gathered pace from the 1540s to the 1560s. The earliest of these editions to be published (1568–73) was the Antwerp polyglot Bible, printed by Christophe Plantin (c.1520–89). It was edited by Arias Montano (c.1525–98), who was assisted by Willem Canter and others in his work on the Septuagint, which drew heavily on the Complutensian polyglot but also made use of

manuscripts (for example, a fifteenth-century Octateuch provided by John Clement) unknown to earlier publications (now Glasgow University Library, MS Gen. 322). Both Montano and another of Plantin's authors, Andreas Masius (1514–73), had access to collations made in Rome. Alongside Montano's work, Masius completed an edition of the book of Joshua in Greek on which he had been working since the 1550s and which was published posthumously in 1574. This sought to restore the text known to Origen, in part through the witness of a manuscript of a seventh-century Syriac translation of the Septuagint, which preserved the critical symbols of the Hexapla. Masius endeavoured to show how both the Hebrew and the Greek Old Testaments might be brought in closer conformity to the Vulgate through appropriate textual and historical criticism that recognized the processes of their composition over time. By privileging the editorial work of Origen, he placed faith in the work of the critic who dealt with what he called a 'mixed' text of the Septuagint, rather than in the prospect of the discovery of a single, pure manuscript tradition of that translation. In doing so, he regarded himself as treading in the tradition of the Complutensian polyglot. For his immediate predecessors, who had reissued the Aldine text in print, claiming disingenuously to have collated additional witnesses for the first time, he had nothing but contempt (Masius 1574; François 2009; Greenspoon 1998).

Less successful commercially, but at least as important intellectually, was the eventual publication of the Roman edition of the Septuagint, with some of whose editors Masius had collaborated in the 1550s. In discussions leading up to the fourth session of the Council of Trent (8 April 1546), the authority and authenticity of the Vulgate and its relationship to other forms of Scripture was extensively explored, in part due to consideration of the Protestant preference for vernacular translations of the Bible (Sutcliffe 1948). The biblical canon endorsed at Trent included many Old Testament texts found originally in the Septuagint and the production of a new edition was widely canvassed (Buschbell 1916: 446–521). Under the patronage of Cardinal Marcello Cervini (1501–55), Guglielmo Sirleto (1514–85) superintended the work of Roman scholars, notably Niccolò Maiorano (c.1491–c.1585) and Basilio Zanchi (1501–58), in collating manuscripts with the testimony of the Greek Fathers. By the mid-1550s, Sirleto and his colleagues had established the importance of Codex Vaticanus, a fourth-century manuscript that can be identified retrospectively in catalogues of the Vatican Library since 1481 (Skeat 1984; Pisano 2009). Although Sirleto hesitated about its absolute antiquity compared to either manuscripts of the Vulgate or those of the Church Fathers, Codex Vaticanus took centre stage in the process of revising the copy text provided by the Aldine Septuagint in work that gained renewed impetus in the late 1570s from Gregory XIII's interest in fostering missionary activity among Greek-speaking Christians. On 2 March 1578, the Pope charged Cardinal Antonio Carafa (1538–91) with the emendation of the Septuagint. Carafa brought together a commission to prepare the text, which was seen through the press by Fulvio Orsini (1529–1600) and was eventually published with the authority of Sixtus V in 1587 (Höpfl 1908; 1913).

One of the achievements of the Roman Septuagint was an extensive apparatus of annotations designed to set the text in the tradition of editing established by Origen and

consequently outlining the relationship between it and the alternative second-century traditions of translation of the Old Testament into Greek (attributed, variously, to Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion), with an eye also on the Hebrew. Reference was made in the printed text to variations from the biblical citations of the Greek Fathers. Such intertextual awareness was particularly apparent in the apparatus of the parallel Latin translation, which attempted to reconstruct the ‘Vetus Latina’, prepared by Flaminio Nobili (1532–90) and published in 1588.

At the end of the 1580s, therefore, four decades of dedicated editorial work on the Septuagint came to fruition. The result was both astonishing in its ambition to reconstruct lost texts and to demonstrate the history of the biblical understanding of the Church and deeply disappointing. It was marred by very many typographical errors and by confusions introduced by inadequate collation and the transfer of work between different generations of editors. Even Catholic critics, such as Robert Bellarmine (1542–1621), questioned the presumption lying behind the edition, that the Vulgate should be revised from the Septuagint. Bellarmine noted that Jerome had primarily based his own work on the Hebrew Bible (Le Bachelet 1911). Nevertheless, nobody could afford to ignore the Roman Septuagint and the critical assumptions to which it gave form continued to be debated into the nineteenth century. Protestants wondered to what extent its text was definitive and critics of every persuasion had to take notice of the special status that it accorded to Codex Vaticanus, the authority that it conveyed on the practices of Origen, and the apparent endorsement by the Papacy of the story of the inspiration of the Septuagint told in the *Letter of Aristeas*.

A NEW BEGINNING IN CRITICISM, FROM JOSEPH SCALIGER TO ISAAC VOSSIUS

Catholic theologians had not always been so open to the possibilities raised by the Septuagint. Juan Luis Vives (1492–1540), for example, noted Jerome’s reservations about the translation to undermine Augustine’s endorsement of the miraculous story of its creation in *The City of God*. Agostino Steuco (1497–1548) dwelt on the corruption of the surviving Greek text and its difference from the ancient version that Eusebius had commended. He pointed out that Jerome had translated from the Hebrew and not from the Greek (Delph 2008). John Fisher (c.1469–1535) advanced the position later endorsed by Bellarmine that the translators of the Septuagint had made mistakes in rendering the Hebrew text. It was, moreover, the agreement of the Hebrew Bible, not the Greek Old Testament, with the teachings of the Holy Spirit that could be determined from the consent of the Fathers (Rex 1992; Le Bachelet 1911: 103–6). What made this argument more complex, however, was the ongoing debate over the relative status of the Vulgate, and in particular the claims made by vernacular translators of the Bible working after the editorial labours of Erasmus on the New Testament, that modern versions of the text might

represent the original more faithfully than Jerome or any ancient editor had done (Rummel 1995: 96–125; Rummel 2000: 30–49). This was what had driven Roman humanist editors back to the sources for the use of the Bible in the early Christian Church, including the Septuagint.

It was unfortunate for those editors that the terms of scholarship were changing by the beginning of the seventeenth century. Under the umbrella provided by increasingly confessionalized academies such as the recently founded University of Leiden, comparative, historical, and sceptical methods of textual criticism were being developed and improved. The achievement of the most successful pioneers of the new forms of the art of criticism, Joseph Scaliger (1540–1609) and Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614), was to reshape the canon of texts bearing on the history of the ancient world, including that of the Jewish people, and to resituate the practices of early Christianity and its immediate predecessors within a cultural history known and knowable more fully from contemporary Jewish and pagan sources (De Jonge 2016; Grafton 2016). By September 1605, Scaliger had decided that the *Letter of Aristaeus* was ‘a falsehood of Hellenistic Jews’ and, shortly afterwards, he published the argument that its author did not know the political structure of the Jewish people as it had been at the time when he was supposedly writing (Grafton 1983–93, vol. 2: 706–7; Botley and van Miert 2012, vol. 2: 132–7; vol. 6: 212–17).

The contenders for Scaliger’s mantle at Leiden, Daniel Heinsius (1580–1655) and Claude Saumaise (1588–1653), quarrelled bitterly over the status of the language of the New Testament, in which quotations from the Septuagint frequently appeared. For Heinsius, the Greek of the New Testament was a dialect, derived from that of the Septuagint, in which Hebrew concepts were expressed in Greek words. Against this, Saumaise denied that so-called Hellenistic Greek constituted a spoken dialect and argued instead that similarities between words in the Septuagint or New Testament and Hebrew or Aramaic modes of expression derived directly from translation (Lebram 1975). This dispute was given relevance and immediacy by the role taken by Heinsius in editing and annotating the New Testament and by Saumaise’s position in public debate over the accuracy of the authorized translation (*Statenvertaling*) of the Bible into Dutch, which had appeared in 1637 (Van Miert 2015).

In the hands of translators familiar with the methods of Scaliger and Casaubon, such as the English cleric and contributor to the King James Bible of 1611 John Bois (1561–1644), ancient texts and critics were set in dialogue with modern scholars. It was important to place style in the balance alongside philological accuracy and theological orthodoxy in determining the meaning that the Holy Spirit had intended (Hardy 2015). The job of criticism was to restore the text as it ought to have been, rather than simply to purge manuscript witnesses of obvious error. In this context, the achievements of Catholic scholarship had to be taken appropriately seriously, but the confessional weight placed on them required careful rebuttal. Was the true Hebrew text of the Bible recoverable from corruptions introduced by later generations of rabbinic commentators? Was the Septuagint in fact a better witness to the intentions of the Holy Spirit in revealing God’s word to humanity? If the Septuagint had value, what version of its text could be reconstructed: was there a single original, and if so could it be discovered, or did only a ‘mixed’ and historically indeterminate set of versions survive?

These were the scholarly rocks on which some of the most able theologians and linguists of the early seventeenth century broke their heads and which they tried to scour with the help of a succession of textual discoveries, each of which promised briefly to clean off the layers of uncertainty that obscured the lost original state of the Bible. First the Samaritan Pentateuch, then further discoveries of Ethiopic, Syriac, and Coptic biblical texts offered the chance to view parts of the Old Testament through new lenses. They did so in ways that were quickly open to confessional exploitation. The Franeker scholar Johannes Drusius (1550–1616) explored the possibility that apocryphal literature might cast light on the historical meaning of Old Testament texts, searched out the complex web of citation between the Septuagint and the New Testament, and tried to reconstruct the surviving fragments of the Hexapla. For his pains, and in common with other leading exegetes of the New Testament, he was suspected of doubting the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity (Tromp 2007; Korteweg 2006).

Textual discoveries underpinned the new edition of the Septuagint, with parallel Latin translation based on Nobili's version of the 'Vetus Latina', prepared by Jean Morin (1591–1659) at the request of the *Assemblée du clergé* and published in 1628. Morin was a convert from Protestantism who joined the Oratory in Paris. His work on the Septuagint and on the Samaritan Pentateuch destabilized contemporary assumptions about the authority of the Masoretic text of the Hebrew Bible, as presented in printed rabbinic Bibles. He set out the argument that quotation from the Septuagint in the New Testament indicated that its text might be held to be more reliable than the Hebrew Bible (Morin 1628, vol. 1, preface; Auvray 1959). Through his contacts with scholars active in the circle of Cardinal Francesco Barberini in Rome, Morin was closely involved with a new generation of collecting and investigation in Italian libraries and with preparations for a new Roman edition of the Septuagint (which was never completed). Morin's writings on the Septuagint increased the focus on the role of Origen as an editor who had rescued a Christian Bible from the corruption attendant on the rabbinic transmission of the Hebrew text. Increasingly, Origen emerged as a rival textual figure to Jerome, and the Septuagint became a vehicle for the communication of God's word whose value might eclipse that of the Vulgate. Part of the impetus for such judgements lay in the patronage on offer in support of new editions: first in Antwerp (where Plantin's successor, Balthasar Moretus, planned a new polyglot Bible in the early 1620s that would incorporate the work of the Roman editions of 1587 and 1588), then in Rome, and finally in Paris, where a range of scholars explored evidence from Greek, Arabic, Samaritan, and Syriac sources that eventually found their way into the Paris polyglot Bible (1628–45). Much of the confidence of Morin and his colleagues derived from new manuscript discoveries, both in the Levant (above all, the text of the Samaritan Pentateuch) and in European libraries (in particular, Codex Marchalianus (now *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, MS Vat. Gr. 2125), which Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld had recently presented to the library of the Jesuits in Paris). In this context, the supremacy of Codex Vaticanus and the work of the Roman editors of the late sixteenth century began to look less secure (Herklotz 2008: 101–18; Imhof 2014).

Morin's knowledge of manuscripts and the support that he was able to give to other scholars helped to develop more complex attitudes to the role of criticism and interpretation in establishing how to read the Bible. Louis Cappel (1585–1658), the Huguenot scholar of Saumur, treated the Hebrew Bible and the Septuagint as parallel witnesses to the text of the Old Testament, neither of which could provide certainty about its historical standing without constant critical intervention (Laplanche 1986: 181–327). Dialogue with the publications of Morin and Cappel informed two generations of textual scholars working in England, and also in Dublin and Paris, under the patronage of James Ussher (1581–1656), Archbishop of Armagh. Ussher's prejudice in favour of the primacy of the Hebrew Bible and his argument that the surviving text of the Septuagint was impure and completed from later Greek versions of the Bible did not prevent the circulation of enthusiastic claims for the authority of a new manuscript of the Septuagint, later dubbed 'Codex Alexandrinus' (and now known to date from the fifth century), which had been given to the English crown by the Patriarch of Constantinople. Exchanges of information between libraries and scholars in England and France, in particular, helped to broaden and complicate the work of editing the Greek version of the Old Testament for the new polyglot Bibles which were published in Paris during the 1640s and London during the 1650s (Miller 2001a; 2001b). From 1628 until his death, Patrick Young (1584–1652), the royal librarian in London, worked tirelessly to establish the ancient provenance of Codex Alexandrinus, to understand the light that it cast on the canon of the New Testament, to explore its relationship to alternative traditions of the Septuagint, and to prepare a critical collation of its text that might be published (Hardy 2015). His findings were posthumously incorporated into the text and apparatus of the London polyglot by its editor, Brian Walton (who also gave the manuscript its familiar name), in a fashion that left many questions about the status and significance of the text uncertain.

The London polyglot was the last such edition of the Bible, modelled on the example of the Hexapla, to make it into print. Despite its achievements in establishing comparative criteria for the text and in printing a version that might be used creatively by scholars, it neither settled uncertainty about the authority and purity of the surviving text of the Septuagint, nor decided for contemporaries the relationship between extant biblical manuscripts and the editorial practices and decisions of Origen. By the time of its publication in the mid-1650s, moreover, debate had widened in three historical areas related to Septuagint studies. The first concerned the identity or otherwise of the supposed original text of the Hebrew Bible and the commonly available Masoretic text (a debate with sixteenth-century origins that proved particularly divisive in exchanges between scholars belonging to different reformed communities among Protestants and that focussed on the antiquity and significance of the vowel points in Hebrew) (Muller 1980). The second was the interaction between the Old and the New Testaments, both in terms of the fulfilment of prophecy and the analogy of faith, and in terms of specifics such as the language and manner of reference to the Old Testament in the New (Lebram 1975; de Jonge 1980; Nellen 2007: 506–18). At the heart of such discussion, for writers such as John Selden, Hugo Grotius, or Thomas Hobbes, was the question of the relationship between the Jewish Church and the Church established by Christ. Finally, a

third area of debate discussed the chronology of the history of the world and of the Church, and brought into focus the differences between the accounts of time given in the Hebrew, Samaritan, and Greek versions of the Old Testament, and the problem of reconciling the Hebrew chronology, in particular, with newly discovered secular accounts of time, for example the lists of Egyptian or Chinese dynasties.

The publications on the true age of the world and on the Septuagint translators of Isaac Vossius (1618–89) that appeared in 1659 and 1661 respectively intervened decisively in these conversations. They addressed polemically the main threats posed to orthodox exegesis by naïve acceptance of the primacy of the Hebrew text and argued powerfully instead for the inspired nature of the Septuagint, its purity and authority, and the ignorance of both true Hebrew and genuine religion of the Masoretes. Published initially as little more than pamphlets and promoted through the zealous pursuit of controversial opponents in print, the work of Vossius commanded surprisingly wide assent and continued to be discussed across Catholic and Protestant Europe over the next fifty years. It attracted the ire of Morin's most distinguished successor among Oratorian scholars, Richard Simon (1638–1712), who was well aware of the limitations in traditional interpretations of the Hebrew Bible, but equally sceptical about credulity concerning the Septuagint. The controversial nature of Simon's own writings and the heat of his engagement with Vossius seriously interested the Roman Inquisition in arguments about the authority of the Septuagint for the first time since the publication of Masius's edition of Joshua. By the end of the century, the claims of Vossius about the importance of the chronology given in the Septuagint had been championed by the Cistercian historian Paul Pezron (1639–1706) in France and defended by English authors such as Robert Cary (1615–88). Vossius and his allies had similarly succeeded in rehabilitating a lost world of Jewish religion and Messianism relating to the period nearest to the time of Christ, to be found in the so-called apocryphal books of the Bible that survived only in Greek and in the works of Josephus (who largely repeated the chronology of the Septuagint). In this way, they might appear to have given back historical context and authenticity to the Septuagint as the Bible of the Jewish as well as the Christian religion, and to have surmounted the doubts about its authority raised by Scaliger and others almost a hundred years earlier (Jorink and van Miert 2012; Roebuck 2016).

FROM THE ENTHRONEMENT OF CODEx ALEXANDRINUS TO THE DISCOVERY OF CODEx SINAITICUS

In 1686, the Congregation of the Index condemned Vossius's various publications on the Septuagint. Less than two years before that, Humphrey Hody (1659–1707) had resuscitated Scaliger's intuition about the falsehoods involved in the supposed authorship of and apparent historical claims made by the *Letter of Aristeas* (Hody 1684). He demonstrated

that it could not have been written when it claimed and that its probable author was a later Jewish scholar, of just the kind denigrated by Vossius, who had forged, with consequent anachronism, the documents that purported to make up most of its text. Able though Hody undoubtedly was, his conclusions in this regard depended on arguments that seemed self-evident to sceptical lay people as well as professional clerical scholars. Thus, Anthonie van Dale (1638–1708), a Haarlem physician, reached broadly equivalent conclusions in a treatment of the *Letter of Aristeas* that was conceived in the mid-1690s but not published until 1705, and which had been planned without sight of Hody's writings. Similarly, by 1694, members of the Benedictine congregation of St Maur at Saint-Germain-des-Prés, notably Jean Martianay (1647–1717), had dismantled Pezron's claims and forced him to account for his views before the Archbishop of Paris.

By undermining the providential history of the creation of the Septuagint, Hody's work also enabled a more thoroughgoing re-evaluation of the contribution of Origen to the historical process of editing and commenting on the Greek Bible. Pierre-Daniel Huet (1630–1721), later tutor to the Dauphin, published his edition of Origen's commentaries on Scripture in 1668. Supplementing the work of his Maurist colleagues, Bernard de Montfaucon (1655–1741), the greatest of contemporary students of Greek manuscripts and palaeography, considered embarking on a full edition of Origen's works in 1696. By 1713, he had completed a reconstruction of the surviving evidence relating to the Hexapla, which demonstrated that the oldest and most reliable manuscripts of the Old Testament were those that were marked with Origen's critical signs.

The identification of the hand of Origen in the compilation of the text of the Septuagint that was preserved in Codex Alexandrinus was one of the primary tasks that Johann Ernst Grabe (1666–1711) set himself in the edition of the Septuagint that he began preparing for the press from about 1703. Grabe rejected Codex Vaticanus, which he believed represented a later recension, in favour of an edition of Codex Alexandrinus that would display Origen's methods and bring the text closer to its original form. In 1707, Grabe's edition began to appear from the Oxford University Press, which had first proposed an edition of the Septuagint based on Codex Alexandrinus as long ago as 1672. The work was interrupted, however, by Grabe's death and completed only in 1720, by which time it had outlived a further editor. The reception of Grabe's edition was complicated by its long gestation and by contemporary scholarly politics which placed the ecclesiastical ideology of Grabe and his closest allies on the wrong side of splits in the early eighteenth-century Church of England. Despite this, and particularly once reprinted by Johann Jakob Breitinger in Zurich between 1730 and 1732, Grabe's work established itself as the model for a critical text of the Septuagint.

Access to a standard text in itself posed problems for eighteenth-century editors and readers. Many wished to apply to the Old Testament the opportunities for improvement, emendation, conjecture, and criticism that had been provided for the text of the New Testament by the collections (published in 1707) of Grabe's intellectual patron, John Mill. The success of contemporary New Testament criticism was exemplified in the edition (published in 1751–2) of Johann Jakob Wettstein. Before Grabe, scholars confronting the Greek Old Testament worked either with editions based on Codex Vaticanus

(which included the most readily available pocket edition of the Septuagint, printed with a preface by John Pearson at Cambridge in 1665 and reprinted by Amsterdam booksellers in 1683, or the quarto produced by the Franeker professor of Greek, Lambert Bos, in 1709) or with editions (like the London polyglot) that left the reader to perform the further task of comparison and evaluation largely unaided. Both situations led to confusion. In theory, Grabe's work ought to have solved this, but in practice it suffered from its editor's choice of the Roman edition of the Septuagint as his copy text. Just as the Roman editors had introduced false readings into their version of the Septuagint that derived from the copy of the Aldine Septuagint into which they entered much of their work, so Grabe and his colleagues similarly mixed readings drawn from Codex Vaticanus and elsewhere unintentionally with a text supposed to reconstruct the tradition represented by Codex Alexandrinus. This was further complicated by decisions concerning copy-editing made by Breitinger in reprinting Grabe's edition, which seemed to present contradictory readings to unwary eyes (Rutherford 1762: 38–9).

Grabe's collections and correspondence established the importance of judgements of palaeography and script in assessing the significance of Septuagint manuscripts. Tracings of manuscripts that he had obtained were further copied and circulated more widely among scholars in Germany and elsewhere. Montfaucon's writings reinforced the need to reassess the hierarchy of manuscript witnesses to the Greek text and encouraged the reconsideration of the editorial history that had produced that text in its surviving form. The expansion of European collecting meant that there remained important witnesses whose value had not been adequately assessed by any editor (for example, the Vienna Genesis). Their significance seemed to be enhanced by awareness of the destruction of other manuscripts which scholars had only imperfectly considered, in particular that of the Cotton Genesis as a result of the fire at Ashburnham House in 1731.

Attitudes to the Hebrew Bible changed also by the mid-eighteenth century. Scholars in both Britain and France were less willing to accept the Masoretic text as a given beyond which criticism could not improve. Dutch critics in particular advanced the value of Arabic in providing a particular route into knowledge of the working of the Hebrew of the Bible independent of rabbinic scholarship (Van den Berg 1982–3). German theologians began to explore the history of the Old Testament and the understanding of its language and culture in the context of knowledge of the contemporary Middle East as well as that of the world of Classical and patristic scholarship (Legaspi 2010). The discovery in Italian libraries of new Syro-Hexaplaric witnesses to the Septuagint, of evidence for the Tetrapla, and the recovery of Judaeo-Greek texts promised similarly to provide comparators for existing knowledge of the Greek Old Testament and to open up traditions behind the standard history of the transmission of its text for scholars and critics working in the 1770s and 1780s.

By then, the weaknesses of Grabe's work had become all too apparent to a critic like Henry Owen (1716–95). These were not only the product of typographical and editorial error but affected the conception of the project itself. In particular, to the mid-eighteenth-century eye, Grabe had been too concerned to bring the Septuagint into

conformity with the received Hebrew text of the Old Testament. What was needed instead was the opportunity not to replace that text by the Septuagint, as Vossius had appeared to contend, but to use the Septuagint as one means among several to remedy the corruption of copies and the losses wrought by time (Owen 1769). Lying behind such attitudes was a realization that the work of sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century critics in establishing the printed text of the Hebrew Bible and the vernacular translations that were based on it might require more than trivial revision.

Two substantial undertakings, both to some extent inspired by Owen, and each involving considerable outlay of expenditure and time on the part of scholars and printers, set out to remedy this state of affairs. One was an effort to present the text of Codex Alexandrinus precisely in a facsimile printed with type that had been cut specially to imitate the manuscript. This began with the New Testament (prepared by Charles Godfrey Woide (1725–90) in 1786), and was later taken up for the Psalter and the Old Testament by Henry Baber (1775–1869), in volumes published between 1812 and 1821. The second was a collation of manuscripts of the Septuagint towards a full, critical edition of the Greek Old Testament based on the model of working established in the 1760s for the text of the Hebrew Bible by Benjamin Kennicott. Robert Holmes embarked on this work in spring 1788, eventually locating some 300 manuscripts on which to base the readings of his revised text of the Septuagint. He wished to press the case for the Septuagint as means to rectify difficult readings, solve problems of chronology, and highlight the primitive origins of the Old Testament, without contending for its superiority over the Hebrew Bible. Holmes enlisted the help of scholars across Europe, in particular Giovanni Bernardo de Rossi in Parma and Christian Friedrich von Schnurrer in Tübingen, to help provide collations. Slowed by the effects of the French Revolutionary Wars on European libraries and scholarly communication, Holmes completed only the first Pentateuch volume of his edition before his death. His work was continued by James Parsons (1762–1847), with the remaining volumes appearing in 1818 and 1827. For some modern commentators, the achievement of Holmes and Parsons in collecting and assessing the manuscript evidence constituted the dawn of a new era in Septuagint studies (Jellicoe 1968: 1–3).

It might be permitted, however, to wonder how far this was true. From the time of Mill, Grabe, and Richard Bentley, considerable progress had been made in developing a critical method that would allow for the emendation of texts and the study of relationships between them on the basis of their historical descent from earlier exemplars (Timpanaro 2005). German scholars, in particular, had advanced such a method in their study of the New Testament and of Classical literature. Yet students of the Septuagint mostly continued to conceive such questions through the prism of consideration of the activities of Origen and his contemporaries. Their work was complicated by the large number of manuscripts, and of competing textual traditions, that had come to light, but it had yet to be transformed conceptually by it. That complication was not lessened by the discoveries of new generations of manuscript hunters during the early nineteenth century, prominent among them Lobegott Friedrich Constantin von Tischendorf (1815–74). Tischendorf's most notorious achievement was the removal of the fourth-century Codex Sinaiticus from the monastery of St Catherine's

on Mount Sinai, which he effected in two stages in 1844 and 1859. In the 1840s, he printed a number of Old Testament passages drawing on the new text that he had found and on his readings, enhanced by the operation of new chemical reagents, drawn from palimpsestic manuscripts, in particular Codex Ephraemi Syri Rescriptus (a manuscript in the French royal library that had defeated Montfaucon). In 1850, Tischendorf published his own edition of the Septuagint, adding references taken from the facsimile of Codex Alexandrinus and from his work on Codex Sinaiticus and Codex Ephraemi Syri Rescriptus to an earlier nineteenth-century reworking of the Sixtine text (1824, edited by Leander van Ess). Even for Tischendorf, at this stage, the relative inaccessibility of Codex Vaticanus (which was re-edited inadequately by Cardinal Angelo Mai in 1857) was a significant problem (Elliott 1982).

For Edward Grinfield (1785–1864), also writing in 1850, the reliability of Codex Vaticanus was compromised by what he took to be its deliberate concealment. The work to edit the Septuagint had yet properly to begin. Grinfield, who was one of the principal contemporary advocates of the teaching of the Septuagint to modern theological students, continued to believe in the providential origin of the text, even though he accepted Hody's demolition of the authority of the *Letter of Aristeas*. His sense of the importance of the Septuagint rested on the re-evaluation of the status of the Masoretic text that had been begun by Morin and Cappel two hundred years earlier. His interpretation of its creation drew on the insights about the relationship between Hellenistic Judaism and the New Testament originally advanced by Scaliger and his students. Knowledge of the Septuagint remained, therefore, an essential route to the recovery of God's word in its purest form. Self-consciously, this attitude looked back to the work of sixteenth-century editors and was shaped by their discovery: that the oldest surviving manuscripts of the Old Testament, in any language, were the uncial codices of the Septuagint (Grinfield 1850a; 1850b). These were attitudes that would be transformed by later nineteenth-century approaches to the history of Israel and the text of the Hebrew Bible, by new techniques of manuscript study that became commonplace only after 1850, and eventually by new kinds of discovery in the twentieth century about the history of early Christianity and the textual environment in which it grew.

SUGGESTED READING

Höpfl (1913) and Lebram (1975) remain indispensable introductions to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century debate over the Septuagint. An important contribution that considers English and French critics of the early seventeenth century is Hardy (2015). Topics discussed here are developed at further length in some of my own publications (Mandelbrote 2004; 2006; 2010; 2012; 2016a; 2016b). (The assistance of the Leverhulme Trust in the preparation of those publications is gratefully acknowledged.)

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Amersfoort, Jacobus (1815). *Dissertatio philologica de variis lectionibus Holmesianis*. Leiden: Luchtmans.

- Auvray, Paul (1959). 'Jean Morin (1591–1659)'. *RB* 66: 397–413.
- Barker, Nicolas (1985). *Aldus Manutius and the Development of Greek Script and Type in the Fifteenth Century*. Sandy Hook: Chiswick Book Shop.
- Barthélemy, J. D. (1990). 'Les Relations de la Complutensis avec le Papyrus 967', in D. Fraenkel, U. Quast, and J. W. Wevers, eds., *Studien zur Septuaginta: Robert Hanhart zu ehren*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 253–61.
- Botley, Paul, and Dirk van Miert, eds. (2012). *The Correspondence of Joseph Justus Scaliger*, 8 vols. Geneva: Droz.
- Bugatus, Caietanus (1788). *Daniel secundum editionem LXX. interpretum*. Milan: Biblioteca Ambrosiana.
- Buschbell, Godofredus, ed. (1916). *Concilii Tridentini epistularum, pars prima*. Freiburg: Herder.
- Canfora, Luciano (1996). *Il viaggio di Aristeia*. Rome: Laterza.
- Ciccolella, Federica (2008). *Donati Graeci: Learning Greek in the Renaissance*. Leiden: Brill.
- Curzon, Robert (1881). *Visits to Monasteries in the Levant*, 6th edn. London: John Murray.
- Darouzès, Jean (1950). 'Manuscripts originaires de Chypre à la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris'. *Revue des études byzantines* 8: 162–96.
- Davey, Colin (2000). 'Fair Exchange? Old Manuscripts for New Printed Books', in R. Cormack and E. Jeffreys, eds., *Through the Looking Glass: Byzantium through British Eyes*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 127–34.
- De Jonge, Henk Jan (1980). *De Bestudering van het Nieuwe Testament aan de Noordnederlandse universiteiten en het Remonstrants Seminarie van 1575 tot 1700*. Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandse Uitgevers Maatschappij.
- De Jonge, Henk Jan (2016). 'Joseph Scaliger's Treatise *De apocryphis Bibliorum* (ca. 1591)', in A. Blair and A.-S. Goeing, eds., *For the Sake of Learning: Essays in Honor of Anthony Grafton*. Leiden: Brill, 91–104.
- Delitzsch, Franz (1886). *Fortgesetzte Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Complutensischen Polyglotte*. Leipzig: Edermann.
- Delph, Ronald K. (2008). 'Emending and Defending the Vulgate Old Testament: Agostino Steuco's Quarrel with Erasmus', in E. Rummel, ed., *Biblical Humanism and Scholasticism in the Age of Erasmus*. Leiden: Brill, 297–318.
- Dunkelgrün, Theodor William (2012). 'The Multiplicity of Scripture: The Confluence of Textual Traditions in the Making of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible (1568–1573)', unpublished PhD thesis (University of Chicago).
- Elliott, J. K. (1982). *Codex Sinaiticus and the Simonides Affair*. Thessaloniki: Patriarchal Institute for Patristic Studies.
- Fernández Marcos, Natalio (2000). *The Septuagint in Context*, trans. W. G. E. Watson. Leiden: Brill.
- Fernández Marcos, Natalio (2005). 'Un manuscrito complutense redivivo'. *Sefarad* 65: 65–83.
- Flogaus, Reinhard (2008). 'Aldus Manutius and the Printing of Greek Liturgical Texts', in L. Pon and C. Kallendorf, eds., *The Books of Venice*. Venice: La Musa Talia, 207–30.
- François, Wim (2009). 'Andreas Masius (1514–1573): Humanist, Exegete and Syriac Scholar'. *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 61: 199–244.
- Frascarelli, Dalma (2012). 'Immagini e parole: Il programma iconografico degli affreschi sistini alla vaticana', in M. Ceresa, ed., *La Biblioteca Vaticana tra riforma cattolica, crescita delle collezioni e nuovo edificio (1535–1590)*. Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 334–77.

- Grafton, Anthony (1983–93). *Joseph Scaliger: A Study in the History of Classical Scholarship*, 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Grafton, Anthony (2016). “‘Pandects of the Jews’: A French, Swiss and Italian Prelude to John Selden”, in S. Mandelbrote and J. Weinberg, eds., *Jewish Books and their Readers*. Leiden: Brill, 169–88.
- Grafton, Anthony, and Williams, Megan (2006). *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Greenspoon, Leonard J. (1998). ‘A Preliminary Publication of Max Leopold Margolis’s *Andreas Masius*, together with His Discussion of Hexapla-Tetrapla’, in Alison G. Salvesen, ed., *Origen’s Hexapla and Fragments*. TSAJ 58. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 39–69.
- Grinfield, E. W. (1850a). *An Apology for the Septuagint*. London: Pickering.
- Grinfield, E. W. (1850b). *An Expostulatory Letter to the Right Rev. R. Wiseman, D.D. on the Interpolated Curse in the Vatican Septuagint*. London: Pickering.
- Hardy, Nicholas (2015). ‘The Septuagint and the Transformation of Biblical Scholarship in England, from the King James Bible (1611) to the London Polyglot (1657)’, in K. Killeen, H. Smith, and R. Willie, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of the Bible in Early Modern England, c. 1530–1700*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 117–30.
- Herklotz, Ingo (2008). *Die Academia Basiliensia: Griechische Philologie, Kirchengeschichte und Unionsbemühungen im Rom der Barberini*. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder.
- Hody, Humphrey (1684). *Contra historiam Aristee de LXX interpretibus*. Oxford: L. Lichfield.
- Höpfl, Hildebrand (1908). *Kardinal Wilhelm Sirlets Annotationen zum Neuen Testament*. Freiburg: Herder.
- Höpfl, Hildebrand (1913). *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Sixto-Klementinischen Vulgata*. Freiburg: Herder.
- Houtman, A., E. van Staaldoune-Sulman, and H.-M. Kirn, eds. (2014). *A Jewish Targum in a Christian World*. Leiden: Brill.
- Imhof, Dirk (2014). *A Never Realized Edition: Balthasar Moretus’s Project of a Polyglot Bible*. Antwerp: Plantin-Moretus Museum.
- Jellicoe, Sidney (1968). *The Septuagint and Modern Study*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Jorink, Eric, and Dirk van Miert, eds. (2012). *Isaac Vossius (1618–1689) between Science and Scholarship*. Leiden: Brill.
- Korteweg, Peter (2006). *De nieuwtestamentische commentaren van Johannes Drususius (1550–1616)*. Melissant: n.p.
- Labowsky, Lotte (1979). *Bessarion’s Library and the Biblioteca Marciana*. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura.
- Laplanche, François (1986). *L’Écriture, le sacré et l’histoire: Érudits et politiques protestants devant la Bible en France au XVIIe siècle*. Amsterdam: APA-Holland University Press.
- Law, T. M. (2013). *When God Spoke Greek. The Septuagint and the Making of the Christian Bible*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Le Bachelet, Xavier-Marie (1911). *Bellarmin et la Bible Sixto-Clémentine*. Paris: Beauchesne.
- Lebram, J. C. H. (1975). ‘Ein Streit um die Hebräische Bibel und die Septuaginta’, in Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer and G. H. M. Posthumus Meyjes, eds., *Leiden University in the Seventeenth Century*. Leiden: Brill, 20–63.
- Legaspi, Michael C. (2010). *The Death of Scripture and the Rise of Biblical Studies*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Mandelbrote, Scott (2004). ‘Biblical Scholarship at Oxford in the Mid-Eighteenth Century: Local Contexts for Robert Lowth’s *De sacra poesi hebraeorum*’, in J. Jarick, ed., *Sacred Conjectures*. London: T. & T. Clark, 3–24.

- Mandelbrote, Scott (2006). 'English Scholarship and the Greek Text of the Old Testament, 1620–1720: The Impact of Codex Alexandrinus', in A. Hessayon and N. Keene, eds., *Scripture and Scholarship in Early Modern England*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 74–93.
- Mandelbrote, S. (2010). 'Origen against Jerome in Early Modern Europe', in S.-P. Bergjan and K. Pollman, eds., *Patristic Tradition and Intellectual Paradigms in the Seventeenth Century*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 105–35.
- Mandelbrote, S. (2012). 'Isaac Vossius and the Septuagint', in E. Jorink and D. van Miert, eds., *Isaac Vossius (1618–1689) between Science and Scholarship*. Leiden: Brill, 85–117.
- Mandelbrote, S. (2016a). 'The Letter of Aristeas: Three Phases in the Readership of a Jewish Text', in S. Mandelbrote and J. Weinberg, eds., *Jewish Books and Their Readers*. Leiden: Brill, 15–44.
- Mandelbrote, S. (2016b). 'When Manuscripts Meet: Editing the Bible in Greek during and after the Council of Trent', in A. Blair and A.-S. Goeing, eds., *For the Sake of Learning: Essays in Honor of Anthony Grafton*. Leiden: Brill, 251–67.
- Manfredi, Antonio (2010). 'La nascita della Vaticana in età umanistica da Niccolò V a Sisto IV', in Manfredi, ed., *Le origini della Biblioteca Vaticana tra umanesimo e rinascimento (1447–1534)*. Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 147–236.
- Masius, Andreas (1574). *Iosvæ imperatoris historia*, [ed. Franciscus Raphelengius]. Antwerp: Plantin.
- Miller, Peter (2001a). 'The "Antiquarianization" of Biblical Scholarship and the London Polyglot Bible (1653–57)'. *Journal of the History of Ideas* 62: 463–82.
- Miller, Peter (2001b). 'Making the Paris Polyglot Bible: Humanism and Orientalism in the Early Seventeenth Century', in H. Jaumann, ed., *Die europäische Gelehrtenrepublik im Zeitalter des Konfessionalismus*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 59–85.
- Morin, Jean, ed. (1628). *Vetus testamentum, secundum LXX*, 3 vols. Paris: Buon/Chappelet/Estienne/Sonnus.
- Muller, Richard A. (1980). 'The Debate over the Vowel Points and the Crisis in Orthodox Hermeneutics'. *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 10: 53–72.
- Nellen, Henk (2007). *Hugo de Groot: Een leven in stijl om de vrede 1583–1645*. Amsterdam: Balans.
- Norberg, Mathias (1787). *Codex Syriaco-Hexaplaris Ambrosiano-Mediolanensis*. Lund: Berling.
- Norton, F. J. (1966). *Printing in Spain 1501–1520*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- O'Connell, Séamus (2006). *From Most Ancient Sources: The Nature and Text-Critical Use of the Greek Old Testament Text of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible*. Fribourg: Academic Press.
- Owen, Henry (1769). *An Enquiry into the Present State of the Septuagint Version of the Old Testament*. London: White.
- Pisano, Stephen (2009). 'L'histoire du Codex Vaticanus B pendant quatre siècles: Les notes inédites du cardinal Mercati', in P. Andrist, ed., *Le manuscrit B de la Bible (Vaticanus graecus 1209)*. Lausanne: Éditions du Zèbre, 105–18.
- Pollmann, Karla, and Willemien Otten, eds. (2013). *The Oxford Guide to the Historical Reception of Augustine*, 3 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rex, Richard (1992). 'St John Fisher's Treatise on the Authority of the Septuagint'. *JTS* n.s. 43: 56–116.
- Rice, Eugene F., Jr (1985). *Saint Jerome in the Renaissance*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Roberts, R. J. (1967). 'The Greek Press at Constantinople in 1627 and Its Antecedents'. *The Library*, 5th series 22: 13–43.

- Roebuck, Thomas (2016). “‘Great Expectation among the Learned’: Edward Bernard’s Josephus in Restoration Oxford.’ *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 23: 307–25.
- Rummel, Erika (1995). *The Humanist-Scholastic Debate in the Renaissance and Reformation*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Rummel, Erika (2000). *The Confessionalization of Humanism in Reformation Germany*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Rutherford, Thomas (1762). *A Second Letter to the Reverend Dr Kennicott*. Cambridge: Bentham.
- Sáenz-Badillos, Ángel (1990). *La filología bíblica en los primeros helenistas de Alcalá*. Estella: Verbo Divino.
- Schär, Max (1979). *Das Nachleben des Origenes im Zeitalter des Humanismus*. Basel: Helbing & Lichtenhahn.
- Skeat, T. C. (1984). ‘The Codex Vaticanus in the Fifteenth Century.’ *JTS* n.s. 35: 454–65.
- Sutcliffe, Edmund F., S.J. (1948). ‘The Council of Trent on the *Authentia* of the Vulgate.’ *JTS* 49: 35–42.
- Timpanaro, Sebastiano (2005). *The Genesis of Lachmann’s Method*, ed. and trans. G. W. Most. Chicago, IL: Chicago University Press.
- Tromp, Johannes (2007). ‘The Treatise on the Patriarch Henoch by Johannes Drusius (1550–1616),’ in M. F. J. Baasten and R. Munk, eds., *Studies in Hebrew Language and Culture*. Dordrecht: Springer, 103–50.
- Van Den Berg, Johannes (1982–3). ‘The Leiden Professors of the Schultens Family and their Contacts with British Scholars.’ *Durham University Journal* 75: 1–14.
- Van Miert, Dirk (2015). ‘De Statenvertaling (1637),’ in P. Gillaerts et al., eds., *De Bijbel in de Lage Landen: Elf eeuwen van vertalen*. Heerenveen: Royal Jongbloed, 406–44.
- Wasserstein, Abraham, and David J. Wasserstein (2006). *The Legend of the Septuagint*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wilson, N. G. (1992). *From Byzantium to Italy*. London: Duckworth.

CHAPTER 3

THE HISTORY OF SEPTUAGINT STUDIES

Editions of the Septuagint

FELIX ALBRECHT

INTRODUCTION

As a translation of a canonical collection, the Septuagint assumes a special position. Its character as a translation led to repeated returns to and reconsiderations of its *Vorlage* throughout the course of history: this led to editorial revisions. First, to Jewish revisions, primarily associated with the names of the Jewish recensions by Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. Then to revisions in the context of Christianity, which are linked according to Jerome by the names Origen, Lucian, and Hesychius. In particular, the Hexapla of Origen had the greatest influence on the transmission history of the Septuagint.

The research of the remains of the Hexapla of Origen, which is most important to Septuagint scholarship, mainly began from the eighteenth century, apart from the hexaplaric notes by Flaminio de Nobili (1533–90) in the Latin edition of the Sixtina (Sixtina 1588), and Johannes van den Driesche (1550–1616) (Drusius 1581; 1622). In 1713, Bernard de Montfaucon (1655–1741) published in two volumes his edition of the remnants of the Hexapla (de Montfaucon 1713, reprinted in PG 15–16). The following research is essentially dependent on him: e.g. Karl Friedrich Bahrtdt (1740–92) (Bahrtdt 1769–70; VD18 1,107,549X [Part 1: VD18 90,774,698, Part 2: VD18 90,774,701]), and finally Frederick Field (1801–85) (Field 1864; 1876; and esp. Field 1875). A fundamental reworking of Field's edition is being prepared by the Hexapla Institute (cf. www.hexapla.org; first volume: Meade 2020).

Apart from the influence on the textual tradition of the aforementioned recensions, which unfortunately are only fragmentary, the textual tradition of the Septuagint is

often contaminated: only a few manuscripts provide coherently one and the same text type. A core task of Septuagint research therefore consists in the identification and reconstruction of the text types or groups and the stages of transmission. Since the manuscript tradition per se is partly subject to considerable fluctuations, the transmitted texts have inevitably changed their shape: on the one hand through changed writing modes (transformation from *roll* to *codex*, from *parchment* to *paper*, from *majuscule* to *minuscule*) and partly through human correction, both conscious and unconscious, intentional and unintentional, in the course of scribal copying. Therefore, the invention of printing in the fifteenth century marked a decisive turning point.

PRINTED EDITIONS OF THE SEPTUAGINT FROM THE RENAISSANCE UNTIL TODAY

Printing with movable type created the conditions for the emergence of modern text editions. Thus, in the course of Renaissance humanism, the first printed editions of the Greek Bible were published. The first Greek OT Bible printings were Psalter editions (cf. Albrecht 2020: 205–7): in 1481, a Greek–Latin Psalter, edited by Johannes Crastonus in Milan (incunable M36246; cf. Linde 2012); in 1486, a Greek Psalter, printed by Alexandros of Crete in Venice (incunable M36247); and in 1497, a Greek Psalter, edited by Justinos Dekadyos and printed by Aldus Manutius in Venice, emerged (incunable M36248. Rozemond 1963–4 supposes that this book was already printed in 1495).

Sixteenth to Seventeenth Centuries

Several polyglot Psalters were published subsequently, e.g. in 1516, edited by Agostino Giustiniani (1470–1536), published in Genoa (Darlow No. 1411); in 1516, printed by Froben in Basel as an appendix to vol. 8 of St. Jerome’s works (VD16 H 3482; several reprints, cf. Darlow II/1, p. 6); in 1518, edited by Johann Potken, printed in Cologne (VD16 B 3101; Darlow No. 1413; 4595).

Aldina

In 1518, Aldus Manutius printed the ‘Aldina’ (Aldina 1518: = Ald; Darlow No. 4594; Lumini 2000: No. 5): a complete edition of the Greek Old and New Testament, edited by Andreas Asolanus (on Ald see Mercati 1910; Swete 1914: 173–4; Ziegler 1945). Ald is based on various manuscripts (mainly on MSS Ra 29, 68, 121; for Sirach on MS Ra 744). Several years before, in the preface to his Greek Psalter edition Aldus Manutius had announced a polyglot Bible that was never finished; only a specimen leaf, containing Gen 1:1–15 (Hebrew, Greek, Latin), was printed (two copies are held by the Bibliothèque nationale de

France, *Cod. Paris. gr. 3064*, f. 86 and f. 87, accessible via Gallica. Facsimile is given e.g. by Renouard 1825: between pp. 44–5; cf. Darlow II/1, pp. 1–2). Ald was most influential for sixteenth-century scholarship, and often reprinted. (1) Such a reprint, with the addition of 4 Maccabees, was the first Protestant edition of the Greek OT that appeared in 1526. It was prepared by Johannes Lonicer (1497–1569), based on Ald and printed by Wolfgang Köpffel in Straßburg (Lonicer 1526. Lumini 2000: No. 6; 96). This Bible was listed on the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* of the Roman Catholic Church. In Genf, a polyglot Bible which used Lonicer's text was printed in 1587 (Darlow No. 1424; 4646). This edition was reprinted several times. In Frankfurt, an adaption of Lonicer's edition was published by Andreas Wechel in 1597 (Wechel 1597); this was also reprinted. (2) A folio reprint of Ald was published in Basel by Johannes Herwagen (1497–1558) in 1545, with a preface by Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560), dated 25.11.1544 (the preface by Melanchthon 'was normally suppressed in copies sold in Catholic Europe', cf. Mandelbrote 2016b: 265). (3) Another octavo reprint that contained not only the Greek Ald but also the Latin was prepared by Nicolaus Brylinger and appeared in 1550 in Basel (VD16 ZV 22421; Darlow No. 4621; Lumini 2000: No. 97), reprinted in 1582 (Darlow No. 4642).

Complutensis

In 1520, the so-called 'Complutensis' (Complutensis 1514–20: = Compl; Darlow No. 1412; 4593; Lumini 2000: No. 1), the first complete polyglot Bible, in six folio volumes (vols. 1–4 OT) was printed in Spanish Alcalá, lat. *Complutum*, prepared under the supervision of Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros (1436–1517) (on Cardinal Jiménez see Lyell 1917: esp. 24–52). The OT part was already completed in 1517, but received the papal *imprimatur* after considerable delay.

For the LXX, Compl is based on various manuscripts (Ra 108, 248, 442, 1670). For the Prophetic books, the sources are still unclear (cf. Fernández Marcos 2017: 13; Gil Fernández 2016: 272). However, as Ziegler has shown, Compl also offers readings that may go back to the editors; these include, for example, alignments with MT. So the editors of Compl adapted the Greek text to the synoptic reference texts (Hebrew, Latin; cf. Ziegler 1944, in contrast to O'Connell 2006, and Fernández Marcos 2014: 112). The main editor of the LXX for Compl seems to have been Dimitrios Doukas the Cretan (c.1480–1527) (on Dimitrios Doukas see Geanakoplos 1962: 223–55; Sáenz-Badillos 1990: 398–9), the chair of Greek at Alcalá, who had worked before for Aldus Manutius in Venice (cf. Bataillon 1937: 42; Geanakoplos 1962: 239 n. 70; Sáenz-Badillos 1990: 399; Lee 2005: 290 n. 55; Mandelbrote 2016a: 97; Hamilton 2016: 141; Gil Fernández 2016: 278). The interlinear Latin translation of the LXX was done by Juan de Vergara (cf. Mandelbrote 2016a: 98).

Standing in the tradition of Compl, several polyglot Bibles emerged: Johannes Draconites (1494–1566) published polyglot editions (Hebrew, Greek, Latin, German) of several OT books in Wittenberg with the printer Johannes Crato, and in Leipzig with Johann Rhamba. In Antwerp, a polyglot Bible was prepared by Benito Arias Montano (1527–98) and printed by Christopher Plantin (1520–89), the so-called Plantin or Antwerp Polyglot, *Biblia Regia* or *Plantiniana* (1569–73), in 8 vols. (vols. 1–4 OT), whose LXX text is based on Compl (Arias Montano 1569–73; Darlow No. 1422; 4637;

Lumini 2000: No. 2; cf. Schenker 1994: 181–3; 2008: 775–9; Dunkelgrün 2012; Hamilton 2016: 143–7; Mandelbrote 2016a: 100–1; van Staalduine-Sulman 2017: 110–59). A triglot edition of Joshua was edited separately by Andreas Masius (1514–73) and printed by Plantin (Masius 1574, repr. 1609; cf. Mandelbrote 2016a: 101 with n. 73). In preparation for his edition, ‘Masius collated the Complutensian text into a copy of the 1545 Basel edition of the Septuagint... which was based on the Aldine edition. Masius’s collations survive (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, 20. L. impr. c. n. mss. 80), but have not previously been noticed’ (Mandelbrote 2016a: 102 n. 74). The Greek text of the deuterocanonical parts of the LXX was published separately in 1584 (Arias Montano 1584; Lumini 2000: No. 3). In 1610–13, an interlinear Bible edition (Hebrew–Latin for OT, Greek–Latin for deuterocanonical parts of LXX and NT) in 7 vols. was published by the Plantin publishing house; vol. 6 (1612) contained the deuterocanonical parts of the LXX (Arias Montano–Pagnini 1610–13). An adaptation of the Antwerp Polyglot is the Paris Polyglot (1628–45), printed by Antoine Vitré in 9 vols. (Darlow No. 1442; 4688); vols. 1–4 contain the OT; concerning LXX, arrangement and text follow the Antwerp polyglot, i.e. the text is that of Compl (cf. Schenker 1994: 183–5; 2008: 779–81; Miller 2001b; Hamilton 2016: 148–51; van Staalduine-Sulman 2017: 191–8).

Sixtina

Plans for preparing a new edition of the Greek Bible had already been made during the Council of Trent (1545–63). The work began in 1578 under Pope Gregory XIII. In 1586 the book was printed, but received the papal *imprimatur* in 1587, so that the printing date was corrected by hand in 1587. The edition was authorized by Pope Sixtus V, and accordingly called ‘Sixtina’ (Sixtina 1587: = Sixt; Darlow No. 4647; Lumini 2000: No. 98–9; cf. Nestle 1886; Swete 1914: 174–82; Pani 1988; 1990; Mandelbrote 2016b: 255–8). It was edited by Cardinal Antonio Carafa (1538–91), and printed by Francesco Zanetti with an adapted version of Claude Garamond’s famous ‘Grecs du roi’ font (on the printer Francesco Zanetti see Gaspari 2010). Its LXX text is mainly based on Codex Vaticanus ‘B’ and Ald, but Codex Venetus ‘V’ and Compl (via the Antwerp Polyglot) have also been used. (For Sixt’s dependence on Ald cf. Rahlfs 1913; for Sixt’s dependence on Compl cf. Amann 1914; for the use of Codex Venetus ‘V’ cf. Batiffol 1890: 90–1.) Some copies contain a list of errata (cf. Mandelbrote 2016b: 257 n. 22). A Latin translation was published in 1588. Sixt was reprinted several times; a famous reprint was published in Paris in 1628, which combined the edition from 1587 with the Latin translation from 1588 (Darlow No. 4674–5; published in 3 vols. by several printers). It became the authoritative edition, which provided the base text for biblical scholarship over centuries. For instance, the aforementioned edition from 1628 was used as a LXX base-text (variant readings of Codex Alexandrinus were also provided) for the six-volume so-called Walton or London Polyglot, which was published by Brian Walton (1600–1) in London (Walton 1653–7; Darlow No. 1446; 4696; cf. Clarke 1802; Todd 1821: I, esp. 31–88; Knop 1977; Schenker 1994: 185–8; 2008: 781–4; Miller 2001a; Mandelbrote 2006: 85–7; Hamilton 2016: 151–4; van Staalduine-Sulman 2017: 199–229). Other adaptations of Sixt were the first Septuagint edition in England, published by John Biddle (1615–62) in

London (Biddle 1653; Darlow No. 4692); and the second, published by John Pearson (1613–86) in Cambridge (Pearson 1665; Darlow No. 4701–2; cf. Nestle 1905).

During the seventeenth century, the deuterocanonical books of the Septuagint were published independently: in 1612, an extra part of the *Plantiniana* edition was printed (see section ‘Complutensis’ above); in 1655, James Ussher (1581–1656) published the two versions of Esther in London (Ussher 1695; VD17 12:121538C); and in 1691, Fabricius’ edition appeared (Fabricius 1691; VD17 39:141036S).

Eighteenth to Nineteenth Centuries

The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were dominated by Septuagint research in Oxford and Cambridge, as well as in Leipzig and Göttingen. Sixt became the dominant edition: Lambert Bos (1670–1717), for instance, published an edition of LXX based on Sixt in Franeker in 1709, with an apparatus giving the variant readings of manuscripts Ra A, Ald, Compl, and sometimes also *Vetus Latina*, Cyprian, and Ambrosius (Bos 1709; Darlow No. 4726).

The Oxford Editions (Grabe, Holmes, Holmes-Parsons, et al.)

A major improvement compared to the older editions, however, was the edition by Johann Ernst Grabe (1666–1711), sometimes called *Grabiana* (4 vols. in folio, published 1707–20 in Oxford, without pagination [Darlow No. 4733]; another edition appeared as 8 vols. in octavo [Darlow No. 4734]; on Grabe see Thomann 1992; on his edition Swete 1914: 182–4; Mandelbrote 2006: 89–92). It is a kind of diplomatic edition based on MS Ra A. Only the first and the last volumes (*Octateuch*, 1707; *Psalms* etc., 1709) were published by Grabe himself. The other two volumes appeared posthumously (in 1719, vol. 2 by Francis Lee; in 1720, vol. 3 by William Wigan). Based on Grabe’s edition, Johann Jakob Breitinger (1701–76) prepared a new edition, which took also MS Ra B into account (Breitinger 1730–2, 4 vols., published 1730–2 in Zürich; VD18 10,764,046; Darlow No. 4740). And in 1859, Frederick Field (1801–85) published a reprint (Field 1859).

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, in 1788 a project directed by Robert Holmes (1748–1805) started at Oxford University, in order to prepare a new large edition of the Septuagint. (Cf. Rahlfs 1914: vii–viii n. 1, and Holmes 1789. From 1789 to 1805, seventeen ‘Annual Accounts of the Collation’ appeared, and from 1801 to 1805 five ‘Annual Accounts of the Publication’.) A ‘Specimen’ for Genesis was printed in 1795 (Holmes 1795). The first volume of the subsequent edition was published in 1798, the following four volumes were published by Jacob Parsons after Holmes’ death, in 1818 vol. 2, in 1823 vol. 3, and in 1827 vols. 4–5 (Holmes-Parsons 1798–1827: = H.-P.; cf. Swete 1914: 184–7). The edition by H.-P. gives a reprint of Sixt as a base text. The apparatus provides variant readings based on eclectic collations of many MSS. A smaller *Editio Oxoniensis*, based on MS Ra B with variants of MS Ra A in a small critical apparatus, was published in three volumes in 1848 (*Editio Oxoniensis* 1848; Darlow No. 4844).

The Leipzig Editions (Frick, Reineck, Spohn, Böckel, Schumann, Tischendorf, Tischendorf-Nestle, et al.)

In the eighteenth century, Leipzig became a centre for biblical philology. In 1697, a Bible edition based on Sixt was published in three volumes with prolegomena by Johann Frick (1670–1739), printed by Johann Christoph König in Leipzig (Clauer–Klumpf 1697; VD17 23:000139G; VD17 23:000141C). In 1730, Christian Reineck (1668–1752) published a LXX edition based on Sixt (Reineccius 1730 [VD18 10,330,763]; ²1757 [VD18 1,115,005X]; Darlow No. 4754). In 1747–51, he printed a three-volume polyglot, which included for the OT part readings from Grabe's edition (OT: Reineccius 1750–1 [VD18 90,619,005; VD18 90,619,013]; NT: Reineccius 1747 [VD18 11,415,746]; Darlow No. 1451; 4752). In 1794, Gottlieb Leberecht Spohn (1756–94) published the first volume of an edition of the book of Jeremiah, which made extensive use of the hexaplaric tradition; the second volume was published by his son, Friedrich August Wilhelm Spohn (1792–1824) (Spohn–Spohn 1794–1824). In 1820, Ernst Gottfried Adolf Böckel (1783–1854) prepared—together with a specimen of a lexicon to the Septuagint—an edition of LXX Psalms 1–3 with two apparatus (first for variant readings and comparison with MT, etc.; second for hexaplaric material; Böckel 1820: 30–6). The same Böckel edited the LXX for the first volume of Rudolf Stier's (1800–62) and Karl Gottfried Wilhelm Theile's (1799–1854) 'Polyglotten-Bibel' (Stier–Theile 1875; ¹1846–55; ^{4/5}1875; Darlow No. 1470). He based his edition on H.-P., Ald, Compl (cf. Stier–Theile 1875: I, vi–vii). In 1829, Schumann (1803–41) published a Hebrew–Greek edition of Genesis (Schumann 1829). In 1850, Konstantin Tischendorf published a two-volume edition of the OT in Greek, which appeared in five editions (von Tischendorf 1875: ¹1850; ⁵1875), and was augmented by Eberhard Nestle (von Tischendorf–Nestle 1887: ⁶1880; ⁷1887. On Tischendorf's edition see Swete 1914: 187–8). Beside these complete Bible editions, depending on the Sixt, three editions of the deuterocanonical books of the LXX were published in Leipzig: by Johann Christian Wilhelm Augusti (1771–1841) in 1804 (Augusti 1804, based on Reineck [²1757]), by Heinrich Eduard Apel in 1837 (Apel 1837), and by Otto Fridolin Fritzsche (1812–96) in 1871 (Fritzsche 1871; main text based on Sixt, with an apparatus containing variant readings from H.-P.).

The Methodological Turn from Nineteenth-Century Diplomatic to Twentieth-Century Critical Editions

During the nineteenth century, a major change in editorial methodology took place. It was initiated by Karl Lachmann (1793–1851), who had studied in Göttingen under Christian Gottlob Heyne (1729–1812) and afterwards became professor in Berlin. In his text-critical work, he developed the idea of the search for the original text ('Urtext'), with the result that diplomatic editions were slowly but steadily replaced by critical ones (cf. Kratz–Albrecht 2017: 21 with n. 29).

The Diplomatic Cambridge Editions (Swete, Brooke–McLean–Thackeray)

The Cambridge editions of LXX were still diplomatic editions (only orthographic errors had been corrected), mainly based on MS Ra B (cf. Swete 1914: 188–90): (1) the small edition by Henry Barclay Swete (1835–1917), published in three volumes in 1887–94,^{3/4} 1907–12, with several reprints (Swete 1909 [vol. I⁴]; Swete 1907 [vol. II³]; Swete 1912 [vol. III⁴]); (2) the incomplete large Cambridge edition by Alan England Brooke, Norman McLean, and Henry St. John Thackeray, published in three volumes (3rd vol. incomplete) in 1906–40 (Brooke–McLean 1906–17: = Br.-M. I; Brooke et al. 1927–35: = Br.-M. II; 1940: = Br.-M. III/1). (Cf. Brooke–McLean 1902; Swete 1914: 188–90.)

These editions, diplomatic by nature, were providing an important textual witness as a base text, enriched with an apparatus that collected all kinds of variants from the rest of the tradition. Rahlfs called them more or less carefully crafted ‘databases’ (cf. Rahlfs’ plan for a new edition of the Septuagint, ed. Neuschäfer–Schäfer 2013: 364–9; and Rahlfs 1922b: 49–50). Their provisional nature was even emphasized by Swete himself (cf. Swete 1914: 190: ‘until a critical text has been produced, it may fairly be regarded as the most trustworthy presentation of the Septuagint version regarded as a whole’). What was missing were clear ideas about the textual nature of the tradition. Looking back on the Cambridge editions, one can hardly help but notice that they were methodologically obsolete at the time of their printing. For as early as the 1840s, the aforementioned significant methodological turn, connected with the name Lachmann, had taken place.

The Critical Göttingen Editions (de Lagarde, Rahlfs, Ziegler, Hanhart, Wevers, et al.)

Paul Anton de Lagarde (1827–91), who had studied in Berlin in the 1840s, was influenced by Karl Lachmann. (For the influence of Lachmann on Lagarde cf. Neuschäfer 2013: 255–7; Schäfer 2016: 128–9, esp. 128 with n. 43. Beside this, Lagarde was influenced by Tischendorf; cf. Kratz–Albrecht 2017: 21 with n. 30.) Lagarde had a strong interest in the Septuagint (cf. Rahlfs 1928: esp. 59–62, 66–9, 72–83). In 1863, he published a study on Greek Proverbs in which he drew up three axioms that he believed would have to be used for the reconstruction of the original text of the Septuagint (de Lagarde 1863: 3; cf. Neuschäfer 2013: 254 with n. 75. Rahlfs rightly credited these three principles with epoch-making significance; cf. Rahlfs 1928: 60, and Neuschäfer 2013: 246):

- 1) Not one ms offers unaltered ‘the original text’; the original can be attained only ‘eclectically’ by critical comparison of the Greek and Hebrew text tradition, always taking into account the style of each translator.
- 2) If two different readings exist in one place, one recognizable as free and the other as literal translation, the free translation deserves to be preferred ‘as the original’.
- 3) If there are two different readings in one place, one based on MT and the other based on a ‘deviation from the original text’, the reading deviating from MT should be considered ‘original’.

In 1868, Lagarde's edition of the book of Genesis followed (de Lagarde 1868). It was based on a representative selection of Greek MSS (provided with the sigla A–Z by Lagarde) and took into account a number of 'Oriental' daughter versions, namely the Armenian, Ethiopian, Bohairic, Sahidic, as well as the Syrohexapla (each with Hebrew sigla in Lagarde's edition). Lagarde recognized early on the importance of the daughter versions of the Septuagint and began to understand their study as a necessary preparatory work; his edition of the Bohairic Pentateuch is the best example (de Lagarde 1867).

When Lagarde was appointed to the chair of Heinrich Ewald (1803–75) in Göttingen in 1869, he took his interest in the Septuagint to Göttingen. Indeed, in his search for the 'original text' he stood in the still recent Lachmannian tradition. However, Lagarde did not adapt Lachmann's method without his own modifications. For example, he first tried to localize text types using the church father's quotations (cf. Neuschäfer 2013: 256–9). Later, Lagarde recognized—certainly under the influence of Field (cf. Neuschäfer 2013: 257–8)—the implications of Jerome's statements of the *trifaria varietas* and the idea of local text types. As a result, Lagarde prepared an edition (from Genesis to Esther; only for Esther with critical apparatus) of the Antiochian text, which is linked with the name Lucian. This was published in 1883 (de Lagarde 1883), and his pupil Rahlfs would later call it 'the greatest failure', because Lagarde overlooked the fact that his main witnesses, especially MSS Ra 19 and 108, did not offer the Antiochian text until Ruth 4:11 (cf. Rahlfs 1928: 76–9, here: 78–9). Nevertheless, as Bernhard Neuschäfer rightly states, this edition may be considered methodically trend-setting (cf. Neuschäfer 2013: 259). It should also be remembered that Lagarde's edition of Kings and Chronicles lasted a long time and was not replaced until the edition of the Antiochian text (1989–96) edited by Fernández Marcos and Busto Saiz (Fernández Marcos–Busto Saiz 1989; 1992; 1996).

Then, in 1887, Lagarde began printing two different editions of the Greek Psalter (cf. Schäfer 2016: 135 with n. 70; Albrecht 2020: 213), an *editio critica 'maxima'*, which Rahlfs described as 'grotesquely gigantic', extending to Ps. 5 (de Lagarde 1887; cf. Rahlfs 1928: 80–1; Neuschäfer 2013: 250–1 with nn. 58, 60–1). At Lagarde's death an *editio critica maior* was finished as far as Ps. 48, and was supplemented by Rahlfs as far as Ps. 49 (de Lagarde–Rahlfs 1892; cf. Rahlfs 1928: 81–2; Neuschäfer 2013: 251 with n. 63; Schäfer 2016: 60–1). Equally unfinished was an edition of the book of Judges, which extended up to Judges 5 and offered the A- and B-texts in two columns (de Lagarde 1891: 14–72; according to Rahlfs 1928: 83, a very accurate edition).

Alfred Rahlfs, a student of Lagarde, continued his teacher's work (on Rahlfs see Schäfer 2016; 2015). An essential step was the 'Plan of a new edition of the Septuagint', created by Rahlfs in 1907 (cf. Kratz–Albrecht 2017: 13–14). It is a plea for the critical edition in the Lagardian sense. Rahlfs intended to publish separately the three Christian recensions of LXX (Origen, Lucian, Hesychius; cf. Neuschäfer–Schäfer 2013: 366–7). Under these circumstances, the Göttingen Septuaginta-Unternehmen was founded in 1908, and Rahlfs was made Director. Between 1909 and 1910, Rahlfs developed the Göttingen collation method (cf. Kratz–Albrecht 2017: 24 with n. 50). Above all, however, the period prior to the First World War was characterized by material procurement, in particular the acquisition of manuscript photographs.

A first fruit of that laborious preparatory work was the ‘Handschriftenverzeichnis’ (Rahlfs 1914), published in 1915 (the book did not appear until May 1915, although the year of publication was given in the title with 1914). In 2004, the first volume of a complete new edition prepared by Detlef Fraenkel was published (Fraenkel 2004). Accompanying this was the preparation of specimen pages for SapSal and 1 Macc. These specimens were sent out to colleagues in 1914 for appraisal (cf. Rahlfs 1979: 4; Neuschäfer–Schäfer 2013: 394–404; esp. *ibid.*, 396–7 with plates 13–14). The page layout was the following: critical text above, critical apparatus in two columns below, brief indication of patristic attestations between text and apparatus. But then the First World War interrupted further work on the planned *editio maior* of the Septuagint. In 1918, Rahlfs therefore arranged with the Stuttgart Bible Society the publication of a ‘smaller edition of the Septuagint’. In 1922, Ruth appeared as a sample edition (‘als Probe einer kritischen Handausgabe der Septuaginta’, Rahlfs 1922a; cf. extensively Schäfer 2016: 177–222). Compared to the aforementioned specimen pages, the layout was reduced, the references to patristic citations being omitted. Later on Rahlfs began to work on a ‘major edition of the Septuagint’ (‘*Septuaginta. Societas Scientiarum Göttingensis auctoritate*’), estimated at sixteen volumes (‘Hefte’) with nearly the same typographical layout as in Ruth (cf. Rahlfs 1979: 4–5). The first volume, ‘Genesis’, appeared in 1926 as vol. I, printed by the Privilegierte Württembergische Bibelanstalt in Stuttgart (Rahlfs 1926). The second volume, ‘Psalmi cum Odis’, was published in 1931 as vol. X, printed by Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht in Göttingen (Rahlfs 1979: ¹1931, ²1967, ³1979). In this Rahlfs was again following in the footsteps of Lagarde.

Looking back on Rahlfs’ editorial work, it becomes clear how decisively his editions influenced the further course of text-critical work on the Septuagint. The aim of the Göttingen editions was thus clear: the text-critical reconstruction of the pre-recensional, oldest attainable text of LXX (cf. Neuschäfer 2004; 2008). The step from the original text (‘Urtext’) to the ‘oldest attainable text’ was completed by Rahlfs in the 1920s (cf. Rahlfs 1922b: 49; Schäfer 2015: 170). This correction was necessary to meet the realities of the tradition.

The conclusion of Rahlfs’ work, however, formed the so-called ‘Handausgabe’ of 1935 (Rahlfs 1935: = Ra.), which, slightly revised by Robert Hanhart, appeared as *editio altera* in 2006 (Rahlfs–Hanhart 2006: = Ra.-Ha.). Although it is still in use today, it is an edition which is, as Christian Schäfer states, definitely nothing more than provisional: it neither wished to compete with the *editio critica maior* nor in the true sense could claim to be the final *editio critica minor* (cf. Schäfer 2017: 360). After Rahlfs, Werner Kappler led the Septuaginta-Unternehmen (1933–44); he published *Maccabaeorum liber I* in 1936 (Kappler 1990: ¹1936, ²1967, ³1990). The series title was changed to *Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum Graecum auctoritate Societatis Litterarum Göttingensis editum*. The typographical layout was also changed, the apparatus no longer being given in two columns. With the edition of Isaias by Joseph Ziegler in 1939 (Ziegler 1983: ¹1939, ²1967, ³1983), a second apparatus for the hexaplaric material was added; with the edition of *Sapientia Salomonis* in 1962 (Ziegler 2017: ¹1962, ²1981, ³2017), a ‘Kopfleiste’, i.e. the indication of witnesses, was added between text and apparatus.

Later, the series title was changed again: in 1966, Esther (Hanhart 1983a: ¹1966, ²1983) was published under the title *Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum Graecum auctoritate Academiae Litterarum Göttingensis editum*, and since 1974, the title has been *Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum Graecum auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Göttingensis editum*. (The new series title has not been used for all reprints/new editions, e.g. *Maccabaeorum liber I* always has the same series title, also for the 3rd edn. 1990).

Kappler was followed by Emil Große-Brauckmann (1952–61), Robert Hanhart (1961–93), Anneli Aejmelaeus (1993–2000), Bernhard Neuschäfer (2005–2015), and Felix Albrecht (2015; cf. Kratz 2016). Three personalities were responsible for the publication of most of the Göttingen editions: Joseph Ziegler (1902–88), who edited from 1939 to 1957 the Prophetic books *Duodecim prophetae* (Ziegler 1984: ¹1943, ²1967, ³1984), *Isaias* (Ziegler 1983: ¹1939, ²1967, ³1983), *Jeremias*, *Baruch*, *Threni*, *Epistula Jeremiae* (Ziegler 2006: ¹1957, ²1976, ³2006), *Ezechiel* (Ziegler 2015: ¹1952, ²1977, ³2006, ⁴2015), *Susanna*, *Daniel*, *Bel et Draco* (Ziegler–Munnich–Fraenkel 1999: ¹1954, ²1999), and afterwards the wisdom books *Sapientia Salomonis* (Ziegler 2017: ¹1962, ²1981, ³2017), *Sapientia Jesu Filii Sirach* (Ziegler 2016: ¹1965, ²1981, ³2016), and *Iob* (Ziegler 1982); Robert Hanhart, who edited from 1959 to 1960, and from 1974 to 1993 most of the deuterocanonical books, namely *Esdrae liber I* (Hanhart 1991: ¹1974, ²1991), *Esdrae liber II* (Hanhart 2017: ¹1993, ²2017), *Esther* (Hanhart 1983a: ¹1966, ²1983), *Iudith* (Hanhart 1979), *Tobit* (Hanhart 1983b), *Maccabaeorum liber II* (Kappler–Hanhart 2017: ¹1959, ²1976, ³2008, ⁴2017), *Maccabaeorum liber III* (Hanhart 1980: ¹1960, ²1980), and *Paralipomenon liber II* (Hanhart 2014); and John William Wevers (1919–2010), as well as Udo Quast (1939–2005), who edited from 1974 to 1991 the Pentateuch (*Genesis* [Wevers 1974]; *Exodus* [Wevers–Quast 1991]; *Leviticus* [Wevers–Quast 1986]; *Numeri* [Wevers–Quast 2020: 1st ed. 1982, 2nd ed. 2020]; *Deuteronomium* [Wevers–Quast 2006: ¹1977, ²2006]), and Ruth (Quast 2009: ¹2006, ²2009). The editions are flanked by detailed textual histories, which appeared until 2015 in the ‘Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens’ (MSU; in the period 1909–2015 a total of thirty volumes appeared). In 2015, the Göttinger Septuaginta-Unternehmen was officially closed.

From 2016–2019, the Göttingen editions were prepared by a Commission of the Academy, called ‘Kommission zur Edition und Erforschung der Septuaginta’, led by Reinhard G. Kratz and coordinated by Felix Albrecht. Since then, two new editions have been published: *Psalmi Salomonis* (Albrecht 2018), and *Ecclesiastes* (Gentry 2019). Currently, the completion of the remaining editions is on the agenda. This includes: *Canticum* (E. Schulz-Flügel), *Maccabaeorum IV* (R. Hiebert), *Iudices* (J. M. Cañas Reillo), *Regnorum liber I* (A. Aejmelaeus), *Regnorum liber II* (T. Kauhanen), *Regnorum libri III/IV* (P. A. Torijano/J. Treballe), and *Paralipomenon liber I* (T. Janz). The work on the editions of *Iosue* and *Prouerbia* has not been started yet.

Since 2020, the edition of these books is conducted by the Robert Hanhart Foundation (‘Robert Hanhart-Stiftung zur Förderung der Septuaginta-Forschung’), presided over by Reinhard G. Kratz (cf. Albrecht 2020: 202–3).

SUGGESTED READING

A basic introduction to using the main critical editions of the Septuagint can be found in Jobs and Silva (2015). Christian Schäfer has published two users' manuals for books in the Göttingen edition: on Wevers' edition of the Pentateuch (2012) and on Quast's edition of Ruth (2013).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Albrecht, F. (2018). *Psalmi Salomonis. Septuaginta*. VTG XII/3. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Albrecht, F. (2020). Report on the Göttingen Septuagint. *Textus* 29 (2020), 201–20.
- Aldina (1518). *Πάντα τὰ κατ' ἐξοχὴν καλούμενα βιβλία, θείας δηλαδὴ γραφῆς παλαιᾶς τε καὶ νέας. Sacrae scripturae veteris novaeque omnia*. Venetiis: In aedibus Aldi et Andreae soceri.
- Amann, F. (1914). 'Die römische Septuagintarevision im 16. Jahrhundert'. *BZ* 12: 116–24.
- Apel, H. E. (1837). *Libri Veteris Testamenti apocryphi graece*. Lipsiae: Impensis Eduardi Meissneri.
- Arias Montano, B. (1569–73). *Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Graece, et Latine. Philippi II. Reg. Cathol. pietate et studio ad sacrosanctae ecclesiae usum*. Biblia Sacra 1–8. Antverpiae: Ex officina Plantiniana.
- Arias Montano, B. (1584). *Bibliorum pars Graeca, quae Hebraice non invenitur. Cum interlineari interpretatione Latina, ex biblijs Complutensibus deprompta*. Antverpiae: Ex officina Christophori Plantini.
- Arias Montano, Benito, and Sante Pagnini (1610–13). *Bibliorum pars Graeca, quae Hebraice non invenitur. Cum interlineari interpretatione Latina, ex biblijs Complutensibus deprompta*. Biblia Hebraica et Novum Testamentum Graece 1–7. Antverpiae: Ex officina Plantiniana, Franciscus Raphelengius.
- Augusti, J. Chr. W. (1804). *Libri Veteris Testamenti apocryphi textum graecum recognovit et variarum lectionum delectum adjecit Jo. Chr. Guil. Augusti*. Lipsiae: In bibliopolio Dyckio.
- Bahrđt, K. Fr. (1769–70). *Hexaplorum Origenis quae supersunt auctiora et emendatiora, quam a Flaminio Nobilio, Ioanne Drusio et tandem a Bernardo de Montfaucon concinnata fuerant*... Lipsiae et Lubec: Apud Christian. Gottfr. Donatium.
- Bataillon, M. (1937). *Érasme et l'Espagne: Recherches sur l'histoire spirituelle du XVIe siècle*. Paris: Librairie E. Droz.
- Batiffol, P. (1890). *La Vaticane de Paul III à Paul V*. Petite bibliothèque d'art et d'archéologie. Paris: Ernest Leroux.
- Biddle, J. (1653). *Ἡ παλαιὰ διαθήκη κατὰ τοὺς ἑβδομήκοντα. Vetus Testamentum Graecum ex versione Septuaginta interpretum, juxta exemplar Vaticanum Romae editum, accuratissime et ad amussim recusum*. Vols. 1–3. Londini: Excudebat Rogerus Daniel.
- Böckel, E. G. A. (1820). *Novae clavis in Graecos interpretes Veteris Testamenti scriptoresque apocryphos ita adornatae ut etiam lexicis in Novi Foederis libros usum praebere possit atque editionis LXX. interpretum Hexaplaris specimina*. Lipsiae: In commissis apud Frider. Christ. Guil. Vogel.
- Bos, L. (1709). *Ἡ παλαιὰ διαθήκη κατὰ τοὺς ἑβδομήκοντα. Vetus Testamentum ex versione Septuaginta interpretum...summa cura edidit Lambertus Bos*. Franequerae: Excudit Franciscus Halma.

- Breitinger, J. J. (1730–2). *Vetus Testamentum ex versione Septuaginta interpretum. Olim ad fidem... a Joanne Ernesto Grabe S.T.P. Nunc vero... summa cura edidit Joannes Jacobus Breitingerus*. Vols. I–IV. Tiguri Helvetiorum: Ex officina Joannis Heideggeri & Soc.
- Brooke, A. E., and N. McLean (1902). ‘The Forthcoming Cambridge Septuagint.’ *JTS* 3: 601–21.
- Brooke, A. E., and N. McLean (1906–17). *The Old Testament in Greek: According to the Text of Codex Vaticanus, Supplemented from Other Uncial Manuscripts, with a Critical Apparatus Containing the Variants of the Chief Ancient Authorities for the Text of the Septuagint*. Vol. I, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (abbr.: Br.-M. I)
- Brooke, A. E. et al. (1927–35). *The Old Testament in Greek: According to the Text of Codex Vaticanus, Supplemented from Other Uncial Manuscripts, with a Critical Apparatus Containing the Variants of the Chief Ancient Authorities for the Text of the Septuagint*. Vol. II, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (abbr.: Br.-M. II)
- Brooke, A. E. et al. (1940). *The Old Testament in Greek: According to the Text of Codex Vaticanus, Supplemented from Other Uncial Manuscripts, with a Critical Apparatus Containing the Variants of the Chief Ancient Authorities for the Text of the Septuagint*. Vol. III/1: *Esther, Judith, Tobit*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (abbr.: Br.-M. III/1)
- Clarke, A. (1802). *A Succinct Account of Polyglott Bibles. From the Publication of that by Porrus, in the Year 1516, to that of Reineccius, in 1750. Including Several Curious Particulars Relative to the London Polyglott, and Castel’s Heptaglott Lexicon, Not Noticed by Bibliographers*. Liverpool: J. Nuttall.
- Clauer, M. J., and J. Th. Klumpf (1697). *Prophetae omnes ex versione Septuaginta interpretum cum libris apocryphis, juxta exemplar Vaticanum Romae editum, & Anglicanum Londini excusum... Lipsiae: Sumptibus Joh. Christophori Königii*.
- Complutensis (1514–20). *Biblia sacra Polyglotta complectentia V.T. Hebraico Graeco et Latino idiomate, N.T. Graecum et Latinum, et vocabularium Hebraicum et Chaldaicum V.T. cum grammatica Hebraica necnon Dictionario Graeco*. Compluti: Industria Arnoldi Gulielmi de Brocaro artis impressorie magistri.
- Darlow, Th. H., and H. F. Moule (1903–11). *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of the Holy Scripture in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society*. Vols. 1–2. London: The British and Foreign Bible Society. (abbr.: Darlow)
- de Lagarde, P. A. (1863). *Anmerkungen zur griechischen Übersetzung der Proverbien*. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus.
- de Lagarde, P. A. (1867). *Der Pentateuch koptisch*. Leipzig: Teubner.
- de Lagarde, P. A. (1868). *Genesis graece. E fide editionis Sixtinae addita scripturae discrepantia e libris manu scriptis a se ipso conlatis et editionibus Complutensi et Aldina adcuratissime enotata*. Leipzig: Teubner.
- de Lagarde, P. A. (1883). *Librorum Veteris Testamenti canonicorum pars prior Graece*. Göttingen: Prostat in aedibus Dieterichianis Arnoldi Hoyer.
- de Lagarde, P. A. (1887). *Novae Psalterii graeci editionis specimen*. Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen 33. Göttingen: Dieterichsche Verlags-Buchhandlung.
- de Lagarde, P. A. (1891). *Septuaginta Studien. Erster Theil*. Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen 37. Göttingen: Dieterichsche Verlags-Buchhandlung.
- de Lagarde, P. A., and A. Rahlfs (1892). *Psalterii graeci quinquagena prima a Paulo de Lagarde in usum scholarum edita*. Göttingen: Prostat in aedibus Dieterichianis Luederi Horstmann.
- de Montfaucon, B. (1713). *Hexaplorum Origenis quae supersunt, multis partibus auctiora, quam a Flaminio Nobilio & Joanne Drusio edita fuerint... Parisiis: Apud Ludovicum Guerin, et al.*

- Drusius, J. (1581). *In Psalmos Davidis veterum interpretum quae exstant fragmenta*. Antverpiae: Ex officina Christophori Plantini architypographi regij.
- Drusius, J. (1622). *Veterum interpretum Graecorum in totum Vetus Testamentum fragmenta*... Arnhemiae: Apud Iohannem Ianssonium bibliopolam.
- Dunkelgrün, Th. W. (2012). *The Multiplicity of Scripture: The Confluence of Textual Traditions in the Making of the Antwerp Polyglot Bible (1568–1573)*. (Unpublished) Dissertation, University of Chicago.
- Editio Oxoniensis (1848). *Vetus Testamentum ex versione Septuaginta interpretum*. Vols. 1–3. Oxonii: E typographeo academico.
- Fabricius, J. A. (1691). *Liber Tobiae, Judith, Oratio Manassae, Sapientia, et Ecclesiasticus Graece et Latine*... Francofurti et Lipsiae: Apud Christophorum Wohlfart.
- Fernández Marcos, N. (2014). 'El texto griego de Septuaginta en la Políglota Complutense'. *EstBib* 72: 103–17.
- Fernández Marcos, N. (2017). 'The First Polyglot Bible', in A. Piquer Otero and P. A. Torijano Morales, eds., *The Text of the Hebrew Bible and Its Editions: Studies in Celebration of the Fifth Centennial of the Complutensian Polyglot*. Supplements to the Textual History of the Bible 1. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 3–18.
- Fernández Marcos, N., and J. R. Busto Saiz (1989). *1–2 Samuel: El texto antioqueno de la Biblia Griega I*. TECC 50. Madrid: Departamento de Filología Bíblica y de Oriente Antiguo.
- Fernández Marcos, N., and J. R. Busto Saiz (1992). *1–2 Reyes: El texto antioqueno de la Biblia Griega II*. TECC 53. Madrid: Departamento de Filología Bíblica y de Oriente Antiguo.
- Fernández Marcos, N., and J. R. Busto Saiz (1996). *1–2 Crónicas: El texto antioqueno de la Biblia Griega III*. TECC 60. Madrid: Departamento de Filología Bíblica y de Oriente Antiguo.
- Field, F. (1859). *Vetus Testamentum graece juxta LXX interpretes*. Oxonii: Excudebat Jacobus Wright.
- Field, F. (1864). *Otium Norvicense sive Tentamen de reliquiis Aquilae, Symmachi, Theodotionis e lingua Syriaca in Graecam convertendis*. Oxonii: Excudebant T. Combe A.M., E. Pickard Hall, et H. Latham A.M. academiae typographi.
- Field, F. (1875). *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt sive veterum interpretum Graecorum in totum Vetus Testamentum fragmenta*. Vols. 1–2. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Field, F. (1876). *Otium Norvicense. Pars altera. Tentamen de quibusdam vocabulis Syro-Graecis in R. Payne Smith S.T.P. Thesauri Syriaci fasciculis I–III reconditis*. Oxonii: Excudebant E. Pickard Hall et J. H. Stacy academiae typographi.
- Fraenkel, D. (2004). *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments von Alfred Rahlfs*. Vol. I/1: *Die Überlieferung bis zum VIII. Jahrhundert*. Septuaginta. VTG Supplementum I/1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Fritzsche, O. F. (1871). *Libri apocryphi Veteris Testamenti Graece. Recensuit et cum commentario critico edidit O.F. Fritzsche. Accedunt libri Veteris Testamenti pseudepigraphi selecti*. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus.
- Gaspari, A. (2010). 'Francesco Zanetti stampatore, copista e instaurator di manoscritti greci', in D. Galadza et al., eds., *Τοξότης: Studies for Stefano Parenti. Ανάλεκτα Κρυπτοφέρρης* 9. Grottaferrata: Monastero esarchico, 155–75.
- Geanakoplos, D. J. (1962). *Greek Scholars in Venice: Studies in the Dissemination of Greek Learning from Byzantium to Western Europe*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.
- Gentry, P. J. (2019). *Ecclesiastes. Septuaginta*. VTG XI/2. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Gil Fernández, L. (2016). 'La columna griega de la Biblia Políglota Complutense', in A. Alvar Ezquerro, ed., *La Biblia políglota complutense en su contexto*. Alcalá de Henares: Universidad de Alcalá, Servicio de Publicaciones, 261–83.

- Hamilton, A. (2016). 'In Search of the Most Perfect Text: The Early Modern Printed Polyglot Bibles from Alcalá (1510–1520) to Brian Walton (1654–1658)', in E. Cameron, ed., *The New Cambridge History of the Bible*, Vol. 3. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 138–56.
- Hanhart, R. (1979). *Iudith. Septuaginta*. VTG VIII/4. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Hanhart, R. (1980). *Maccabaeorum liber III. Septuaginta*. VTG IX/3. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, ²1980.
- Hanhart, R. (1983a). *Esther. Septuaginta*. VTG VIII/3. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, ²1983.
- Hanhart, R. (1983b). *Tobit. Septuaginta*. VTG VIII/5. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Hanhart, R. (1991). *Esdrae liber I. Septuaginta*. VTG VIII/1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, ²1991.
- Hanhart, R. (2014). *Paralipomenon liber II. Septuaginta*. VTG VII/2. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Hanhart, R. (2017). *Esdrae liber II. Septuaginta*. VTG VIII/2. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, ²2017.
- Holmes, R. (1789). *The First Annual Account of the Collation of the Mss. of the Septuagint Version. To which is prefixed a Tract*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Holmes, R. (1795). *Testamenti Veteris Graeci, versionis Septuaginta-viralis, cum variis lectionibus denuo edendi, Specimen*. Oxonii: Prostat venalis apud J. Cooke, Fletcher et Hanwell, Londini: Apud T. Payne, B. White, et P. Elmsly.
- Holmes, R., and J. Parsons (1798–1827). *Vetus Testamentum Graecum. Cum variis lectionibus*. Vols. 1–5. Oxonii: E typographeo Clarendoniano.
- Jobs, Karen, and Moises Silva (2015). *Invitation to the Septuagint*. Grand Rapids, MI and Carlisle: Baker Academic/Paternoster, 2nd ed. 2015.
- Kappler, W. (1990). *Maccabaeorum liber I. Septuaginta*. VTG IX/1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, ³1990.
- Kappler, W., and R. Hanhart (2017). *Maccabaeorum liber II, copii usus quas reliquit Werner Kappler edidit Robert Hanhart Septuaginta*. VTG IX/2. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, ⁴2017.
- Knop, J. A. (1977). *The Editing and Publishing of the London Polyglot, 1654–1657*, Dissertation, University of Chicago, Chicago.
- Kratz, R. G. (2016). 'Septuaginta', in *Jahrbuch der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen 2015*. Berlin and Boston, MA: De Gruyter, 321–3.
- Kratz, R. G., and F. Albrecht (2017). 'Die Göttinger Septuaginta'. *JSCS* 50: 13–30.
- Lee, J. A. L. (2005). 'Dimitrios Doukas and the Accentuation of the New Testament Text of the Complutensian Polyglot'. *NT* 47: 250–90.
- Linde, C. (2012). 'Johannes Crastonus's Edition of the Psalms'. *The Library* VII/13: 147–63.
- Lonicer, J. (1526). *Τῆς θείας γραφῆς παλαιᾶς δηλαδὴ καὶ νέας ἅπαντα. Divinae scripturae veteris novaeque omnia*. Argentorati: Apud Vuolphium Cephalaeum.
- Lumini, A. (2000). *La Bibbia: Edizioni del XVI secolo*. Biblioteca di bibliografia italiana 162. Florence: Leo S. Olschki.
- Lyell, J. P. Ro. (1917). *Cardinal Ximenes: Statesman, Ecclesiastic, Soldier and Man of Letters, with an Account of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible*. London: Grafton & Co.
- Mandelbrote, S. (2006). 'English Scholarship and the Greek Text of the Old Testament, 1620–1720: The Impact of Codex Alexandrinus', in A. Hessayon and N. Keene, eds., *Scripture and Scholarship in Early Modern England*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 74–93.
- Mandelbrote, S. (2016a). 'The Old Testament and its Ancient Versions in Manuscript and Print in the West, from c. 1480 to c. 1780', in E. Cameron, ed., *The New Cambridge History of the Bible*. Vol. 3. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 82–109.

- Mandelbrote, S. (2016b). 'When Manuscripts Meet: Editing the Bible in Greek during and after the Council of Trent', in A. Blair and A.-S. Goeing, eds., *For the Sake of Learning: Essays in Honor of Anthony Grafton*. Vol. 1. Scientific and learned cultures and their institutions 18/1. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 251–67.
- Masius, A. (1574). *Josuae imperatoris historia*. Antverpiae: Ex officina Christophori Plantini architypographi regii.
- Meade, J. D. (2020). *A Critical Edition of the Hexaplaric Fragments of Job 22–42*. Origen's Hexapla. A Critical Edition of the Extant Fragments. Leuven: Peeters Press.
- Mercati, G. (1910). 'Il testo dell'Aldina'. *BZ* 8: 337–8.
- Miller, P. N. (2001a). 'The "Antiquarianization" of Biblical Scholarship and the London Polyglot Bible (1653–57)'. *Journal of the History of Ideas* 62: 463–82.
- Miller, P. N. (2001b). 'Making the Paris Polyglot Bible: Humanism and Orientalism in the Early Seventeenth Century', in H. Jaumann, ed., *Die europäische Gelehrtenrepublik im Zeitalter des Konfessionalismus. The European Republic of Letters in the Age of Confessionalism*. Wolfenbütteler Forschungen 96. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 59–85.
- Nestle, E. (1886). *Septuagintastudien (Programm des Kgl. Gymnasiums in Ulm 547)*. Ulm: Wagnersche Buchdruckerei.
- Nestle, E. (1905). 'The Cambridge Septuagint of 1665 and 1684: A Bibliographical Query'. *JTS* 6: 611–14.
- Neuschäfer, B. (2004). 'Die kritische Edition des griechischen Alten Testaments: Anspruch und Aufgabe des Göttinger Septuaginta-Unternehmens'. *Jahrbuch der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 129–39.
- Neuschäfer, B. (2008). 'Die Göttinger Septuaginta-Ausgabe: Standortbestimmung eines editorischen Jahrhundertprojekts'. Internationale Fachtagung, Göttingen, 28.–30. April 2008, in *editio* 22: 241–5.
- Neuschäfer, B. (2013). 'Alteri saeculo: Paul Anton de Lagardes "Lebensarbeit" an der Septuaginta', in R. G. Kratz and B. Neuschäfer, eds., *Die Göttinger Septuaginta: Ein editorisches Jahrhundertprojekt*. AAWG NF 22. Berlin and Boston, MA: De Gruyter, 235–64.
- Neuschäfer, B., and Chr. Schäfer (2013). 'Dokumente und Bilder zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte des Septuaginta-Unternehmens', in R. G. Kratz and B. Neuschäfer, eds., *Die Göttinger Septuaginta: Ein editorisches Jahrhundertprojekt*. AAWG NF 22. Berlin and Boston, MA: De Gruyter, 363–405.
- O'Connell, S. (2006). *From Most Ancient Sources: The Nature and Text-Critical Use of the Greek Old Testament Text of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible*. OBO 215. Fribourg: Academic Press, and Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Pani, G. (1988). 'L'edizione Sistina dei Settanta: Quattro secoli dopo'. *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 54: 371–89.
- Pani, G. (1990). 'Un centenaire à rappeler: L'édition Sixtine des Septante', in I. Backus and F. Higman, eds., *Théorie et pratique de l'exégèse*. Geneva: Librairie Droz S.A., 413–38.
- Pearson, J. (1665). *Ἡ παλαιὰ διαθήκη κατὰ τοὺς ἑβδομήκοντα. Vetus Testamentum Graecum ex versione Septuaginta interpretum, juxta exemplar Vaticanum Romae editum ... Cantabrigiae: Per Joannem Field typographum academicum*.
- Quast, U. (2009). *Ruth. Septuaginta*. VTG IV,3. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2009.
- Rahlfs, A. (1913). 'Die Abhängigkeit der sixtinischen Septuaginta-Ausgabe von der aldinischen'. *ZAW* 33: 30–46.
- Rahlfs, A. (1914). *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments: Für das Septuaginta-Unternehmen aufgestellt*. MSU 2. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung.
- Rahlfs, A. (1922a). *Das Buch Ruth griechisch, als Probe einer kritischen Handausgabe der Septuaginta herausgegeben*. Stuttgart: Privilegierte Württembergische Bibelanstalt.

- Rahlfs, A. (1922b). *Studie über den griechischen Text des Buches Ruth*. MSU 3/2. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung.
- Rahlfs, A. (1926). *Genesis. Septuaginta*. Societatis Scientiarum Gottingensis auctoritate I. Stuttgart: Privilegierte Württembergische Bibelanstalt.
- Rahlfs, A. (1928). *Paul de Lagardes wissenschaftliches Lebenswerk im Rahmen einer Geschichte seines Lebens dargestellt*. MSU 4/1. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung.
- Rahlfs, A. (1935). *Septuaginta. Id est Vetus Testamentum Graece iuxta lxx interpretes*. Vols. 1–2. Stuttgart: Privilegierte Württembergische Bibelanstalt.
- Rahlfs, A. (1979). *Psalmi cum Odis. Septuaginta*. VTG X. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht³1979.
- Rahlfs, A., and R. Hanhart (2006). *Septuaginta. Id est Vetus Testamentum Graece iuxta LXX interpretes. Duo volumina in uno, Editio altera*. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft.
- Reineccius, Chr. (1730). *Vetus Testamentum graecum ex versione septuaginta interpretum, una cum libris apocryphis secundum exemplar Vaticanum Romae editum*. Lipsiae: Apud Bernhardum Christoph. Breitkopfium¹1730, ²1757.
- Reineccius, Chr. (1747). *Biblia sacra quadrilingua Novi Testamenti*. Lipsiae: Sumptibus haeredum Lanckisianorum.
- Reineccius, Chr. (1750–1). *Biblia sacra quadrilingua Veteris Testamenti*. Vols. 1–2. Lipsiae: Sumptibus haeredum Lanckisianorum.
- Renouard, A.-A. (1825). *Annales de l'imprimerie des Alde*. Vol. 3. Paris: Antoine-Augustin Renouard, ²1825.
- Rost, H. (1939). *Die Bibel im Mittelalter: Beiträge zur Geschichte und Bibliographie der Bibel*. Augsburg: Kommissions-Verlag.
- Rozmond, K. (1963–4). 'Het Psalterion van Aldus Manutius'. *Het Boek* 36: 94–9.
- Sáenz-Badillos, Á. (1990). *La filología bíblica en los primeros helenistas de Alcalá*. Institución San Jerónimo 18. Estella (Navarre): Ed. Verbo Divino.
- Schäfer, Chr. (2012). *Benutzerhandbuch zur Göttinger Septuaginta*. Band 1: *Die Edition des Pentateuch von John William Wevers*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Schäfer, Chr. (2013). *Benutzerhandbuch zur Göttinger Septuaginta*. Band 2: *Die Edition des Buches Ruth von Udo Quast*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Schäfer, Chr. (2015). 'Alfred Rahlfs (1865–1935) und die historisch-kritische Edition der Septuaginta', in B. Schröder and H. Wojtkowiak, eds., *Stiftsgeschichte(n): 250 Jahre Theologisches Stift der Universität Göttingen (1765–2015)*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 167–74.
- Schäfer, Chr. (2016). *Alfred Rahlfs (1865–1935) und die kritische Edition der Septuaginta. Eine biographisch-wissenschaftsgeschichtliche Studie*. BZAW 489. Berlin and Boston, MA: De Gruyter.
- Schäfer, Chr. (2017). 'Beobachtungen zu Alfred Rahlfs' editionstechnischen Grundsätzen in der "Handausgabe von 1935"'. *ZAW* 129: 346–61.
- Schenker, A. (1994). 'Der alttestamentliche Text in den vier großen Polyglottenbibeln nach dem heutigen Stand der Forschung'. *ThRv* 90: 177–88.
- Schenker, A. (2008). 'The Polyglot Bibles of Antwerp, Paris and London: 1568–1658', in M. Sæbø, ed., *Hebrew Bible, Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation*. Vol. 2: *From the Renaissance to the Enlightenment*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 774–84.
- Schumann, G. A. (1829). *Genesis hebraice et graece (Pentateuchus hebraice et graece 1)*. Lipsiae: Apud Fridericum Fleischer.
- Sixtina (1587). *Ἡ παλαιὰ διαθήκη κατὰ τοὺς ἑβδομήκοντα δι' αὐθεντίας Εὐστότου ε', ἄκρου ἀρχιερέως ἐκδοθεῖσα. Vetus Testamentum iuxta Septuaginta ex auctoritate Sixti V. pont. max. editum*. Romae: Ex typographia Francisci Zanetti.

- Sixtina (1588). *Vetus Testamentum secundum LXX Latine reddatum et ex auctoritate Sixti V. pont. max. editum*... In aedibus populi Romani: Apud Georgium Ferrarium.
- Spohn, G. L., and F. A. W. Spohn (1794–1824). *Ieremias vates e versione Iudaeorum Alexandrinorum ac reliquorum interpretum Graecorum. Emendatus notisque criticis illustratus*. Vols. 1–2. Lipsiae: Impensis I. G. I. Breitkopfii, filii et soc.
- Stier, R. and K. G. W. Theile (1875). *Polyglotten-Bibel zum praktischen Handgebrauch: Die Heilige Schrift Alten und Neuen Testaments in übersichtlicher Nebeneinanderstellung des Urtextes, der Septuaginta, Vulgata und Luther-Übersetzung, so wie der wichtigsten Varianten der vornehmsten deutschen Übersetzungen*. Vols. I–IV. Bielefeld: Velhagen und Klasing, ^{4/5}1875.
- Swete, H. B. (1907). *The Old Testament according to the Septuagint*. Vol. 2, *I Chronicles–Tobit*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, ¹1891, ³1907.
- Swete, H. B. (1909). *The Old Testament according to the Septuagint*. Vol. 1, *Genesis–IV Kings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, ¹1887, ⁴1909.
- Swete, H. B. (1912). *The Old Testament according to the Septuagint*. Vol. 3, *Hosea–4 Maccabees, Psalms of Solomon, Enoch, the Odes*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, ¹1894, ⁴1912.
- Swete, H. B. (1914). *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek: Revised by R. R. Ottley, with an Appendix Containing the Letter of Aristeas Edited by H. J. Thackeray*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, ²1914.
- Thomann, G. (1992). ‘John Ernest Grabe (1666–1711): Lutheran Syncretist and Anglican Patristic Scholar’. *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 43: 414–27.
- Todd, H. J. (1821). *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Right Rev. Brian Walton, D.D. Lord Bishop of Chester, Editor of the London Polyglot Bible*... Vols. 1–2. London: Printed for F. C. & J. Rivington, et al.
- Ussher, J. (1695). *De Graeca Septuaginta interpretum versione syntagma cum libri Estherae editione Origenica et vetere Graeca altera ex Arundelliana Bibliotheca nunc primum in lucem producta*. Londini: Prostant vaenales apud Johannem Crook ¹1655, Lipsiae: Sumptibus Johannis Caspari Meyeri ²1695.
- van Staalduine-Sulman, E. (2017). *Justifying Christian Aramaism: Editions and Latin Translations of the Targums from the Complutensian to the London Polyglot Bible (1517–1657)*. Jewish and Christian Perspectives Series 33. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill.
- von Tischendorf, Konstantin (1875). *Ἡ παλαιὰ διαθήκη κατὰ τοὺς ἑβδομήκοντα. Vetus Testamentum Graece iuxta LXX interpretes. Textum Vaticanum Romanum emendatius edidit*... *Editio quinta, Prolegomenis recognitis adiecta est Francisci Delitzschii ad Paulum de Lagarde Epistula*. Vols. 1–2. Lipsiae: F. A. Brockhaus, ⁵1875.
- von Tischendorf, K., and E. Nestle (1887). *Ἡ παλαιὰ διαθήκη κατὰ τοὺς ἑβδομήκοντα. Vetus Testamentum Graece iuxta LXX interpretes. Textum Vaticanum Romanum emendatius edidit*... *Editio septima, Prolegomena recognovit Supplementum auxit Eberardus Nestle*. Vols. 1–2. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, ⁷1887.
- Walton, B. (1653–7). *Biblia sacra polyglotta*, Vols. I–VI. London: Roycroft, repr. Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt 1963–5.
- Wechel, A. (1597). *Τῆς θείας γραφῆς, παλαιᾶς δηλαδὴ καὶ νέας διαθήκης, ἅπαντα. Divinae scripturae, nempe veteris ac novi testamenti, omnia*. Francofurti: Apud Andreae Wecheli heredes.
- Wevers, J. W. (1974). *Genesis. Septuaginta*. VTG I. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Wevers, J. W., and U. Quast (2020). *Numeri. Septuaginta*. VTG III/1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2nd ed. 2020.
- Wevers, J. W., and U. Quast (1986). *Leviticus. Septuaginta*. VTG II/2. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

- Wevers, J. W., and U. Quast (1991). *Exodus. Septuaginta*. VTG II/1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Wevers, J. W., and U. Quast (2006). *Deuteronomium. Septuaginta*. VTG III/2. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, ²2006.
- Ziegler, J. (1944). 'Der griechische Dodekapropheten-Text der Complutenser Polyglotte.' *Bib* 25: 297–310.
- Ziegler, J. (1945). 'Der Text der Aldina im Dodekapropheten.' *Bib* 26: 37–51.
- Ziegler, J. (1982). *Iob. Septuaginta*. VTG XI/4. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Ziegler, J. (1983). *Isaias. Septuaginta*. VTG XIV. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, ³1983.
- Ziegler, J. (1984). *Duodecim prophetarum. Septuaginta*. VTG XIII. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, ³1984.
- Ziegler, J. (2006). *Jeremias, Baruch, Threni, Epistula Jeremiae. Septuaginta*. VTG XV. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, ³2006.
- Ziegler, J. (2015). *Ezechiel*. Mit einem Nachtrag von D. Fraenkel. *Septuaginta*. VTG XVI/1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, ⁴2015.
- Ziegler, J. (2016). *Sapientia Iesu Filii Sirach. Septuaginta*. VTG XII/2. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, ³2016.
- Ziegler, J. (2017). *Sapientia Salomonis. Septuaginta*. VTG XII/1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, ³2017.
- Ziegler, J., O. Munnich, and D. Fraenkel (1999). *Susanna. Daniel. Bel et Draco. Septuaginta*. VTG XVI/2. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, ²1999.

PART II

THE CONTEXT
OF THE
SEPTUAGINT

CHAPTER 4

THE SOCIAL AND HISTORICAL SETTING OF THE SEPTUAGINT

Palestine and the Diaspora

JAMES K. AITKEN

It can be established that the first translations of the Pentateuch were undertaken in Egypt. In addition to the legend of Aristeas that places the translation in Egypt, the presence of loan words, the influence of Aramaic (Joosten 2008), and the likely need there for a translation confirm the tradition. The remainder of the Septuagint translations, which extend over a period of time from the third or second century BCE through to at least the first century CE, cannot so easily be placed, and any arguments are dependent on one's understanding of the social circumstances in which the translations might have been produced. There is an assumption that translations would not have been needed in Palestine where Hebrew would still have been known, and that when translations do appear there they are of the type that match the Greek most closely to the Hebrew language (the so-called Kaige tradition). It is true that we do find a Kaige Greek scroll in Palestine from the first century BCE (see Chapters 29 and 30), but determining whether this is typical of the region or not is almost impossible. Decisions have to be made about the relative status of languages in the region, as well as the nature of the translation process itself.

The regions incorporating Palestine or more specifically Judea and the Diaspora are large and diverse. After the death of Alexander the Great, his kingdom was divided and Judea was ruled initially by the Ptolemies from their capital in Alexandria. Judea transferred from Ptolemaic to Seleucid control following victory at the battle of Panium in 200 BCE. From what may be determined from the few inscriptions and historical sources, administration of the region largely continued unchanged since the Persian period, and the transfer to the Seleucids little affected the region. The prosperity of Egypt attracted many Jews into the Ptolemaic kingdom while others remained in Judea,

now under the Seleucids. Gradually Jewish communities expanded into other regions of the Mediterranean, but for most communities epigraphic evidence only begins in the Roman period. The real difference in the economy and administration of Judea would have been felt after the Maccabean revolt (167–165 BCE, although conflict continued for some years afterwards). The Hasmonean rule that was established after the revolt led to expansion in territorial control by the new Jewish kingdom and a resultant increase in prosperity through exploitation of land and increased trade. It also stimulated greater use of Greek as a language and with it Greek culture in Jerusalem.

The distinction between Judea and Egypt should perhaps not be drawn as sharply as some would. Movement between Jewish centres of learning in antiquity, including the Diaspora, might have been common as much as travel and cultural exchange were in antiquity. The Aristeas tradition presents the translators of the Pentateuch coming to Egypt from Jerusalem, and certainly before 200 BCE the two regions were united under the Ptolemaic Empire. Even after the Seleucid conquest of Palestine we see Ben Sira's grandson travelling to Egypt without any indication that it was unusual. Such ease of movement might imply cooperation between scholars, dependent on their expertise in either Hebrew or Greek. There is uncertainty nevertheless as to whether we are looking to identify translators who are scholars learned in Hebrew or those capable of writing Greek, the ordinary language of the day. Sages from Jerusalem would seem to be the natural choice of those with sufficient knowledge of Hebrew to interpret the source text, and accordingly a case has been made that by default we should assume the translations other than the Pentateuch were made in Judea (Tov 2012). But the translators also needed to have been immersed in a Greek-speaking environment or at least working with those that had been so immersed. Therefore, for Palestine to be a location for translations, a case has to be made for the use of Greek and for the presence of Greek writers able to undertake the translation. In the Diaspora, by contrast, where Greek was the norm, the existence of sizeable Jewish communities has to be established. In both cases the later the period, the more likely it is that there was a thriving Greek literary tradition in which a translation could have been produced.

THE LANGUAGE SITUATION IN PALESTINE

The tendency has been to assume the model of the Pentateuch translation for the whole of the Septuagint, leading to the locating of the translations in Egypt and their time of translation being within a century of the Pentateuch translation. The extent of Greek knowledge in Palestine has often been considered in discussion of the languages of Jesus, but it can be shown that even in the Hellenistic period multilingualism was standard. The presumption that it was only with the loss of Hebrew that Greek came to prominence is once more dependent on certain presuppositions. The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls at Qumran confirmed the ongoing use of Hebrew and Aramaic, but also indicated that Greek could be used (if only in twenty-seven scrolls from Cave 7). Elsewhere in the Judean desert documentary texts show the wide use of Greek alongside

Aramaic (see Tov 2001, and Chapter 29), and even in the Qumran scrolls there is evidence of Greek for documentary purposes (Richey 2012). While the majority of inscriptions from Palestine are in Greek (van der Horst 2014), this figure is representative of the preponderance of evidence in the Roman period, but tells us little about the earlier period. For the Hellenistic period Greek is certainly the language of the ruling administration, but only gradually becomes the language of Jews. Administrative Seleucid documents in Greek are common, seen in the Hefzibah stele, containing decrees between the years 202 and 195 BCE (Landau 1966), and the Heliodorus stele from the mid-second century (Cotton and Wörrle 2007; Gera 2009). Local groups could also petition the king in Greek, as in the Yavneh-Yam inscription from 149 BCE. The extent of Greek is also illustrated by the Hellenistic tombs from Idumean Maresha, to the south of Judea, where Aramaic had been the dominant language but Greek is the only language used in the second-century tombs. In Jerusalem the first Jewish Greek inscription is from the early first century BCE, a Hellenistic-like epigram scratched on the wall of the tomb of Jason where in the same tomb we have Aramaic. In Samaria Greek inscriptions are found among the Samaritans, but they are in the minority. It was only a gradual process that saw Greek becoming common among Jews of Judea, but that need not mean intellectuals did not use it before that.

Since the work of Hengel it has become the norm not to distinguish between Palestinian and Diaspora Judaism, recognizing that both are Hellenized from early on in the period (Hengel 1974). The presence of Greek merchants and the spread of the Greek language in administrative circles do not, however, prove that Hebrew speakers required Greek translations or literature. Nevertheless, Egypt can be cited as a comparison. Shortly upon the arrival of the Ptolemies in Egypt there was rapid adoption of Greek, even among native Egyptian speakers who regularly worked as scribes for the ruling Greeks. The role of Greek language in education, administration, and international relations stimulated rapid advancement in Greek education, offering advancement in social status and opportunities for work that could be gained through knowledge of Greek (Thompson 1994). The language was soon adopted by Egyptians as well as other immigrants to Egypt. Likewise in Palestine Tobias can be seen as an example of this phenomenon: despite being from a priestly family, he corresponds in Greek with Apollonios the wealthy landowner in Egypt, as shown by the Zenon papyri. Hebrew and Aramaic remained the languages of Palestine, but Greek as early as the third century was the language of the elite for commerce and social advancement.

THE POLITICAL CONTEXT FOR GREEK EDUCATION

The catalyst for the rise in the use of Greek in Judea and for the cultivation of Greek literary circles would have been the Hellenistic-style courts of the Hasmoneans and especially of Herod the Great. Greek would have been the main language of the court of

Herod, and conceivably could have been under the Hasmoneans too. The Hasmoneans rose to power after the Maccabean revolt (165 BCE) and were effective rulers from their adoption of the high priesthood in 152 BCE until Roman intervention in 63 BCE. Little is known of the functioning of the Hasmonean court, but we may infer some details on the mode of Hellenistic courts elsewhere and from references in the literature. The Hasmoneans appear to have cultivated international relations, both with the ruling Seleucids and with Rome (e.g. 1 Macc. 8:17–20) and Sparta (1 Macc. 14:20–3). This would have required knowledge of Aramaic and of Greek for communication, but would also have stimulated the presentation of the court as part of the Hellenistic cultural environment. Although the Hasmoneans seem to have promoted Hebrew as a political statement, seen especially in their use of Paleo-Hebrew on their coins, Greek gradually was introduced (from the coins of Alexander Jannaeus, 103–76 BCE) and their identity in most other respects was as Hellenistic rulers.

Hellenistic courts, most notably in Alexandria but also in Seleucid Antioch, became patrons of the arts, attracting scholars and writers from across the empires. The Hasmoneans could be seen as cultivators of intellectuals from a survey of the literary production in their times. 1 Maccabees, a pro-Hasmonean work from the time of John Hyrcanus or shortly after, is the most explicitly pro-Hasmonean, although it was originally written in Hebrew (or Aramaic). Its author clearly was in support of the ruling class and might well have been sponsored by them. It does not indicate a Greek writing tradition but literary sponsorship by the Hasmoneans. That the work was translated into Greek, however, would imply there was a Greek audience in support of the Hasmoneans, and the translation technique, matching closely the Hebrew syntax, would suggest it could derive from Judea. Within the court we find one Eupolemus, who was sent by Judas Maccabaeus as a diplomat to Rome (1 Macc. 8:17) and usually identified as the Jewish Greek writer by the same name, whose work is quoted by Eusebius in citations from Alexander Polyhistor. His work demonstrates awareness of biblical traditions and of Greek writers, and presumes an audience that knows Greek too. Jason of Cyrene, whose work is lost but was summarized in 2 Maccabees (2 Macc. 2:24), is one of the non-Jewish intellectuals who might have been hosted and cultivated in the court. While Jason, as his name implies, probably came from the Diaspora, he was clearly familiar with events in Judea and must have spent some time there.

The author of 2 Maccabees itself has been seen as either a Diaspora or a Palestinian writer, but is an early example of cultivated Greek Jewish writer. Beyond Judea, the work of Theodotus, preserved in quotations from Alexander Polyhistor in Eusebius, could be Jewish or Samaritan (owing to its focus on Shechem). It is possible that the gymnasium of Jerusalem mentioned in the books of the Maccabees continued after the Maccabean revolt, especially since its destruction is not mentioned and its ongoing presence might account for the antipathy towards it. It is not clear, however, how far such a gymnasium would have stimulated Greek education (Doran 2001).

The greatest impetus for Greek learning in Palestine would have been the establishment of the Herodian court. Herod modelled his court on other Hellenistic style courts, not just those of the Ptolemies and Seleucids, but also that of Augustus in Rome (Rocca 2008).

Augustus built up an impressive library, serving both as a repository for books and a centre for the gathering of intellectuals, and became a patron of Latin literature. After the battle of Actium in 31 BCE, Alexandria lost the status it held, and rival centres emerged in Pergamum and Jerusalem. We have records of writers moving to Jerusalem from Egypt and elsewhere to participate in Herod's court: Philostratus, author of the *Indika*, who had been active in Alexandria before 31 BCE, and one Ptolemy (Roller 1998: 63–4). Most important of all to Herod would have been Nicolaus of Damascus, whose *Universal History* aimed to glorify Herod as the pinnacle of that world history. Nicolaus was typical of the non-Jewish historians cultivated by the Herodian court and became a major source for Josephus's writings. It was in such a context that we see the extensive establishment of Greek education in Palestine, and thus from the end of the first century BCE one can imagine the composition of Jewish Greek works and translations. By the end of the first century CE Justus of Tiberias wrote a history in Greek (Josephus, *C. Ap.* 1.9, 51), and Josephus records Justus's education in Greek, along with that of many of the Jerusalem aristocracy. He was also able to expound in detail on his own Greek education, encompassing grammar and the study of prose and poetry (*Ant.* 20.263).

The demise of Alexandria as a cultural centre after Actium was of course gradual (as the presence of Philo there in the first century CE testifies), but was decisive for Jews after the Trajanic revolt in 117 CE. Throughout the first and second centuries we can surmise that Jewish centres of learning arose in the Diaspora, especially where there were sizeable communities such as in Asia Minor and Syria. Pergamum (the home of Galen) and Antioch, for example, were both known as places of Greek cultural activity, and Jews there would not have failed to be a part of that. The lack of evidence of Jewish literary activity in these places only allows for reconstruction.

TRANSLATIONS IN JUDEA

There is no translation that can indisputably be placed in Palestine, and attempts to identify distinctive vocabulary, whether of Palestine or Egypt, are flawed. While Jerusalem was a centre of Hebrew learning, it was only from the first century BCE that we can conclude that a lively Greek literary environment existed there, and more so from the time of Herod on. The colophon to the Greek translations of Esther indicates it is the most likely example of a Jerusalem translation, since it declares that it was translated by 'Lysimachus, the son of Ptolemaius, of the people in Jerusalem'. It is dated to the Ptolemaic era, and the most favoured date is 77 BCE, but for some it was actually translated in Egypt even if the translator was from Jerusalem (as Ben Sira's grandson). The greatest debate has centred on the translation of the Psalms, which displays features similar to the Kaige tradition (Venetz 1974) and which some have seen as reflecting Palestinian concerns (e.g. Schaper 1995). No one argument is convincing, but the fact that the translation appears to be a precursor to the Kaige tradition might place it in Palestine.

The discovery of a Kaige scroll in the Judean desert, and the characteristic of that translation to represent formally the Hebrew for those familiar with Hebrew, suggest that this tradition could derive from Judea. Accordingly LXX translations that reflect this tradition, namely Canticles, Ruth, Lamentations, and 1 Esdras (see Chapters 22 and 26), could be located in Judea. As this tradition is seen as a development of an earlier translation method, they are also usually dated to the first century CE, and this would place them well in the context of the Greek intellectual environment established by Herod. The most developed translation in this tradition and one close to the style of the second-century reviser Aquila is that of Ecclesiastes/Qoheleth. It is to be placed late in the first century, at the time of Justus of Tiberias and Josephus, and displays an interest in Hebrew language and a sophisticated Greek style (Aitken 2006), appropriate for the time. Probably the latest translation is that of 2 Esdras, an apocalyptic work composed towards 100 CE in Hebrew or Aramaic (now lost), and translated sometime after. Its theme and late date indicate Judea rather than Egypt as the likely place of translation. Some translations we know very little about, such as those of Judith, Daniel, and Tobit, although it has been suggested that they derive from Judea, especially Judith with its Hebraizing style of translation and theme of the besieged city, perhaps serving the propaganda of the Hasmonean court (see Chapter 26). Beyond the LXX there are also the Greek translations of Enoch and the no longer extant Jubilees, works that in their original were popular in Judea and therefore could have been translated for a Judean audience.

TRANSLATIONS IN THE DIASPORA

There is no positive evidence for a Diaspora location for any translation. We know very little of Diaspora Jewish communities in the Hellenistic period, and even by the Roman period there are no literary works that can with certainty be placed in the Diaspora. A case has been made for Asia Minor as the provenance of the Greek composition Sibylline Oracle 3, since there were many Sibylline shrines there and Asia is frequently mentioned in the text (Buitenwerf 2003), but this is not beyond dispute. Epigraphic evidence reveals the spread of Jewish communities in the Mediterranean region and in North Africa, but Cyrenaica is one of the few areas where the evidence suggests a sizeable population early on. Jason of Cyrene, the author of the history upon which 2 Maccabees was based, is notably from this region. We do not know enough about other cities such as Rome or Antioch in the translation period to be able to offer anything more than speculation. Suggestions that 4 Maccabees was composed in Antioch or that Additions to Daniel were written in Asia Minor can neither be proven nor denied. The testimony of the book of Acts on Paul of Tarsus provides a case of an educated Jew from the Diaspora, but one who, arriving in Jerusalem, might have completed his education there. He is a further reminder that mobility in antiquity was the norm and to identify precise locations when the authors themselves moved between cultural centres is not as straightforward as it might seem.

SUGGESTED READING

For further study of the possible contexts for the role of Greek language and Scripture in Palestine and the non-Egyptian Diaspora, the following works are recommended:

- Barclay, John M. G. (1996). *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora: From Alexander to Trajan (323 bce–117 CE)*. Edinburgh: T&T Clark.
- Dochhorn, Jan (2013). 'Jüdisch-alexandrinische Literatur? Eine Problemanzeige und ein Überblick über diejenige Literatur, die potentiell dem antiken Judentum entstammt', in T. Georges, F. Albrecht, and R. Feldmeier, eds., *Alexandria*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 285–312.
- Hayes John H., and Sara R. Mandell (1998). *The Jewish People in Classical Antiquity: From Alexander to Bar Kochba*. Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press.
- Tov, Emanuel (2010). 'Reflections on the Septuagint with Special Attention Paid to the Post-Pentateuchal Translations', in W. Kraus and M. Karrer, eds., *Die Septuaginta: Texte, Theologien, Einflüsse; 2. internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D), Wuppertal 23.–27.7. 2008*. WUNT 252. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 3–22.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aitken, James K. (2006). 'Rhetoric and Poetry in Greek Ecclesiastes'. *BIOSCS* 38: 55–78.
- Buitenwerf, R. (2003). *Book III of the Sibylline Oracles and Its Social Setting, with an Introduction, Translation and Commentary*. *Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha* 17. Leiden: Brill.
- Cotton, Hannah M. and K. Wörrle (2007). 'Seleukos IV to Heliodoros: A New Dossier of Royal Correspondence from Israel'. *ZPE* 159: 191–205.
- Doran, Robert (2001). 'The High Cost of a Good Education', in John J. Collins and Gregory E. Sterling, eds., *Hellenism in the Land of Israel*. Notre Dame, IL: University of Notre Dame Press, pp. 94–115.
- Gera, Dov (2009). 'Olympiodoros, Heliodoros and the Temples of Koilē Syria and Phoinikē'. *ZPE* 169: 125–55.
- Hengel, Martin (1974). *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period*. 2 vols. Trans. John Bowden. Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press.
- Horst, P. W. van der (2014). 'Jewish–Greek Epigraphy in Antiquity', in J. K. Aitken and J. Carleton Paget, eds., *The Jewish–Greek Tradition in Antiquity and the Byzantine Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 215–28.
- Isaac, B. (1991). 'A Seleucid Inscription from Jamnia-on-the-Sea: Antiochus V Eupator and the Sidonians'. *IEJ* 41: 132–44.
- Joosten, Jan (2008). 'The Septuagint as a Source of Information on Egyptian Aramaic in the Hellenistic Period', in H. Gzella, ed., *Aramaic in Its Historical and Linguistic Setting*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, pp. 93–105.
- Landau, Y. H. (1966). 'A Greek Inscription Found near Hefzibah'. *IEJ* 16: 54–70.
- Richey, Matthew (2012). 'The Use of Greek at Qumran: Manuscript and Epigraphic Evidence for a Marginalized Language'. *Dead Sea Discoveries* 19: 177–97.
- Rocca, Samuel (2008). *Herod's Judaea: A Mediterranean State in the Classical World*. TSAJ 122. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Roller, Duane W. (1998). *The Building Program of Herod the Great*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Schaper, Joachim (1995). *Eschatology in the Greek Psalter*. WUNT 76. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

- Thompson, Dorothy J. (1994). 'Literacy and Power in Ptolemaic Egypt', in A. K. Bowman and G. Woolf, eds., *Literacy and Power in the Ancient World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 67–83.
- Tov, Emanuel (2001). 'The Nature of the Greek Texts from the Judean Desert'. *Novum Testamentum* 43: 1–11.
- Tov, Emanuel (2010). 'Reflections on the Septuagint with Special Attention Paid to the Post-Pentateuchal Translations', in W. Kraus and M. Karrer, eds., *Die Septuaginta: Texte, Theologien, Einflüsse; 2. internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D), Wuppertal 23.–27.7. 2008*. WUNT 252. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 3–22.
- Tov, Emanuel (2012). *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*. 3rd edn. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press.
- Venetz, H.-J. (1974). *Quinta des Psalteriums: Ein Beitrag zur Septuaginta- und Hexaplaforchung*. Hildesheim: Gerstenberg.

CHAPTER 5

THE SOCIAL AND HISTORICAL SETTING OF THE SEPTUAGINT

Hellenistic and Roman Egypt

LIVIA CAPPONI

MANY Jews were caught up in the Syrian Wars in the aftermath of the dismemberment of Alexander's empire. They entered Egypt as war captives under Ptolemy Soter, the first king of the Macedonian dynasty (305–282 BCE). Josephus preserves a quote from the historian Hecataeus of Abdera concerning a high priest, Ezekias, who encouraged fellow Jews to emigrate to Egypt, speaking of their status (*C. Ap.* 1.186–9). However, this fragment may also have referred to a post-war settlement of Judea by Ptolemy (Bar Kochva 1996: 71ff.; Capponi 2011). The so-called *Letter of Aristeas* (see Chapter 8), an anonymous work probably written by an Alexandrian Jew in the second century BCE, states that Jews were deported to Egypt under Ptolemy I (§§13, 36). It was after this initial deportation that some Jews secured Ptolemaic favour. The *Letter of Aristeas* (§37) points out that 'the young were placed in the army, while those who were apt to stay with the king, and deserved the trust of the court, were assigned specific tasks and services', while Josephus (*C. Ap.* 2.44; *Ant.* 12.45) states that Ptolemy entrusted to the Jews the fortresses throughout Egypt because he was certain of their loyalty. Apparently, it was his son, Ptolemy II Philadelphos, who freed over 100,000 Jewish slaves of war (*Arist.* §§19–25, 36) and invited seventy-two Jerusalem elders to Alexandria to translate the Bible into Greek; however, the veracity of the account is debated, and the scene could have taken place under Ptolemy I (Capponi 2016b).

Jewish military settlers are attested in early Ptolemaic Aramaic and Greek inscriptions found in Alexandrian necropoleis, and inscriptions from Alexandria and the Fayum record dedications of Jewish synagogues to Ptolemy III Euergetes and his wife Berenike (246–221 BCE) (*JIGRE* 22, 117). There were at least five synagogues between the second and the first centuries BCE (Fraser 1972: 84). They were commonly named

proseuchai, ‘houses of prayer’, rather than *hiera*, ‘temples’, possibly because, unlike the earlier case of the temple of Elephantine, the Jews of Egypt did not normally offer sacrifices on altars, a prerogative of the Temple of Jerusalem. However, the usage of the terms *hieron* and *proseuchê* might have been more flexible than often assumed (Honigman 2011: 160). An exception seems to have been the temple that was founded by the exiled Jerusalem high priest Onias during the Maccabean period, in the Heliopolite nome (at Tell el-Yehoudieh near Cairo according to Petrie 1906, hence also Schürer 1986: III.1, 47–9; in a suburb of Heliopolis according to Bohak 1996; at Tell Basta or elsewhere according to the recent surveys by Hata 2011 and Piotrkowski 2019). Onias’s temple was not meant to replace the Temple of Jerusalem, as it was founded in the years after the rise of the Hasmoneans, when the Jerusalem cult had already been re-established (Collins 2000: 71); it was founded by Onias III after the Temple of Jerusalem had been looted by Antiochus IV according to the most recent study on the subject (Piotrkowski 2019). According to the Talmud (*m. Men.* 13, 10; *b. Men.* 109b; cf. *y. Men.* 13, 12–15; Schürer 1986: III.1, 145–7), ‘the House of Honya was not an idolatrous temple’ and the sources overall suggest that it never became schismatic (Capponi 2007). Greek funerary inscriptions in metrical verse have been found mentioning the ‘land of Onias’, Onias’s son Chelkias honoured by the kings (*JIGRE* 129), and asylum rights for a *proseuchê* to ‘the most high god’, possibly indicating the temple of Onias (*JIGRE* 125; Rigsby 2003). According to Piotrkowski, the Temple of Onias generated literature such as the Third Sybilline Oracle, 3 Maccabees, the Pseudo-Hecatean fragments and Joseph and Aseneth (Piotrkowski 2019, chs. 8–11).

Generally speaking, the Ptolemies tolerated and even appreciated the Jews, and assigned them important military tasks. A passage in Josephus (*C. Ap.* 2.49) states that Ptolemy VI Philometor (180–145 BCE) and his consort Cleopatra II placed the army under the command of the Jewish generals Onias and Dositheos. Josephus also informs us that Onias’s children Chelkias and Ananias were in charge of the Ptolemaic army under Cleopatra III, and enjoyed the queen’s trust to the point that Ananias managed to convince her not to attack the Hasmonean king Alexander Jannaeus in 105 BCE (Strabo *apud* Josephus, *Ant.* 13.286–7).

There are numerous examples of prominent Jews at the court of the Ptolemies. 3 Macc. 1:3 informs us that Dositheos son of Drimylos, ‘a Jew by birth’, who had subsequently ‘forsaken the teachings of his ancestral religion’, saved the life of King Ptolemy IV Philopator (222–205 BCE) from a plot after the battle of Raphia (217 BCE). The historicity of Dositheos is largely confirmed by numerous papyri which show him as the chief secretary of Ptolemy III, on the staff of the travelling king, and as eponymous priest of the cult of Alexander (*CPJ* 1.127a–e). A fictional story relates that, when Philopator was prevented by God from entering the Jerusalem Temple, he started a persecution of all Jews who would not enrol in the worship of Dionysus, gathering them in Alexandria and marshalling elephants to trample them to death. Eventually the beasts turned back and the king was stopped by the prayers of the priest Eleazar (3 Macc. 6.1–23). The tale in 3 Maccabees echoes the story of Heliodorus in 2 Maccabees, and Josephus (*C. Ap.* 2.49–56) links it to a later dynastic struggle in 145 BCE, when Onias and Dositheos defended Cleopatra II in the war against her brother Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II, and were miraculously pardoned by the king.

Some Jews rose to a position of prominence at court. The Jewish priest and peripatetic philosopher Aristobulus, for example, taught Ptolemy VI Philometor (180–145 BCE) (Capponi 2010). According to Josephus (*Ant.* 13.75–8), Philometor also adjudicated a Judean–Samaritan dispute, and was eventually persuaded by a certain Andronicus that the Temple of Jerusalem was to be preferred to that on Mount Gerizim. It is, however, possible that the settlement of this controversy took place under Ptolemy I, when the first Jewish community settled in Alexandria (Capponi 2016b: 347).

Hecataeus of Abdera (in Josephus, *C. Ap.* 1.189), the *Letter of Aristeas* (§§14; 310), and Philo (*Flacc.* 46) clearly state that a Jewish community existed in Alexandria under Ptolemy I, and an Alexandrian necropolis documents a Jewish presence in the city from early times (*JIGRE* 5–8; Gambetti 2009: 27). In a famous passage quoted by Josephus (*Ant.* 14.117–18), Strabo remarks that from Ptolemaic times the Jews in Egypt had some specific land assigned to them and were governed independently by a leader called *ethnarchês*, ‘chief of the nation’. The structure of the Jewish *politeuma* has been illuminated by the recent publication of the documents from the military community of Herakleopolis (*PPolitlud*; Honigman 2003). However, papyri, ostraca, and inscriptions provide detailed evidence of a high level of diversity between local Jewish communities in Egypt, both between regions and within a single region (Honigman 2009; 2011). Demotic ostraca document the life of an Aramaic-speaking Jewish community that survived in Edfu (Apollonopolis Magna in Upper Egypt) until the time of Trajan (Schwartz 1984). It is difficult to identify Jews in documents, as the criteria of name and language as ethnic markers have now been challenged (Honigman 2009: 118).

In 48 BCE the Jews of the land of Onias played an important role in supporting Julius Caesar and his legions in the war between Cleopatra VII and her brother Ptolemy XIII. In 47 BCE Caesar thanked the Jews by establishing Hyrcanus as ethnarch and high priest, and by passing worldwide edicts which allowed the Jews the right to live according to their ancestral traditions, and enjoy privileges such as the sabbath, the collection of the temple tax, a council, and, possibly, also the exemption from military service. The reliability of these decrees, messily quoted by Josephus, has been rehabilitated (*Ant.* 14.127–36; Pucci Ben Zeev 1998).

Under Cleopatra the Egyptian Jews do not seem to have been deprived of their power. The Jew Nicolaus of Damascus was the teacher of Cleopatra’s children, and her servant Eiras may have been called Eirene, a name common among Diaspora Jews. For centuries they had been an important police force patrolling the Nile, the so-called ‘river-police’ (*potamôphylakia*) that supervised the transport of grain. Besides, they appear to have been in charge of the supervision of the Alexandrian granaries. Josephus speaks against the Alexandrian accusations that the Jews’ excessive power caused famines at various occasions (*C. Ap.* 2.63–4).

It seems that Augustus confirmed the Caesarian privileges. Philo (*Flacc.* 74) defines him as ‘our saviour and benefactor’, and informs us that the Jews, who traditionally occupied the Alexandrian neighbourhood called Delta, had spread over many other parts of the city (*Flacc.* 55; *Leg.* 132). He also boasts, probably with some exaggeration, that the Jews in Egypt numbered one million (*Flacc.* 43). Josephus counted 7.5 million inhabitants in Egypt excluding Alexandria, but this figure seems high, too (*B.J.* 2.385;

Barclay 1996: 41). The fiscal and legal reforms introduced by Augustus probably created tensions that damaged the newly immigrated Jews, who were made liable to the Roman provincial poll tax or *laographia*. The members of the Jewish *politeuma* defined themselves as *politai*, ‘citizens’, and *astoi*, terms used to designate Alexandrian citizens (*PPolitLud* 1.17f.; *JIGRE* 114.6f.). It is possible that in the first years of Roman rule they did not have to pay poll tax, as they were the descendants of the first colonizers (Gambetti 2009: 227–8). Hence, perhaps, the idea, purported by Josephus in various passages of his work, of an ‘equal citizenship’ or *isopoliteia* with the Macedonians acquired in Ptolemaic times. Under Augustus at least some Alexandrian Jews were downgraded to the rank of Egyptians: in an Alexandrian document of 7–3 BCE, *BGU* 4.1140 = *CPJ* 2.151, the Jew Helenos laments that he has been deprived of his *patris* and has been forced to pay *laographia*. Jews who lived in Alexandria outside the *Delta* quarter were forced, perhaps after the census of 11/10 BCE, to pay the poll tax as ‘foreigners’ (Gambetti 2009: 65). Interestingly, however, Philo, an Alexandrian Jew, is the author of an encomium of Augustus (*Leg.* 143–7) which “sounds Egyptian” and transcends our cultural and religious categorizations (Troiani 2016).

In 38 CE the King of Judea Agrippa I came to Alexandria, probably to enforce a decree of Gaius imposing emperor worship. Agrippa’s pompous arrival provoked riots, and the prefect Avillius Flaccus started a persecution of the Jews, killing thirty-eight members of the Jewish council, searching all the houses of the Jews for hidden weapons, and cramming all Jews into the Delta (for Gambetti, Philo distorts Flaccus’s standard execution of Gaius’s orders). Both the Greeks and the Jews sent delegations to the emperor; the Greeks were led by the gymnasiarch Lampo and by the magistrate Isidorus, the Jews by Philo. Our main source is Philo’s eyewitness account in the *Legatio ad Gaium* and in the *In Flaccum* (Smallwood 1970; van der Horst 2003). Flaccus was eventually deposed and sent into exile, and, after becoming emperor in 41 CE, Claudius passed two edicts in which he restored the rights of the Jews in Alexandria and throughout the empire (Josephus, *Ant.* 19.280–92). A papyrus document (*P.Lond.* 6.1912 = *CPJ* 2.153; extensive bibliography in *CPJ* Vol. 2, pp. 36–55) preserves a letter of Claudius to the Alexandrians of November 41 CE which condemned the recent riots in the gymnasium and ordered the Jews not to busy themselves (*περιεργάζεσθαι*) with anything beyond what they previously had (lines 89–90), but to enjoy their rights ‘in a foreign city’ (l. 95). Claudius probably confirmed Gaius’s measures that confined the Jews in the Delta, and prohibited any form of Jewish immigration from the Levant or Egypt to the city of Alexandria, something that he compared to a plague (lines 96ff.). Claudius’s words possibly echoed the anti-Jewish version of Exodus revived by the Egyptian polymath Apion for his Roman audience in a bestselling work on the history of Egypt nicknamed ‘Truth’ (Capponi 2017: 92). In any case, the papyrological documentation supports the view that there were new waves of Jewish migration in the first century (*PHarrauer* 33; Honigman 2011: 142). The events of 38–41 CE led to the creation of the genre of the *Acta Alexandrinorum*, highly charged political pamphlets in the form of judicial proceedings, in which Alexandrian magistrates, depicted as martyrs, are interrogated and sentenced to death by Roman emperors (Musurillo 1954; Harker 2008; Vega Navarrete 2017).

As soon as the Jewish revolt against Rome broke out in 66 CE, the Alexandrians assembled in the amphitheatre to discuss whether they should reaffirm their loyalty to Rome. When they discovered that some Jews had crept into the assembly, a riot began,

and the prefect Tiberius Julius Alexander, nephew of Philo and a 'renegade' Jew, quelled it by killing 50,000 Jews (Josephus, *B.J.* 2.497; 7.369). As late as the time of Trajan, this traumatic episode is remembered as 'the battle of the Romans against the Jews' in an official edict of the prefect Rutilius Lupus (*P.Mil. Vogl.* 2.47 = Musurillo, *Acts* ix Recension C: 59–60, 194–5 = *CPJ* 2.435; Capponi 2018: 53–6). The Jewish council of Alexandria officially rejected the rebels' cause, but nonetheless the prefect Julius Lupus arrested and tortured 600 members. After the fall of the Temple of Jerusalem in 70 CE, many Jewish rebels sought refuge in Egypt (*B.J.* 7.448–50). For this reason, perhaps, around 74 the emperor ordered the closure (and, surely, the destruction) of the temple of Onias (*B.J.* 7.421).

Around this date Vespasian and Titus converted the old temple tax, known as *didrachmon*, '2-drachma tax', into the *ioudaikon telesma*, a 'Jewish tax' of two *denarii*, that all Jews had to pay to a newly created treasury, the *fiscus iudaicus* (*ioudaikos logos* in Egyptian documents) collecting post-war confiscations of Jewish properties (Josephus, *B.J.* 7.218; Capponi 2005). It was now necessary to clarify who was a Jew and who was not, and on an official level, and tax collectors perhaps relied on the lists of Jewish taxpayers stored in Jewish synagogues (Philo, *Spec. Leg.* 1.76–8). Domitian took care to catch those who were concealing their Jewish 'life' in order to avoid the tax (Suetonius, *Dom.* 12.2; Dio 68.1.2). Nerva, whose coinage claims to have abolished the *fiscus iudaicus*, possibly removed the tax between 96 and 98 CE (Goodman 2007). Papyri and ostraca show direct evidence of the Jewish tax under Trajan (*CPJ* 2.227, receipt of 116 CE) and, after the interruption during the Jewish Diaspora Revolt in 116–17, again in 145/6 or 167/8 CE at Karanis and in the Arsinoite nome (*CPJ* 3.460).

Once it was commonly assumed that the profound social and economic alienation between Jews and non-Jews and an increased fiscal pressure in collecting the Jewish tax brought about a violent Jewish uprising in 115–17 CE, involving Egypt, Cyrenaica, Cyprus, and Mesopotamia, although the deep causes of the revolt remained unclear (Ben Zeev 2005; Horbury 2014). Recently Capponi has hypothesized that the Jewish Diaspora Revolt was preceded by a phase when Trajan sought the help of the Egyptian Jews who were in control of waterways and transport, in the course of his preparations for the Parthian campaigns of 113–16. The philojudaic attitude of Trajan which emerges from the *Acta Alexandrinorum* (especially the *Acta Hermaisci*) may reflect the diplomatic exchanges of 112 between Trajan and the Jews of Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Egypt. Trajan promised the reconstruction of the Jerusalem Temple and the creation of a military route 'from Acco to Antioch' for the 'return' of Jewish exiles (*Bereshit Rabbah* 64.10 on Gen. 26:29). Some Christians welcomed this project, too, such as the author of the contemporary *Epistle of Barnabas* (*Barn.* 16.3–4), who argued that the prophecy that the Temple would be rebuilt by the descendants of its destroyers was coming true. Pappus and Lulianus, in fact, are not Jewish martyrs, but may be identified with two of the most powerful men of the time, Antiochus Philopappus and Tiberius Julius Alexander Julianus. The first of these men was a prince of Commagene related to various royal families in Armenia and even to Antiochus Epiphanes; the second was an Alexandrian Jew in Trajan's *consilium*, the son of Tiberius Julius Alexander, the former prefect of Egypt who was at the side of Titus in the siege of Jerusalem of 70 (Capponi 2018:

69–73). The interlude of tolerance, however, was brief. In 116 the promise of building the Temple was never fulfilled. The fable of the Egyptian heron and the lion that Rabbi Joshua Ben Hananiah tells his brothers (*Bereshit Rabbah* 64.10.3) perhaps symbolized the events of 115–16: the heron, or the Egyptian Jews, helped Trajan in his Parthian campaigns; the Roman lion, however, never returned the favour. The breakout of violence in Egypt and Cyrenaica prevented Trajan from maintaining the promise; there must have also been some conflict internal to Judaism, concerning the rebuilding of the Temple by pagans, and a more widespread discontent among rural masses of Egyptians and Jews: a document from the archive of Apollonius suggests that initially Egyptian farmers joined the Jews against Rome, until they were crushed by the legions of the prefect Rutilius Lupus (*CPJ* 2.238).

The Cyrenean Jews invaded Egypt, and together with the Egyptians Jews fought under the command of their ‘King’ Lukuas (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 4.2). Dio (68.32) mentions Andreas as the leader of the Cyrenean Jews, as well as an Artemion in command of the Jews at Cyprus: this plural leadership suggests that they were military leaders of Jewish mutinies who configured themselves as the new Maccabees (Capponi 2018: 105). The fact that Eusebius called Lukuas ‘king’, however, is significant. Luke was a common name among Diaspora Jews, which would be appropriate for a messianic leader, as it meant ‘bringer of light’; Gregorius Bar Hebraeus (Abul Faraj), drawing from Syriac sources, calls the leader of the Jewish revolt Luminus, a name which is likely to be the Latin translation of Loukas.

The Great Synagogue of Alexandria was destroyed (*jSukkah* 5.1), but the Jews destroyed pagan temples, roads, and fields, with an iconoclastic attitude that had some roots in the Maccabean past. Eusebius says that many tens thousands of gentiles died (*Hist. eccl.* 4.2) and Dio speaks of 220,000 casualties (68.32 and 69.8). The scale of the violence earned the Jews the epithet ‘impious’ (*anosioi*). As the revolt in Egypt was suppressed, with the help of Marcius Turbo, along with Greek *stratēgoi* such as Apollonius and his colleagues, Jewish property was reallocated and the Jewish presence in the *chōra* was obliterated (*CPJ* 3.445 and 448). Heliopolis was recolonized (*PHarris* 66) and other Jewish villages had the same fate (*CPJ* 3.460 of 145/6 or 167/8 CE indicates that only one Jew remained in a large village in the Arsinoite nome). Many decades later the inhabitants of Oxyrhynchus still held an annual celebration of their victory over the Jews (*CPJ* 3.450).

After 117 CE the Jewish communities of Egypt seem to vanish from the record, precisely at a time which has yielded the most abundant collection of papyrus documents (Schubert 2011). A revival of the Jewish community must have begun in the late second century, and in the third an Oxyrhynchus papyrus talks about a *synagōgē tōn Ioudaiōn* in 291 (*POxy* 9.1205, *CPJ* 3.473), which seems to point to a new and different organization. In the Roman period it is hard to distinguish Jews from Samaritans and Christians in documents (Honigman 2011: 138; Ilan 2018). Consequently, it is also difficult to tell when exactly Egyptian Christians definitely separated themselves from the Jews (after 117? or 70?). The lively discussion prompted by the recent suggestion that the date of the earliest Egyptian Christian books should be pushed forward to the third rather than the second

century CE indicates how difficult it is to extricate the history and literary production of the earliest Egyptian Christians from their Jewish counterparts (Bagnall 2009).

SUGGESTED READING

These events and issues are discussed in greater detail in the following works:

- Bagnall, Roger S., and Dominic W. Rathbone (2004). *Egypt from Alexander to the Early Christians: An Archaeological and Historical Guide*. Los Angeles, CA and London: Getty Publications and British Museum Press.
- Bilde, P. et al. (1992). *Ethnicity in Hellenistic Egypt*. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press.
- Bowman, Alan K. (1996). *Egypt after the Pharaohs: 332 BC–AD 642: From Alexander to the Arab Conquest* (2nd paperback edn). London: British Museum Press.
- Feldman, Louis H. (1993). *Jew and Gentile in the Ancient World: Attitudes and Interactions from Alexander to Justinian*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Goodman, Martin, ed. (1998). *The Jews in a Graeco-Roman World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gruen, Erich S. (2004). *Diaspora: Jews amidst Greeks and Romans*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Kerkeslager, Allen (2006). ‘The Jews in Egypt and Cyrenaica, 66–c. 235 ce’, in Steven T. Katz, ed., *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, Vol. 4: *The Late Roman-Rabbinic Period*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 53–68.
- Mélèze-Modrzejewski, Joseph (1997). *The Jews of Egypt: From Ramses II to Emperor Hadrian*. 2nd edn. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bagnall, Roger S. (2009). *Early Christian Books in Egypt*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Bar Kochva, Bezalel (1996). *Pseudo-Hecataeus, ‘On the Jews’: Legitimizing the Jewish Diaspora*. HCS 21. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Barclay, John M. G. (1996). *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora*. Edinburgh: T&T Clark.
- Ben Zeev, Miriam (2005). *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil*. Ancient Sources and Modern Insights. Leuven: Peeters.
- Bohak, Gideon (1996). *Joseph and Aseneth and the Jewish Temple in Heliopolis*. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.
- Capponi, Livia (2005). ‘Le fonti storiche e i documenti sulle finanze dei Giudei in Egitto’, in L. Troiani and G. Zecchini, eds., *Le fonti storiche nei primi secoli dell’impero*. Rome: L’Erma di Bretschneider, pp. 163–71.
- Capponi, L. (2007). *Il tempio di Leontopoli in Egitto: Identità politica e religiosa dei Giudei di Onia (ca. 150 a.C.–73 d.C.)*. Pisa: ETS.
- Capponi, L. (2010). ‘Aristoboulos and the Hieros Logos of the Egyptian Jews’, in T. Gagos and A. Hyatt, eds., *Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth International Congress of Papyrology, Ann Arbor 2007*. American Studies in Papyrology, Ann Arbor, pp. 109–20.
- Capponi, L. (2011). ‘Hecataeus of Abdera and a New Conjecture in Josephus, *Contra Apionem* 1.189’. *Histos* 5: 247–65.

- Capponi, L. (2016a). 'Deserving the Court's Trust: Jews in Ptolemaic Egypt', in A. Erskine, L. Llewelyn-Jones, and S. Wallace, eds., *The Hellenistic Court: Power and Kingship*. Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, pp. 343–58.
- Capponi, L. (2016b). 'The King in the Symposium Scene of the *Letter of Aristaeus*'. *Athenaeum* 104/1: 31–49.
- Capponi, L. (2017). *Il ritorno della Fenice: Intellettuali e potere nell'Egitto romano*. Pisa: ETS.
- Capponi, L. (2018). *Il mistero del Tempio: La rivolta ebraica sotto Traiano*. Rome: Salerno Editrice.
- Collins, John J. (2000). *Between Athens and Jerusalem: Jewish Identity in Hellenistic Diaspora*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans.
- CPJ—Tcherikover, V., Fuks, A. (1957–64), *Corpus Papyrorum Iudaicarum*, Vols. 1–3, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Fraser, Peter A. (1972). *Ptolemaic Alexandria*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Gambetti, Sandra (2009). *The Alexandrian Riots of 38 ce and the Persecution of the Jews: A Historical Reconstruction*. Leiden: Brill.
- Goodman, Martin D. (2007). 'The Meaning of *FISCI IUDAICI CALUMNIA SUBLATA* on the Coinage of Nerva', in L. H. Feldman, Sh. J. D. Cohen, and J. J. Schwartz, eds., *Studies in Josephus and the Varieties of Ancient Judaism, Festschrift for Louis H. Feldman*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 81–9.
- Harker, Andrew (2008). *Loyalty and Dissidence in Roman Egypt: The Case of the Acta Alexandrinorum*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hata, Gohei (2011). 'Where Is the Temple Site of Onias IV in Egypt?', in J. Pastor, P. Stern, and M. Mor, eds., *Flavius Josephus: Interpretation and History*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 177–92.
- Hölbl, Günther (2001). *A History of the Ptolemaic Empire*. London and New York, NY: Routledge.
- Honigman, Sylvie (2003). 'Politeumata and Ethnicity in Ptolemaic Egypt'. *Ancient Society* 33: 61–202.
- Honigman, S. (2009). 'Jewish Communities of Hellenistic Egypt: Diverging Responses to a Varying Socio-Cultural Environment', in L. I. Levine and D. R. Schwartz, eds., *Jewish Identities in Antiquity: Studies in Memory of Menahem Stern*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 117–35.
- Honigman, S. (2011). 'Les Juifs dans la société de l'Égypte romaine au croisement des sources documentaires et littéraires', in C. Clivaz and J. Zumstein, eds., *Reading New Testament Papyri in Context—Lire les papyrus du Nouveau Testament dans leur contexte*. BETL 242. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 131–67.
- Horbury, William (2014). *Jewish War under Trajan and Hadrian*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Horst, Piet W. van der (2003). *Philo's Flaccus: The First Pogrom*. Leiden: Brill.
- Horbury, William, and David Noy (1992), *Jewish Inscriptions from Graeco-Roman Egypt: With an Index of the Jewish Inscriptions of Egypt and Cyrenaica*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ilan, Tal (2018). 'The Jewish Community in Egypt before and after 117 in Light of Old and New Papyri', in Y. Furstenberg, ed., *Jewish and Christian Communal Identities in the Roman World*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 201–24.
- Musurillo, Herbert A. (1954). *The Acts of the Pagan Martyrs: Acta Alexandrinorum*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- PPolitIud. = Cowey, J. M. S., and K. Maresch, eds. (2001). *Urkunden des Politeuma der Juden von Herakleopolis (144/3–133/2 v. Chr.) (P.Polit.Iud.)*, *Papyri aus den Sammlungen von*

- Heidelberg, Köln, München und Wien, *Abhandlungen der nordrhein-westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften; Papyrologica Coloniensia* 29. Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag.
- Petrie, William M. F. (1906). *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*. London: BSAE.
- Piotrkowski, Meron M. (2019). *Priests in Exile: The History of the Temple of Onias and Its Community in the Hellenistic Period*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Pucci Ben Zeev, Miriam (1998). *Jewish Rights in the Roman World: The Greek and Roman Documents Quoted by Josephus*. TSAJ 74. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Rigsby, Kent J. (2003). 'A Jewish Asylum in Greco-Roman Egypt', in M. Dreher, ed., *Das antike Asyl: Kultische Grundlagen, rechtliche Ausgestaltung und politische Funktion*. Cologne and Vienna: Böhlau, pp. 127–41.
- Schubert, Paul (2011). 'Les papyrus en Égypte aux trois premiers siècles de notre ère', in C. Clivaz and J. Zumstein, eds., *Reading New Testament Papyri in Context—Lire les papyrus du Nouveau Testament dans leur contexte*. BETL 242. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 111–30.
- Schürer, Emil (1986). *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 b.c.–a.d. 135)*. Rev. and ed. Geza Vermes and Fergus Millar. Edinburgh: T&T Clark.
- Schwartz, Jacques (1984). 'La communauté d'Edfou (Haute-Égypte) jusqu'à la fin du règne de Trajan', in R. Kuntzmann and J. Schlosser, eds., *Études sur le judaïsme hellénistique*. Paris: Cerf, pp. 61–70.
- Smallwood, E. Mary (1970). *Philonis Alexandrini Legatio ad Gaium*. Leiden: Brill.
- Troiani, Lucio (2016). 'Augusto e l'elogio di Filone Alessandrino', in G. Negri and A. Valvo, eds., *Studi su Augusto: In occasione del XX centenario della morte*. Turin: Giappichelli, pp. 129–37.
- Vega Navarrete, Natalia (2017). *Die Acta Alexandrinorum im Lichte neuerer und neuester Papyrusfunde*. Leiden: Brill.

Further abbreviations follow the checklist of editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic, and Coptic Papyri, ostraca, and tablets: see http://SCRIPTORIUM.LIB.DUKE.EDU/PAPYRUS/TEXTS/CLIST_PAPYRI.HTML.

CHAPTER 6

THE NATURE OF SEPTUAGINT GREEK

Language and Lexicography

TREVOR V. EVANS

OVERVIEW

THE very term *LXX language*, though convenient, is potentially misleading. It must always be applied with sensitivity to the heterogeneity of the material. The LXX was produced over a period of up to four hundred years, from the early third century BCE down to as late as the second century CE (cf. the schema at Dorival, Harl, and Munnich 1988: 111; for caution on its dating of some books see e.g. Dines 2004: 45). As an assemblage of texts composed by various individuals in various ways, and probably in a variety of speech communities (on provenance cf. Dines 2004: 42, 46–7), it amounts to a highly complex specimen of Early (third century–first century BCE) or in the case of later books Middle (first century–third century CE) Koine Greek (for this division see Lee 2007: 113). From a linguistic perspective we have to be careful to avoid treating the corpus as if it is a single, unified compilation. Even the Pentateuch, a relatively homogeneous segment, is generally accepted as the work of five different translators (e.g. Wevers 1991: 57–60). Henry Thackeray’s categorization of LXX books ‘from the point of view of style’, though somewhat erratic, gives a sense of the diversity (Thackeray 1909: 12–16). On the other hand, when specifically considering the language of the LXX, we need to distinguish differences between books or portions of books that arise out of varying translation techniques from differences of a genuinely linguistic type.

Most parts of the corpus are translations from Hebrew (or in some cases Aramaic) and their language has a distinctive character, displaying Semitic influence of a very obvious kind. The ‘Semitic element’ (see section ‘Translation Greek and the Character of Semitic Influence’) of LXX Greek has been heavily emphasized in scholarly discussion

during the past two centuries. The extreme form of this line of interpretation, now discredited, took the LXX to reflect a special ‘Jewish’ dialect of Greek. Over the last century authorities have more typically settled on various formulations of the idea that ‘the vocabulary is Greek and the syntax Hebrew’ (cf. Evans 2005: 25–7). Many Hebraisms have also been identified in the vocabulary itself. The hunt for fresh signs of bilingual interference from Hebrew and Aramaic continues to be prosecuted with energy in some quarters.

This conservative approach focusing on the abnormal features of LXX Greek has, however, been under challenge ever since the great papyrological discoveries of the late nineteenth century began a slow revolution in our general understanding of post-Classical Greek. Fresh approaches to the problems of LXX language have gradually developed a more and more powerful case that the undoubted Semitic influence, though pervasive, is much more limited in linguistic extent than once thought. Natural features of the Greek and their significance are increasingly being noticed. The foundations for a potentially fruitful period of new research have been laid. In the early twenty-first century the nature of LXX Greek is attracting intense interest and burgeoning afresh as a focus of study. We can anticipate many established ideas about LXX language to be challenged as a result, with important implications for numerous facets of LXX studies.

THE EVOLUTION OF MODERN RESEARCH INTO LXX LANGUAGE

Up to the end of the nineteenth century the distinctive language of the LXX tended to be lumped together with that of the NT as a special variety of Greek—even a spoken and written Jewish dialect—separate from the ‘normal’ language of Classical and post-Classical literature. Within this perceived sphere of ‘biblical Greek’ the NT inevitably attracted most scholarly interest, both because of its subject matter and because of the LXX’s reputation as a poorly respected translation of a much more interesting original. NT grammars did, however, make occasional reference to LXX language, recognizing its influence on the later work (e.g. Buttman and Buttman 1859; Winer and Moulton 1882).

Eventually the LXX began to attract interest as an independent linguistic entity. The studies of Freidrich Sturz (1808), Zacharias Frankel (1841), and Heinrich Thiersch (1841) were groundbreaking contributions. Crucial research tools began to appear (e.g. Hatch and Redpath 1897) and by the end of the century advances were being made towards the establishment of a manageable text from the uniformly eclectic manuscripts. A vital additional spur for linguistic research came with the discovery of vast quantities of Greek papyri in Egypt from the 1870s onwards (Turner 1980: 21–5). As more and more documentary texts became available, preserving a wide range of text types and registers, they offered powerful new insights into the nature of the Greek language in the period of

the LXX's composition. Adolf Deissmann (1895, 1897, 1923) soon demonstrated the linguistic relationship of these texts and contemporary inscriptions with the language and especially vocabulary of both the NT and LXX. Biblical Greek no longer seemed so strange. Deissmann's work, supported by the contributions of such writers as Albert Thumb (1901) and James Moulton (1908), amounted to a demolition of the old idea of a 'Jewish Greek' dialect (cf. Thackeray 1909: 26–7).

These developments had a powerful impact within the specific sphere of LXX studies. Henry Swete included a description of 'The Greek of the Septuagint' in his seminal *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* (first edition 1900; see Swete 1914: 289–314), asserting that the time had come to attempt an independent grammar of the LXX. A flurry of activity followed, yielding the shorter treatments of F. C. Conybeare and St. George Stock (1905) and Jean Psichari (1908) and the fully fledged grammars of Robert Helbing (1907) and Thackeray (1909). The latter work was the outstanding achievement of the period, even though only a first volume ever appeared, displaying remarkable sensitivity to the nuances of LXX language and suggesting numerous promising lines of enquiry. Although Thackeray's energies were deflected into other projects, his incomplete grammar is in many respects yet to be superseded.

The feverish activity of these scholars built a platform for further linguistic research. After Thackeray, however, large-scale work on the language of the LXX effectively ground to a halt. For several decades only occasional studies on the topic appeared (Helbing 1928, a forerunner of later work on translation techniques, deserves notice). This was in part a result of the intense focus then developing on textual criticism, and the ongoing attempt to reconstruct the earliest recoverable form of the LXX text. In addition, the grammatical works of the early twentieth century had a strong and to some degree stifling influence on later writers. We need now to be conscious of their limitations. They contain many important insights and material of lasting value, yet the vision of the early authorities is that of pioneers. It inevitably exhibits numerous rough conceptual edges, as some of them were keenly aware, and has become seriously dated in many respects. Even Deissmann's crucial advances are partly compromised by an unsystematic approach and a tendency to overstatement (on Deissmann cf. Lee 2016: 99).

Meanwhile, the Semitic qualities of translation Greek remained a confronting reality and continued to cast their spell on scholars of the LXX. The Deissmannic breakthroughs had only partially been absorbed into the early grammars and a conservative reaction set in immediately (see e.g. Conybeare and Stock 1905 [1995]: 22). Henry Gehman (1951) and others even resuscitated for a time the notion of a Jewish Greek dialect (on their movement see Fernández Marcos 2000: 11–12). By the 1980s this idea had effectively been disproved (see Lee 1983: 11–30; cf. Jobses and Silva 2000: 106–7). It should no longer require discussion, but continues to cast an intellectual shadow, as in the suggestion of conscious self-separation by the Alexandrian Jewish community through use of language (Rajak 2009: esp. 152–3). Terms like 'Alexandrian Jewish Greek' (Pietersma 2010: 21) also continue to lurk in the literature.

New beginnings were made in more than one environment in the 1960s. This decade saw a flowering of studies in translation techniques (e.g. Soisalon-Soininen 1965;

Rabin 1968; Brock 1969). Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen and the other members of the Helsinki School have since pursued vigorously their particular approach (e.g. Soisalon-Soininen 1987; Sollamo 1979; Aejmelaeus 1982, 1993; Voitila 2001), often with important implications for the analysis of LXX syntax (for plans to develop the syntactic aspect of their work see Sollamo 2001). Meanwhile, the Deissmannic approach was reinvigorated by John Lee, whose first article appeared in 1969. Much of Lee's writing has focused on lexical themes, but all his outputs have demonstrated the value of external evidence for the study of LXX language, in particular that of the ancient documents (papyri, inscriptions, etc.). His work addressing features of style and rhetoric in the LXX (Lee 1985, 1997) took time to impact, but in the early years of the twenty-first century is manifesting a productive influence. The contributions of all these scholars represent key steps in preparing the way for current activity.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF LXX LEXICOGRAPHY

Lexicons are fundamental research tools and the earliest LXX lexicon appeared almost three hundred years before the first grammars. This was Zacharias Rosenbach's modest effort of 1634. A handful of other LXX lexicons followed at intervals: Crell (1646), Schotanus (1662), Biel (1779–81), Bretschneider (1805), and Böckel (1820). The important concordance of Abraham Tromm (1718) includes Latin translations of the Greek words and thus counts also as a lexicon, bridging the long gap between Schotanus and Biel. The apogee of the early phase of work was reached with the appearance of the five-volume lexicon of Johann Friedrich Schleusner (1820–1), who had already produced a major lexicon of the NT (Lee 2003: 75–8). Schleusner's work on the LXX was to a large extent based on that of Biel, and both owe a significant debt to Tromm (Lust 1990: 256–8). We see here a characteristic pattern in traditional lexicography, the cannibalization of predecessors (cf. Lee 2003: 6–8).

Schleusner's lexicon held the field for 170 years (Wahl 1853 focuses on the Apocrypha), even though its reception was mixed and its obsolescence was recognized as soon as the papyri made their mark (Lust 1990: 258–9). The practical and logistical challenges involved in producing a replacement defied a string of abortive twentieth-century ventures (Lust 1990: 259–60). Methodological advances, most notably achieved in the landmark studies of Lee (1969, 1983), also increased the demands placed on aspiring lexicographers. Since 1992, however, not one but two new LXX lexicons have appeared. The Leuven–Nijmegen team of Johan Lust, Erik Eynikel, and Katrin Hauspie published the first volume of their offering (henceforth LEH) in 1992, the second in 1996, and a revised single-volume edition in 2003. Meanwhile, Takamitsu Muraoka produced in stages a rival lexicon, a first instalment treating the Twelve Prophets in 1993, an enlarged version also covering the Pentateuch in 2002, and a third covering the entire LXX in 2009.

LEH is a modest achievement, a conveniently compact reference work that largely draws its meanings from the LXX glosses contained in LSJ (cf. Lee 2004a: 70). Muraoka's

lexicon is much more ambitious in its aims and successful in their execution. It supersedes all its predecessors (which use the traditional glossing method) by applying the definition method for indicating meaning. In this and the quality of its analyses his work represents the greatest achievement in LXX lexicography to date (cf. Lee 2004b, 2010b), even though a smattering of errors requires care in use and correction in future editions.

Alongside the new lexicons a series of major translation projects have been undertaken, so far yielding completed English (Pietersma and Wright 2007) and German (Karrer and Kraus 2009) versions and partial translations into French (*La Bible d'Alexandrie*, 1986–), Italian (*La bibbia dei LXX*, 1983–), and Spanish (*La Biblia griega—Septuaginta*, 2008–). The aims of a translator are different from those of a lexicographer. Nevertheless, the focus on the meanings of words generated by these projects has proved significant. In particular the theoretical framework—the ‘interlinear’ paradigm—developed by Pietersma and his team (see e.g. Pietersma 2010; Boyd-Taylor 2004, 2005, 2011) has important implications for determination of meanings. For methodological differences between Pietersma and Wright (2007) and Muraoka (2009) and their implications see the acute discussion by Lee (2010b: 119–24). The key point is the question of whether to focus on meaning at the point of translation (Pietersma and Wright’s approach) or on subsequent meaning, that is the sense understood by readers, including those separated by some centuries from the translation process (Muraoka’s approach). Debate over the comparative merits of these approaches has only just begun. In many respects LXX lexicography is still a very young discipline. The material is ripe for further investigation. What is beyond question is that LEH, Muraoka, and the translation projects have provided a strong foundation for this process.

TRANSLATION GREEK AND THE CHARACTER OF SEMITIC INFLUENCE

The previous two sections have traced the history and general trajectory of research into LXX language and lexicography. We can now turn to addressing our current state of knowledge. It is instructive to begin from a statement representative of more conservative ideas, which still enjoy active support: ‘The language of the Septuagint, so far as it is Greek at all, is the colloquial Greek of Alexandria, but it is Biblical Greek, because it contains so large an element, which is not Hellenic, but Semitic’ (Conybeare and Stock 1905 [1995]: 22).

The ‘Semitic element’ in question is in fact absent from segments of the LXX known to be original Greek compositions, but is immediately evident to any reader of the translated books. It can be illustrated from any short excerpt. In the interests of space I offer a single passage drawn from the Pentateuch, which ought always to be our starting point in discussion of LXX language (Gen. 4:1–5):

¹ Ἀδάμ δὲ ἔγνω Εὐαν τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, καὶ συλλαβοῦσα ἔτεκεν τὸν Κάιν, καὶ εἶπεν Ἐκτησάμην ἄνθρωπον διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ.² καὶ προσέθηκεν τεκεῖν τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἄβελ. καὶ ἐγένετο Ἄβελ ποιμὴν προβάτων, Κάιν δὲ ἦν ἐργαζόμενος τὴν γῆν.³ καὶ ἐγένετο μεθ' ἡμέρας ἤνεγκεν Κάιν ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν τῆς γῆς θυσίαν τῷ κυρίῳ,⁴ καὶ Ἄβελ ἤνεγκεν καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τῶν πρωτοτόκων τῶν προβάτων αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν στεάτων αὐτῶν. καὶ ἐπείδεν ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ Ἄβελ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς δώροις αὐτοῦ,⁵ ἐπὶ δὲ Κάιν καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσiais αὐτοῦ οὐ προσέσχεν. καὶ ἐλύπησεν τὸν Κάιν λίαν, καὶ συνέπεσεν τῷ προσώπῳ.

And Adam knew Heua his wife, and she conceived and gave birth to Kain, and she said 'I have acquired a man through the agency of God.' And she added to give birth to his brother Habel. And Habel became a keeper of sheep, but Kain was tilling the earth. And it came about after some days Kain brought from the fruits of the earth an offering for the lord, and Habel brought one, he too, from the firstborn of his sheep and from their fat. And God looked at Habel and at his gifts, but to Kain and to his offerings he paid no attention. And it distressed Kain greatly, and he became downcast in his expression.

The literal tendency of the translation is clear, particularly in the typically paratactic sentence structure, which closely reflects that of the underlying Hebrew *Vorlage*. We also find features quite artificial from a Greek perspective, including two that are very common. In Gen. 4:2 καὶ προσέθηκεν τεκεῖν (= MT *wa-tōsep lāledet*) is an example of the set expression προστίθημι + inf. (or more often τοῦ + inf.), meaning 'add (to do something)' (cf. Lee 2010b: 122; Muraoka 2009: 599 s.v. προστίθημι 2). This is often used in the LXX in imitation of the Hebrew construction Hiphil *yp* + *l* + inf. (see e.g. Thackeray 1909: 52–3; Jobes and Silva 2000: 113). It is an extension of a natural sense of προστίθημι—'add (something) to (something)' developing into 'add (an action)'—so it would have made sense to readers, but is undoubtedly peculiar Greek. We also encounter twice in this passage (Gen. 4:2, 3) the much discussed expression καὶ ἐγένετο (= MT *wa-yēhî*) (e.g. Thackeray 1909: 50–2; Jobes and Silva 2000: 112–13). Consider especially the second instance, καὶ ἐγένετο μεθ' ἡμέρας ἤνεγκεν, where the construction yields unnatural Greek (cf. Wevers 1993: 52). Thackeray (1909: 25–55) discusses numerous other examples as well, involving vocabulary, new meanings and uses of words, and syntax, in his treatment of the 'Semitic element' in LXX Greek (and for the sexual sense of ἔγνω in Gen. 4:1 see Evans forthcoming a).

Hebrew (or Aramaic) influence is unquestionably a factor in translation Greek. It would be wrongheaded to downplay its significance. Nevertheless, Conybeare and Stock's assertion quoted above is a gross overstatement, seriously misunderstanding the character of this Semitic influence and placing undue emphasis on specific features at the expense of others that are linguistically more significant. The number of 'Hebraisms' or (more vaguely) 'Semitisms' is much more limited than has often been asserted. Much of the supposed influence in the sphere of vocabulary, including genuinely new meanings and uses of words, is best understood in terms of 'normal patterns of semantic change within a literary or technical tradition' (Boyd-Taylor 2005: 99). In addition, many of the odd features of both vocabulary and syntax are unusual through frequency

of occurrence rather than representing intrinsically abnormal Greek (see e.g. Thackeray 1909: 29; Evans 2001: 260–2; on parataxis Horrocks 2010: 107). The reality is that these phenomena derive directly from the methods of translation. All the translators employ more or less literal tendencies in rendering the form of the underlying *Vorlage* (Janse 2002: 388; Evans 2005: 28), manifesting an impulse to reflect the form as well as the meaning of the sacred text. The mimetic style of translation adequately explains the Hebraistic cast of the Greek.

LXX GREEK AS A SPECIMEN OF THE KOINE

The persistent notion that translation Greek represents a variety of language separate from the Koine, especially the idea that LXX syntax equals Hebrew syntax, is largely based on features of word order (see e.g. Lust 2001: 397–401). We can begin demonstrating its limitations by using a feature of word order as a case study, namely Wackernagel's Law. This is the usual term for an old Indo-European syntactic pattern involving the position of enclitic words (Collinge 1985: 217–19; Wackernagel 2009: 15). These originally tended to occupy the second position in the sentence regardless of their functional relationships within it (for discussion of complexities see Clackson 2007: 168–71). An enclitic word could thus stand at some distance from the component of the sentence with which it belonged syntactically. In Greek, as the language developed over time, this pattern often failed to apply, as natural logic began to encroach on older rhythmical tendencies. Nevertheless, it remains an active feature of the Koine, where, for instance, enclitic personal pronouns tend to be preposed in relation to the verb or noun with which they are associated.

In the LXX Wackernagel's Law does not normally apply. Here enclitic personal pronouns occur very frequently, but are rarely prepositive. In many books they almost exclusively follow their noun or verb. Both the postpositive position and the frequency are clearly motivated by the underlying Hebrew (or Aramaic). In Semitic languages the relevant types of personal pronoun are typically expressed as postpositive suffixes and a mimetic translation technique strongly favours representing them by postpositive enclitic pronouns in the Greek. Thus Exod. 2:14 *μη̄ ἀνελεῖν με σὺ θέλεις* (= MT *halēhorgēnī 'attā 'ōmēr*) 'are you going to kill me?' (for the translation see Lee 2010a: 20, 29; where else, however, the *με* should be positioned in this particular example is an interesting question). This feature of word order has been noted by various scholars. Lust observes its overwhelming preponderance in Ezekiel (where he finds as few as seven instances of preposed enclitic personal pronouns out of a total of approximately 2,140 connected with verbs and nouns) and uses it as one of his exemplars of Hebrew influence on LXX syntax (Lust 2001: 398).

In the Pentateuch, however, prepositive enclitic pronouns appear quite often, for instance Exod. 2:14 *τίς σε κατέστησαν ἄρχοντα* (= MT *mī šāmēkā lē'īš šār*) 'who appointed you a commander...?'. In Genesis there are approximately 65 instances

beside 850 postpositives (Wifstrand 1949–50: 50), in Exodus Perkins (2012: 49) counts 32 beside approximately 320 postpositives. In some cases there is motivation for the prepositive word order from the underlying *Vorlage*, but in the majority there is none and these examples are linguistically highly significant (Janse 2002: 379–83). That any prepositive examples unmotivated by the word order of the *Vorlage* occur at all indicates the operation of a natural Greek practice. Perkins (2012: 76) argues that preposing sometimes marks ‘deliberate alterations’ from Hebrew word order ‘to communicate specific nuances of meaning in the . . . translation’; but even if his essentially subjective argument is accepted, it indicates another kind of natural Greek usage. Even the occasional appearance of so subtle a phenomenon as Wackernagel’s Law demonstrates that we have to assume the translators at least of the Pentateuch were native speakers of Koine Greek (Janse 2002: 383). Meanwhile, the rarity of the pattern in Ezekiel may be attributed to a more strictly literal translation technique.

The operation of Wackernagel’s Law is far from an isolated sign of natural Greek function in the LXX (on which see now Lee 2018). In every single verse of the corpus natural Greek features are displayed and they quite often interfere with the mimetic tendencies of the translators. In Gen. 4:1, for instance, we saw above the expression *καὶ συλλαβοῦσα ἔτεκεν* (= MT *wa-tahar wa-tēled*). The normal paratactic structure imitating the Hebrew is not followed. Instead of using the more literal option of coordinated aorist indicatives, the translator employs an adverbial participle and aorist indicative. Wevers (1993: 51) takes marking of gender in the Greek participle (in order to indicate the subject) as the motivation. Note, however, *εἰσελθοῦσα . . . ἐκοιμήθη* in Gen. 19:33 *καὶ εἰσελθοῦσα ἡ πρεσβυτέρα ἐκοιμήθη μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῆς* (= MT *wa-tābō’ habēkīrāh wa-tiškab ’et-’ābīhā*), ‘and the older one went in and slept with her father’, where this is clearly not a factor and Wevers (1993: 284) notes that translation of coordinated pairs of consecutive perfects by adverbial participle plus past indicative is ‘a pattern often favored by Gen.’ (for this pattern cf. Evans 2001: 130–1). More to the present point the pattern is a clear example of natural Greek usage, frequently independent of the Hebrew text. Such features amount to much more significant evidence than the ‘Semitic’ flavour so often observed in syntax and vocabulary. Wherever natural Greek usage intrudes on the translators’ typically mimetic renderings with either little apparent motivation or no motivation whatsoever from the *Vorlage*, we gain a clear insight into their linguistic background. This can even be observed in so ‘literal’ an equivalent as Gen. 4:2 *καὶ προσέθηκεν τεκεῖν*, where the choice of tense in the infinitive is completely independent (for another example, the use of the Greek optative in Num. 11:29 *τίς δώσει* = MT *mī yittēn* cf. Evans 2005: esp. 29–32).

A growing series of studies has now shown that LXX Greek is most constructively interpreted as a specimen of the Koine (e.g. Lee 1983: 11–30; Fernández Marcos 2000: 6–8, 13–16; Evans 2005; Taylor 2007: 245 [on the Old Greek text of Kingdoms]; Horrocks 2010: 106–8). What this reveals is that the Hellenization of the translators (shown by the very fact of the choice to translate these sacred texts) is far from superficial. More interesting still is the level of Greek education and stylistic pretension increasingly being demonstrated, manifested through rhetorical features (see e.g. Lee 1997;

Aitken 2005, 2011; the studies collected in Bons and Kraus 2011), characterization of speech (Aitken 2013), and other literary flourishes (e.g. Dines 1995: 444–5, 2004: 54–7; Evans 2001: 190–7). All this evidence shows, incidentally, how wary we need to be of ascribing features of LXX Greek to bilingual interference from native speakers of Aramaic (Joosten 1996, 2012). That idea may be a possibility in some books, but ought not to be advanced without thorough investigation of relevant Greek evidence for each feature in question.

DIRECTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY AND SUGGESTED READING

The present survey, largely written in 2013, has barely been able to do justice to the upsurge in work on LXX language since 2000. Along with works mentioned above note, for instance, Good 2010, Tjen 2010, and the important collection of studies in Bons and Joosten 2016. New contributions continue to appear at a remarkable rate and two recent outputs deserve special mention. The long-awaited Muraoka 2016 is a monumental volume and presents an important collection of syntactic data, but significant methodological issues limit its effectiveness as a research tool (see Evans forthcoming b). Meanwhile, Lee 2018 is a major achievement, among other things powerfully demonstrating the value of exploiting all relevant evidence, both literary and documentary, for the analysis of LXX language. The fresh burst of activity has opened exciting avenues for future research and the burgeoning work on natural Greek features is especially welcome.

A solid platform for further investigation of LXX vocabulary already exists. The publication of a major lexicon such as Muraoka's is often perceived as marking the endpoint of a process. In reality its completion ought to initiate a lively process of testing and refinement (cf. Lee 2004b: 133). There are encouraging signs that this is indeed beginning. For instance, Eberhard Bons's team is already at work on a 'Historical and Theological Lexicon of the Septuagint' project (for sample entries see Bons and Passoni Dell'Acqua 2011; Joosten 2013). In this research climate the importance of Lee's (2010b) call for a database of LXX vocabulary needs to be noted.

For all this work to continue productively, however, a major obstacle will have to be overcome. Our general understanding of Koine Greek is much more limited than is sometimes acknowledged. The NT is the only Koine corpus that has received sustained attention from linguists and the riches of the crucial documentary evidence have as yet barely been tapped. We can no longer depend safely on seriously dated reference works and will need to undertake independent research outside the LXX itself.

This is unquestionably a major challenge. The documentary evidence in particular, even as its extraordinary importance for biblical studies is coming to be widely recognized, presents a particular problem in its enormous and increasing quantity, complexity,

challenging state of preservation, and accessibility (cf. Aitken 2008: 256–8). To achieve constructive results LXX scholars investigating questions of language now require an interdisciplinary skill set as well as the traditional desiderata. There will need to be a willingness to acquire the necessary training in papyrology, epigraphy, and the general history of the Greek language.

This may be a daunting prospect, but is a challenge to be embraced. Thackeray long ago asserted the significance of the LXX for the larger study of Koine Greek (Thackeray 1909: 16), and as our awareness of its essential nature as a specimen of the Koine strengthens, the importance of linking linguistic analysis of this specific corpus to that of the Greek of its time becomes ever clearer (cf. Fernández Marcos 2000: 14). The potential rewards are hard to overstate. The implications of improving our understanding of LXX Greek for addressing other key questions are very significant. Consider, by way of conclusion, the issue of LXX origins and the recent discussions of Joosten (2006, 2007) and Fernández Marcos (2009). Joosten associates the translation of the Pentateuch with a military environment. Fernández Marcos places it within a scholarly milieu. Both writers use linguistic features to build their arguments. The increasing body of research revealing the educated background of the Pentateuchal translators and their deployment of rhetorical and stylistic features tends to support the latter interpretation, though ‘scholarly’ suggests a more advanced level of education than the available evidence allows. We can expect to sharpen our understanding of many other issues as well through systematic linguistic research in the future.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aejmelaeus, Anneli (1982). *Parataxis in the Septuagint: A Study of the Renderings of the Hebrew Coordinate Clauses in the Greek Pentateuch*. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia.
- Aejmelaeus, Anneli (1993). *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators*. Kampen: Kok Pharos Publishing House.
- Aitken, James K. (2005). ‘Rhetoric and Poetry in Greek Ecclesiastes’. *Bulletin of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies* 38: 55–78.
- Aitken, James K. (2008). ‘Phonological Phenomena in Greek Papyri and Inscriptions and Their Significance for the Septuagint’, in J. Corley and V. Skemp, eds., *Studies in the Greek Bible: Essays in Honor of Francis T. Gignac, S. J.* Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, pp. 256–77.
- Aitken, James K. (2011). ‘The Significance of Rhetoric in the Greek Pentateuch’, in J. K. Aitken, K. J. Dell, and B. A. Mastin, eds., *On Stone and Scroll: Essays in Honour of Graham Ivor Davies*, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, pp. 507–21.
- Aitken, James K. (2013). ‘The Characterisation of Speech in the Septuagint Pentateuch’, in D. J. A. Clines and J. C. Exum, eds., *The Reception of the Hebrew Bible in the Septuagint and the New Testament: Essays in Memory of Aileen Guilding*. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, pp. 9–31.
- Biel, Johann C. (1779–81). *Novus thesaurus philologus, sive lexicon in LXX et alios interpretes et scriptores apocryphos veteris testamenti*, ed. Esdras H. Mutzenbecher. 3 vols. The Hague.
- Böckel, Ernst G. A. (1820). *Novae clavis in Graecos interpretes Veteris Testamenti scriptoresque apocryphos ita ordonatae ut etiam Lexici in Novi Foederis libros usum praebere possit atque editionis LXX interpretum hexaplaris specimina*. Vienna and Leipzig.

- Bons, Eberhard, and Jan Joosten (2016). *Die Sprache der Septuaginta/The Language of the Septuagint*. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus.
- Bons, Eberhard, and Thomas J. Kraus (2011). *Et Sapienter et Eloquentes: Studies on Rhetorical and Stylistic Features of the Septuagint*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Bons, Eberhard, and Anna Passoni Dell'Acqua (2011). 'A Sample Article: κτίζω-κτίσις-κτίσμα-κτίστης', in J. Joosten and E. Bons, eds., *Septuagint Vocabulary: Pre-History, Usage, Reception*. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, pp. 173–87.
- Boyd-Taylor, Cameron (2004). 'Lexicography and Interlanguage: Gaining our Bearings.' *BIOSCS* 38: 55–72.
- Boyd-Taylor, Cameron (2005). 'Calque-culations: Loan Words and the Lexicon.' *BIOSCS* 38: 79–99.
- Boyd-Taylor, Cameron (2011). *Reading between the Lines: The Interlinear Paradigm for Septuagint Studies*. Leuven: Peeters.
- Bretschneider, Karl (1805). *Lexici in interpretes Graeci Veteris Testamenti, maxime scriptorum apocryphorum spicilegium*. Leipzig.
- Brock, Sebastian P. (1969). 'The Phenomenon of Biblical Translation in Antiquity.' *Alta* II.8: 96–102.
- Buttmann, Alexander and Philipp C. Buttmann (1859). *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprachgebrauchs*. Berlin: Dümmler.
- Clackson, James (2007). *Indo-European Linguistics: An Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Collinge, Neville E. (1985). *The Laws of Indo-European*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Conybeare, Frederick C., and St. George Stock (1905). *Selections from the Septuagint*. Boston, MA: Ginn and Company. [repr. 1995 as *Grammar of Septuagint Greek with Selected Readings, Vocabularies, and Updated Indexes*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers.]
- Crell, Michel (1646). *Lexicon breve in 70 interpretes*. Altenbourg.
- Deissmann, G. Adolf (1895). *Bibelstudien: Beiträge, zumeist aus den Papyri und Inschriften, zur Geschichte der Sprache, des Schrifttums und der Religion des hellenistischen Judentums und des Urchristentums*. Marburg: N. G. Elwert'sche.
- Deissmann, G. Adolf (1897). *Neue Bibelstudien*. Marburg: N. G. Elwert'sche.
- Deissmann, G. Adolf (1923). *Licht vom Osten: das Neue Testament und die neuentdeckten Texte der hellenistisch-römischen Welt*, 4th edn. Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck].
- Dines, Jennifer M. (1995). 'Imaging Creation: The Septuagint Translation of Genesis 1:2.' *Heythrop Journal* 36: 439–50.
- Dines, Jennifer M. (2004). *The Septuagint*. London and New York, NY: T&T Clark.
- Dorival, Gilles, Marguerite Harl, and Olivier Munnich (1988). *La Bible grecque des Septante: Du judaïsme hellénistique au christianisme ancien*. Paris: Cerf.
- Evans, Trevor V. (2001). *Verbal Syntax in the Greek Pentateuch*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Evans, Trevor V. (2005). 'Approaches to the Language of the Septuagint.' *Journal of Jewish Studies* 56: 25–33.
- Evans, Trevor V. (forthcoming a). 'The Grammarian Cannot Wait: Thackeray, Muraoka, and the Analysis of Septuagint Syntax.' *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 51.
- Evans, Trevor V. (forthcoming b). 'Verbs of Sexual Intercourse in the Greek Pentateuch: A Lexical Analysis.'
- Fernández Marcos, Natalio (2000). *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Version of the Bible*, trans. W. G. E. Watson. Leiden, Boston, MA, and Cologne: Brill.
- Fernández Marcos, Natalio (2009). 'The Greek Pentateuch and the Scholarly Milieu of Alexandria.' *Semitica et Classica* 2: 81–9.

- Frankel, Zacharias (1841). *Vorstudien zu der Septuaginta*. Leipzig: Fr. Chr. Wilh. Vogel.
- Gehman, Henry S. (1951). 'The Hebraic Character of Septuagint Greek'. *VT* 1: 81–90.
- Good, Roger (2010). *The Septuagint's Translation of the Hebrew Verbal System in Chronicles*. Leiden: Brill.
- Hatch, Edwin, and Henry A. Redpath (1897). *A Concordance to the Septuagint*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Helbing, Robert (1907). *Grammatik der LXX: Laut- und Wortlehre*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Helbing, Robert (1928). *Die Kasussyntax der Verba bei den Septuaginta*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Horrocks, Geoffrey C. (2010). *Greek: A History of the Language and Its Speakers*, 2nd edn. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Janse, Mark (2002). 'Aspects of Bilingualism in the History of the Greek Language', in James N. Adams, Mark Janse, and Simon Swain, eds., *Bilingualism in Ancient Society: Language Contact and the Written Word*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 332–90.
- Jobs, Karen H., and Moisés Silva (2000). *Invitation to the Septuagint*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic.
- Joosten, Jan (1996). 'Elaborate Similes: Hebrew and Greek. A Study in Septuagint Translation Technique'. *Biblica* 77: 227–36.
- Joosten, Jan (2006). 'Le Milieu Producteur du Pentateuque grec'. *REJ* 165: 349–61.
- Joosten, Jan (2007). 'Language as Symptom: Linguistic Clues to the Social Background of the Seventy'. *Textus* 23: 69–80.
- Joosten, Jan (2012). 'A Syntactic Aramaism in the Septuagint'. *JSCS* 45: 39–45.
- Joosten, Jan (2013). 'The Historical and Theological Lexicon of the Septuagint: A Sample Entry—εὐλογέω', in M. K. H. Peters, ed., *XIV Congress of the IOSCS, Helsinki, 2010*. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, pp. 361–8.
- Karrer, Martin, and Wolfgang Kraus (2009). *Septuaginta Deutsch: Das griechische Alte Testament in deutscher Übersetzung*. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft.
- Lee, John A. L. (1969). 'A Note on Septuagint Material in the Supplement to Liddell and Scott'. *Glotta* 47: 234–42.
- Lee, John A. L. (1983). *A Lexical Study of the Septuagint Version of the Pentateuch*. Chico, CA: Scholars Press.
- Lee, John A. L. (1985). 'Some Features of the Speech of Jesus in Mark's Gospel'. *Novum Testamentum* 27: 1–26.
- Lee, John A. L. (1997). 'Translations of the Old Testament, I: Greek', in S. E. Porter, ed., *Handbook of Classical Rhetoric in the Hellenistic Period, 330 bc–ad 400*. Leiden, New York, NY, and Cologne: Brill, pp. 775–83.
- Lee, John A. L. (2003). *A History of New Testament Lexicography*. New York, NY, Bern, and Berlin: Peter Lang.
- Lee, John A. L. (2004a). 'The Present State of Lexicography of Ancient Greek', in B. A. Taylor, J. A. L. Lee, P. R. Burton, and R. E. Whitaker, eds., *Biblical Greek Language and Lexicography: Essays in Honor of Frederick W. Danker*. Grand Rapids, MI, and Cambridge: Eerdmans, 66–74.
- Lee, John A. L. (2004b). Review of T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint: Chiefly of the Pentateuch and the Twelve Prophets*. *Bulletin of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies* 37: 127–39.
- Lee, John A. L. (2007). 'Ἐξαποστέλλω', in J. Joosten and P. J. Tomson, eds., *Voces Biblicae: Septuagint Greek and Its Significance for the New Testament*. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 99–113.

- Lee, John A. L. (2010a). 'Auxiliary $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$ ', in T. V. Evans and D. D. Obbink, eds., *The Language of the Papyri*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 15–34.
- Lee, John A. L. (2010b). Review of T. Muraoka, *A Greek–English Lexicon of the Septuagint*. BIOSCS 43: 115–25.
- Lee, John A. L. (2016). 'The Vocabulary of the Septuagint and Documentary Evidence', in E. Bons and J. Joosten, eds., *Die Sprache der Septuaginta/The Language of the Septuagint*. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, pp. 98–108.
- Lee, John A. L. (2018). *The Greek of the Pentateuch: Grinfield Lectures on the Septuagint 2011–2012*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lust, Johan (1990). 'J. F. Schleusner and the Lexicon of the Septuagint'. ZAW 102: 256–62.
- Lust, Johan (2001). 'Syntax and Translation Greek'. *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 77: 395–401.
- Lust, Johan, Erik Eynikel, and Katrin Hauspie (2003). *A Greek–English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, rev. edn. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft.
- Moulton, James H. (1908). *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, Vol. 1: *Prolegomena*, 3rd edn. Edinburgh: T&T Clark.
- Muraoka, Takamitsu (1993). *A Greek–English Lexicon of the Septuagint (Twelve Prophets)*. Leuven: Peeters.
- Muraoka, Takamitsu (2002). *A Greek–English Lexicon of the Septuagint: Chiefly of the Pentateuch and the Twelve Prophets*. Leuven: Peeters.
- Muraoka, Takamitsu (2009). *A Greek–English Lexicon of the Septuagint*. Leuven: Peeters.
- Muraoka, Takamitsu (2016). *A Syntax of Septuagint Greek*. Leuven: Peeters.
- Perkins, Larry J. (2012). 'The Order of Pronominal Clitics and Other Pronouns in Greek Exodus: An Indicator of the Translator's Intentionality'. JSCS 45: 46–76.
- Pietersma, Albert (2010). 'Beyond Literalism: Interlinearity Revisited', in R. J. V. Hiebert, ed., *'Translation is Required': The Septuagint in Retrospect and Prospect*. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, pp. 3–21.
- Pietersma, Albert, and Benjamin G. Wright (2007). *A New English Translation of the Septuagint and the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included under That Title*. New York, NY and Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Psichari, Jean (1908). 'Essai sur le grec de la Septante'. *Revue des Études Juives* 55: 161–208.
- Rabin, Chaim (1968). 'The Translation Process and the Character of the Septuagint'. *Textus* 6: 1–26.
- Rajak, Tessa (2009). *Translation and Survival: The Greek Bible of the Ancient Jewish Diaspora*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rosenbach, Zacharias (1634). *Lexicon breve in LXX interpretes, et libros apocryphos*. Herborn.
- Schleusner, Johann F. (1820–1). *Novus thesaurus philologico-criticus, sive, Lexicon in LXX, et reliquos interpretes graecos, ac scriptores apocryphos Veteris Testamenti*, 5 vols. Leipzig.
- Schotanus, Christian (1662). *Lexicon in LXX interpretes*. Franeker.
- Soisalon-Soininen, Ilmari (1965). *Die Infinitive in der Septuaginta*. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia.
- Soisalon-Soininen, Ilmari (1987). *Studien zur Septuaginta-Syntax*. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia.
- Sollamo, Raija (1979). *Renderings of Hebrew Semiprepositions in the Septuagint*. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia.
- Sollamo, Raija (2001). 'Prolegomena to the Syntax of the Septuagint', in Raija Sollamo and Seppo Sipilä, eds., *Helsinki Perspectives on the Translation Technique of the Septuagint*. Helsinki and Göttingen: Finnish Exegetical Society and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 23–41.

- Sturz, Friedrich W. (1808). *De dialecto Macedonica et Alexandrina*. Leipzig: J. A. G. Weigel.
- Swete, Henry B. (1914). *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, 2nd edn. rev. Richard R. Ottley. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Taylor, Bernard A. (2007). '1 Reigns', in A. Pietersma and B. J. Wright, eds., *A New English Translation of the Septuagint and the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included under That Title*. New York, NY and Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 244–70.
- Thackeray, Henry St. J. (1909). *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek According to the Septuagint*, Vol. 1: *Introduction, Orthography and Accidence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Thiersch, Heinrich W. J. (1841). *De Pentateuchi versione Alexandrina libri tres*. Erlangen: Blaesing.
- Thumb, Albert (1901). *Die griechische Sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus: Beiträge zur Geschichte und Beurteilung der κοινή*. Strassburg: Verlag von Karl J. Trübner.
- Tjen, Anwar (2010). *On Conditionals in the Greek Pentateuch: A Study of Translation Syntax*. New York, NY and London: T&T Clark.
- Tromm, Abraham (1718). *Concordantiae Graecae versionis vulgo dictae Septuaginta interpretum*. Amsterdam.
- Turner, Eric G. (1980). *Greek Papyri: An Introduction*, 2nd edn. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Voitila, Anssi (2001). *Présent et imparfait de l'indicatif dans le Pentateuque grec: Une étude sur la syntaxe de traduction*. Helsinki and Göttingen: Finnish Exegetical Society and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Wackernagel, Jacob (2009). *Lectures on Syntax, with Special Reference to Greek, Latin, and Germanic*, ed. David Langslow. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wahl, Christian A. (1853). *Clavis librorum Veteris Testamenti apocryphorum philologica*. Leipzig: Barth.
- Wevers, John W. (1991). 'The Göttingen Pentateuch: Some Post-Partem Reflections', in C. E. Cox, ed., *VII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Leuven 1989*. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, pp. 51–60.
- Wevers, John W. (1993). *Notes on the Greek Text of Genesis*. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.
- Wifstrand, Albert (1949–50). 'Die Stellung der enklitischen Personalpronomen bei den Septuaginta'. *Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund, Årsberättelse*: 44–70.
- Winer, Georg B., and William F. Moulton (1882). *A Treatise on the Grammar of New Testament Greek*, 3rd edn. Edinburgh: T&T Clark.

CHAPTER 7

THEOLOGY IN THE SEPTUAGINT?

MOGENS MÜLLER

THE question of theology in the Septuagint is so comprehensive and multifaceted that a short account cannot but be a summary of scholarship. This chapter draws to a large degree on the recent work of predecessors in the field.

The truism that all translation is interpretation also recognizes the fact that the translator needs to understand the text in question and that he is able to do so only according to his linguistic, educational, cultural, and religious presuppositions. If the text in question stems from an older period, the translation also invites a certain actualization. All this is true with regard to the greatest known translation enterprise of a religious text corpus in antiquity, the Septuagint. Thanks to the fact that the translations of the different books were not made at one time and one place, they also are not uniform with respect to their agreement with the Hebrew text. To import terminology from modern translation debate, the scale goes from a practically verbatim rendering that respects the source language to a degree that makes the Greek text nearly unintelligible, to a translation essentially determined by the target language including its inherent culture (Wevers 1996).

The result was the creation of a Greek version of the Law, the Prophets, and the Writings that was adopted for use by a growing Jewish population incapable of understanding the Hebrew writings. This, however, does not exclude a discussion of the original purpose of the enterprise. Thus the genesis of the Greek version of the Pentateuch was early ascribed to the decision of King Ptolemy to have in a readable form the sacred law of the Jews in his new library, although the story in *Aristeas* and the abbreviated paraphrase in Josephus's *Antiquities* XII.12–118 both emphasize the acceptance of the result by the Jewish population in Alexandria. This acceptance is also witnessed by Philo's explicit juxtaposition of it with the Hebrew version (Müller 1996: 46–67). The point of view that at least the translation of Genesis was not made for either liturgical or administrative purposes, but with regard to the spiritual interests of the Hellenistic Jewish élite, has also been put forward. Thus Martin Rösel finds that the translation 'all

over breathes... the spirit of an Hellenistic Judaism making efforts to express its own inheritance under the intellectual conditions of the surrounding world'. Thus it seems to reflect 'the spiritual climate, that existed in Alexandria in the third century BCE, especially in the milieu of the institution of the Museion and the library' (Rösel 1994: 247–60: 257; my translation). None of these aspects need be mutually exclusive.

In the translations we can detect a balance between, on the one hand, respect for the Hebrew text and awareness of the religious peculiarity of Judaism, and on the other the effort to create a Greek version conveying a comprehensible and applicable edition of the holy books. However, a tendency to an ever more literal rendering can be observed in the later translations. Yet even LXX Ruth, otherwise to be characterized a literal rendering, turns out to be an 'integrative translation', not only preserving the flavour of the Hebrew, but also making small changes to communicate its story to the Greek reader (Ziegert 2008). Later this tendency was strengthened further in the new translations by Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus in the second century CE.

That the differences between the Hebrew and the Greek version were not only due to misunderstandings or inadequate rendering but were often the result of conscious or unconscious interpretation has long been assumed. Today, however, it also seems obvious that in some cases the differences are due to the circumstance that the Greek text reflects an older Hebrew version than the one surviving in the Masoretic text. An important example is Jer. 31(38):33 where the singular 'law' in the Masoretic Text seems to be a correction of the plural reflected in the LXX's *νόμους*, pointing to new commandments and not to the law from Sinai. This reading is taken over in Heb. 8:10 (Schenker 2006: 61–2; and 2007: 57–77 on Haggai). Here, apparently, the 'interpretation' is caused by dislike of an existing Hebrew text, the content of which has thus only survived in the Greek Bible. To a certain degree this supports the old view of Justin (*Dialogue with Trypho the Jew* 71.1–2), that the Jews have made changes in their Bible to preclude Christian use of it. A similar accusation turned up again in the seventeenth century when some Catholic scholars made a frontal attack on the Protestant divinization of the Hebrew Bible (Müller 2008b: 708–27, 723–4).

However, regardless of its uncertain origin, the Greek wording became the influential one in the Greek-speaking world. All in all, in recent decades the view has prevailed that the Septuagint represents Hellenistic Judaism's reception of its sacred writings. In this reception in the Greek language, it is not only that the theology or ideology of the different books has become more uniform than is the case in the Hebrew version. The Septuagint also witnesses to a certain development in the theology or ideology which later became important for Christianizing reception in the New Testament literature (see for instance Law 2013: 85–116). Thus it could be argued that the Septuagint in its reception history constitutes an intermediary between the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament.

The interpretative character of the Greek translation was already recognized by one of the fathers of Septuagint scholarship, Zacharias Frankel (1801–75) (1841, 1851; cf. Rösel 1994: 4). Adolf Deissmann (1866–1937) could speak of Paul as a 'Septuagint Jew'. Therefore to understand Paul from the perspective of religious history it is necessary to

'know the spirit of the Septuagint. The historical presupposition of Paul's religious life is not the Hebrew Old Testament, and not necessarily what we should call "Old Testament Theology," but the faith contained in the Greek Old Testament' (Deissmann 1925: 79–80 [ET 1927: 99]). In his classic investigation, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah: A Discussion of Its Problems*, Isaac Leo Seeligmann (1907–82) claimed outright: 'It is . . . as ancient testimonies of the Jewish exegesis that the Books of the Septuagint must be investigated and studied' (Seeligmann 1948: 121). A few years later Georg Bertram (1896–1979), controversial because of his National Socialist sympathies, coined the term 'Septuagint piety' (Bertram 1954–9: 274–84; 1961: 1707–9). He also concluded that the Septuagint belonged more to the history of interpretation of the Old Testament than to the history of the latter's text (1936: 109). Bertram's perception of the meaning of the Septuagint enjoyed a prolonged afterlife through his many contributions to the *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* (ed. Gerhard Kittel), and its English edition *Theological Dictionary to the New Testament*.

Bertram characterized the Septuagint as *praeparatio evangelica* (Bertram 1967: 225–49), a view shared by the Jewish religious historian Hans-Joachim Schoeps (1909–80). Schoeps, however, evaluated this development negatively, precisely because he saw the deviations in the Greek text from the Hebrew as the source of many of the Pauline misunderstandings with regard to covenant and law caused by the legalistic shift in perspective in Hellenistic Judaism (Schoeps 1959: 16–21; 224–30). One way or the other, it was accepted that the Septuagint represented theologically something different when compared to the Hebrew Bible (see Tov 1987: 237–65).

This is also the view espoused in a series of more recent contributions. One of the pioneers in this field of scholarship is Martin Rösel, principally in a monograph from 1994, *Übersetzung als Vollendung der Auslegung: Studien zur Genesis-Septuaginta* ('Translation as the completion of interpretation: Studies in Septuagint Genesis'), and later in a series of articles (e.g. Rösel 2006a, 2006b, 2010a). Another scholar, Natalio Fernández Marcos, has pleaded for the fruitfulness of studying the books of the Septuagint as additionally the 'source of historical and religious information for the exegesis and development of Jewish thought in the first three centuries before Christ' (Fernández Marcos 2001: 313). Michael Knibb has also provided an overview article giving further references, particularly concerning the question of messianism in the Septuagint (Knibb 2006b: 3–19).

At the same time it should be mentioned that there are also scholars calling for greater caution in this field of study (Knibb 2006b: 8–9; Harl 1988: 1994², 201–22; Jobses and Silva 2002: 96–7; 297–300). Thus not least Anneli Aejmelaeus has time and again pointed out that neither the Septuagint nor the translator should be made responsible for what is found in the Hebrew *Vorlage* or for what was the result of a new interpretation of the Greek wording afterwards. Nor should it be overlooked that the translators would avoid dead metaphors, and that they—more than usually thought of—were led by conventions of translation and already influenced by extant translations. Also, although the translation could possess individual characteristics, it was not a private affair, calling for eventual creativity and innovation. It is to be expected that even when

they seem to offer independent translations they may be dependent on the usage and beliefs of the community. Without knowing the intention of the translator one should not talk about interpretation, at least not new interpretation. So, at the end of the day, against what she labels maximal interpretation (*Maximalauslegung*), Anneli Aejmelaeus pleads for scholarly minimal interpretation (*Minimalauslegung*). Even when there are changes, both versions of Scripture are parts of a greater tradition stream, where a gradual development in theological views is to be perceived (Aejmelaeus 2006: 24, 33, 39, 40, 42, 47–8; cf. also 2003).

In a less minimalistic way Albert Pietersma distinguishes between ‘the Septuagint as *produced*’ and ‘the Septuagint as *received*’. A certain translation may have given rise among readers, with access only to the Greek rendering, to an understanding that was not intended by the translator (Pietersma 2006: 49–75, on Ps. 28(29)). The interpreter of the Septuagint, therefore, has to be very cautious not to *explain the text from its reception*, but instead to concentrate on the possible decisions made by the translators on the basis of the Hebrew text during the production. With regard to the Psalms Pietersma presupposes both ‘that the Greek translation of Psalms typically makes sense’, ‘that at times the Greek translator *exegetes* the source text’, and ‘that messianic interpretation can be found in the Greek Psalter’ (Pietersma 2006: 50).

However, where the text is no longer primarily seen as something static and the interest is not so much the reconstruction of an original text (*Urtext*), it invites us to consider it in the perspective of creative reception. The next step could be a rewriting, exactly as happened in the numerous examples of the genre or interpretation strategy commonly labelled ‘rewritten Bible/Scripture’. At least these ‘rewritings’ show that the *tertium comparationis* between the original books and their rewritings has not exclusively been seen in a possible ‘referentiality’. What in our eyes occurs as fact, they treat in a fictional way, the intended effect on the hearers or readers obviously having first priority. In other words, we observe a freedom which may explain that the translators allowed themselves to behave also as theologians.

A first demonstrable result of the translators’ ‘theological’ achievement is to be seen in the New Testament reception where not a few conclusions drawn from Scripture are only possible on the basis of the Greek text. The earliest example expressly to be discussed is the adoption in Matt. 1:23 of the ‘virgin’ from LXX Isa. 7:14, thereby introducing the concept of a virgin birth into Christian theological, or more correctly, Christological thinking. Not surprisingly this enigmatic rendering has given rise to a series of articles discussing a possible explanation. Here Pietersma’s distinction between the Septuagint as produced and as received shows its usefulness. Thus an interpretation of LXX Isa. 7:14 more or less biased by the use in Matt. 1:23 looks for a foreign mythological background for the ‘virgin’ (*παρθένης*) (Rösel 1991a), whereas an understanding building more on the inner logic of the Isaianic text is inclined to weight what in vv. 15–16 is said about the child more than what is said about the mother, the term *παρθένης* being here not that remarkable (Troxel 2003: 1–22; Lust 2004: 211–26; also Ngunga 2013: 75–86).

Beginning with Justin and his *Dialogue with the Jew Trypho* from c.160 CE, LXX Isa. 7:14 became the main occasion of a vehement discussion on the relationship between

the Greek text and its Hebrew *Vorlage*. Thus Justin, as early as his *Apology*, had recourse to the story of the genesis of the Greek translation on the initiative of the Egyptian king Ptolemy, expanding, however, the achievement of the seventy elders to include all the books of the Jewish Bible, subsumed under the title *αἱ ἁγία καὶ προφητικὰ γράφαι* (*Dialogue* 32:2). It became the starting signal to a Christian apologetically directed and increasingly fantastic rewriting of the Jewish story of the genesis of the Greek version of the Pentateuch (Müller 1996: 68–97).

Since the translations carried out later accepted decisions made in earlier books, and because the whole enterprise was finished within a more limited space of time, the Septuagint as a whole is more theologically uniform than the Hebrew Bible (this also could pertain to individual books, as for instance Isaiah: Ngunga 2013: 207–13). Further, the translators' belief in the authoritative character of the texts resulted in an effort to harmonize the texts, avoiding contradictions, and explaining one text by another. This all invites a positive answer to the question whether it is possible to write a 'theology of the Septuagint'. In this regard, James Barr offers a definition: 'Theology is a reflective activity in which the content of religious expressions is to some extent abstracted, contemplated, subjected to reflection and discussion, and deliberately reformulated' (Barr 1999: 249). Martin Rösel pleads for moving 'away from a focus on the translator as a lone creative personality . . . to see the theology of the LXX as the process of reflection and systematization of Jewish Hellenistic communities whose religious beliefs influenced to various degrees the translation of the biblical texts' (Rösel 2018: 281). Others dealing with this issue are Cook 2010; Joosten 2000; Cimosá 2000; Dafni 2002. For his part, Martin Rösel proposes the following topics within this field: 'Designations and imagery of God', 'God and foreign Gods', 'Israel and the nations', 'humanity and its fate', and '*νόμος* and ethics' (Rösel 2006b: 251).

The objective of this chapter, however, is not to sketch, and certainly not to write, a 'theology of the Septuagint'. Instead it aims more modestly to point out some areas and concepts where recent research has been able to detect a theological interest behind choices made in the translation. Of great importance here is the decision made with respect to the designations for God, the Torah, and messianic interpretations also pertaining to eschatology and universal outlook. Of course the Septuagint in this context also consists of the books later to be labelled Old Testament Apocrypha—or in the Catholic tradition, 'the deuterocanonical books'—including books originally written in Greek and therefore without any Hebrew *Vorlage* (for instance the Wisdom of Solomon and 2 Maccabees).

THE DESIGNATIONS FOR GOD

Drawing on the work of Martin Rösel one can point to certain features of the treatment of God's names in the LXX Pentateuch (Rösel 1991b, 1998, 2000: esp. 222–30). To begin with the designations for God: even in Genesis the translators distinguished between

‘Lord (κύριος)’ and ‘God (ὁ θεός)’. Maybe κύριος reflects the circumstance that the Hebrew title ʾădōnai ‘Lord’ had already been employed to replace the name *Yahweh* in reading Scripture in the service (see Waddell 1944). At least κύριος substitutes for *Yahweh* in the LXX as well as ʾădōnai, a title introduced in prophetic speech addressing God. This usage has to be seen in the context of the development towards a monotheistic conception of God and a growing reluctance to pronounce his name. Thus, where the Hebrew text of Lev. 24:16 prescribes the death penalty if anyone blasphemes the name of the Lord, the Greek translation orders the same penalty if any ‘names the name of the Lord (ὀνομάζων δὲ τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου)’. While the name is not revealed in Exod. 3:14, where God only says to Moses Ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ὢν, in the next verse (Exod. 3:15) he nevertheless names himself Κύριος ὁ θεός. In God’s explanation in Exod. 6:2–3 of how he earlier had revealed himself, he tells Moses that he is the Lord, and that he appeared to Abraham and Isaac and Jacob as ‘the one being their God’ (θεὸς ὢν αὐτῶν)—thus inserting the participle from Exod. 3:14—‘and my name “Lord” I have not told them’. Surprisingly the appellation ʾĒl Šadday of the Hebrew text at this place is rendered with ‘Lord’ (Κύριος). It can be recognized that *YHWH* is often rendered with θεός, when he is the one who punishes or is the object of blasphemy (see Gen. 6:6–7; 13:10; 38:7; Exod. 5:21; Num. 15:30), and in Exod. 4:24 where the Hebrew text says that *YHWH* met Moses with the intention of killing him, the LXX instead has ἄγγελος θεοῦ. ‘That God is named “Lord” accordingly is an expression of the biblical-theological insight that God is only to be seen in relation to his people’ (Rösel 2000: 230).

In Deut. 12:5 the Hebrew text has no hesitation in portraying God as choosing a place and letting his name make its habitation there. Obviously this was not acceptable to the translator, writing instead that God chose a place where his name could be named (ἐπονομάσει τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου). In Deut. 12:26 the translator even adds ‘for his name to be called there’, ἐπικληθῆναι τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐκεῖ, to the Hebrew text, only speaking of a place which the Lord will choose. This seems to imply that the genuine meaning of the chosen place has not so much to do with sacrifices but rather the invocation of the name of the Lord; in a situation without a temple and where a service consisting of words slowly developed, this is easy to understand (see Rösel 2010b).

The tendency towards an ever more transcendent theology also meant a growing avoidance of anthropomorphic traits in the concept of God (Fritsch 1943). Typical is the insertion of ὡς in the rendering of Num. 23:19 where the Hebrew text runs ‘God is not a man’, the Greek being, ‘God is not *like* a man’. On the other hand, the translators also avoid the ambiguity of the plural ʾĕlōhîm (‘God/gods’), rendering with a singular when it pertains to *YHWH*, and with εἰδῶλα when foreign gods are meant.

An important step towards a monotheistic and more universal concept of God is likewise the introduction of παντοκράτωρ at several places in 2 Kingdoms, 1 Chronicles, the Minor Prophets, and Jeremiah, as a rendering of šēbāʾōt, which at other places (1 Kingdoms and Isaiah) is transcribed σαβαώθ or—in 2 and 3 Kingdoms and Psalms—translated κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων.

Thus there is an overall tendency in the LXX to have κύριος represent God not only as the mighty deity but also as the one exercising kindness towards Israel, whereas θεός is

the mighty and punishing God (Rösel 1998: 55). This could be the reason that *ʾădōnai* and not *ʾĒl* was chosen to substitute for *YHWH* in prophetic speech. This choice of *κύριος*, however, had important consequences for New Testament theology, making it possible to transfer the name of God to Jesus Christ. Rösel points to the fact that in the New Testament Jesus is named *κύριος* around 468 times, while the same name designates God about 156 times. This transfer of ‘Lord’ to Jesus is to be understood on the background of the use of *ʾădōnai* and the origin seems to be the cult (cf. 1 Cor. 8:6 and Phil. 2:11) (Rösel 2000: 222–6). This only could be done with the name *κύριος*, while it would have been impossible with the Tetragram (*YHWH*). The use of *θεός* in relation to Jesus belongs to a later period.

The growing tendency towards monotheism naturally implied the view that God in principle was God for other peoples. We shall see that this view as a consequence produced the thought that God would grant a lawgiver to the other nations. Likewise, the openings in the Hebrew text towards other nations are developed, for instance in the first of the Servant Songs in Isa. 42:1–9. Already in v. 1 the Hebrew text says that ‘he will bring forth justice (*mišpāt*) to the nations (*gōyim*)’, in LXX rendered *κρίσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐξοίσει*, but in v. 4, where the MT has ‘the coastlands wait for his law (*tōrāh*)’, the LXX interprets, *καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ ἔθνη ἐλπιούσιν*, replacing ‘law’ with ‘name’. Whoever the servant is, God has also—as claimed in v. 6—made him ‘a covenant to the people (*ām*), a light to the nations (*gōyim*)’, LXX, *καὶ ἔδωκά σε διαθήκην γένους, εἰς φῶς ἐθνῶν*, combining the Jewish people and the non-Jewish nations. Thus v. 4b strengthens the universalistic aspect and invites a messianic interpretation of the whole passage. No wonder that the author of the Gospel of Matthew rediscovered his Christ in Isa. 42:1–4, and in Matt. 12:18–21 cited it mostly in accordance with LXX (see Menken 2004: 67–88 who shows that the deviations from the LXX are due to a revised text).

Important in this connection also is the translation of Hebrew *rēaʿ*, which unambiguously means ‘fellow countryman’, with the Greek *ὁ πλησίον*, ‘neighbour’, which does not imply ethnic restriction. As a consequence the commandment, ‘You shall love your neighbour as yourself’ in Lev. 19:18 in its Greek form suggested a transcendence of the borderline of the covenant people to include every human being.

THE RENDERING OF *TŌRĀH* BY *νόμος*

Already in the Pentateuch *νόμος* is the common rendering of the Hebrew *tōrāh* (Rösel 2007; and much earlier, Blank 1930). However, the Greek term figures substantially more often than the Hebrew, always in the singular, and always designating the one and only law of God. Thus in the Greek Bible more than in the Hebrew *νόμος* is the summarizing expression of the will of God and the integrating element of Israelite religion. Thus the Septuagint continues a development already present in books of the Hebrew Bible and by its very nature witnessing to an ongoing tradition (Rösel 2007: 139–40).

This tendency towards a growing emphasis on the Law is also to be seen in the Psalter where not only the division into five books and the introductory Psalm 1 as well as, for instance, the identification in Ps. 119(118):57 of God's word with his νόμος and the insertion of this term in Ps. 130:4(129:5) introduces a νόμος dimension not present in the Hebrew version. The central role of the Law for salvation is further stressed in the alterations in Pss. 9:21 and 84(83):7 where in the first place the prayer, 'Lord, put fear in them' is replaced by 'Lord, appoint a lawgiver (νομοθέτην) to them' and in the second the early rain is likewise changed to read that the lawgiver (ὁ νομοθετῶν) offers blessings. In Pss. 25(24):8, 12; 27(26):11; and 119(118):33, 102, 104, a verb meaning 'instructing' is rendered with νομοθετέομαι with God as the subject. All this shows a translator working consciously to take up the language of the Pentateuch and understanding God as the one not only offering his Law, but also instructing in its content and in this way interpreting it (Austermann 2003: 178).

The central role of νόμος is attested further by the use of verbs, adjectives, and nouns including the terms ἀνομία, παρανομία/παρανομία/πράνομος designating transgression and disobedience. This tendency in Psalms is likewise present in Proverbs and books later to be categorized as the Apocrypha: there are a few places where νόμος is employed of human rules (Rösel 2007: 143–5). Rösel also mentions the appearance of two adverbs of interest in this context, ἐννόμως in Prov. 31:25(26), also to be found in Sirach Prologue 35, together with ἔννομος in Sirach Prologue 14 (cf. later 1 Cor. 9:21 and Acts 19:39) and νομοθέσιμος in Prov. 31:28(26).

All taken together it seems safe to conclude that νόμος occupies a far more dominant position in the Greek Bible than does *tōrāh* in the Hebrew, obviously including all perspectives of life and faith in Hellenistic Judaism. It signals an 'ethicizing' of the Torah (Weber 2001: 337–9; 2000). Martin Rösel even concludes that it is appropriate to speak of a 'Nomos-Soteriologie' in the Septuagint (Rösel 2007: 147). Whether this employment of νόμος as a rendering of *tōrāh* is appropriate when seen from the standpoint of the Hebrew Bible is another question and has provoked negative answers (again Schoeps 1959: 224–30; further Berger 1972: 32).

MESSIANIC INTERPRETATIONS AND TRANSFORMED ESCHATOLOGY

Much interest has concentrated on the question whether the Septuagint version is more influenced by messianic beliefs than the Hebrew Bible. Investigating this, however, requires great caution. It often has been claimed 'that the Septuagint shows signs of a developing messianism', in the shape of 'an evolution towards a more personal, supernatural, transcendent messianism' (Coppens 1968: 119; see Lust 1985: 174 = 2004: 9 regarding Ezek. 21:30–2). In an earlier period Bertram stated, 'Thus on the soil of the Greek Old Testament a messianic conceptualization could unfold as a precursor of the

Christology of the New Testament and primitive Christianity' (Bertram 1967: 232; my translation). A. S. van der Woude also stated, 'In certain deviations from the Hebrew *Vorlage* the LXX witnesses the messianic expectations of the Hellenistic Judaism' (van der Woude 1973: 501; my translation).

At the same time there also have been voices warning against conclusions drawn from reception history. A later messianic interpretation does not necessarily imply a messianic intention in the mind of the translator. We must distinguish between the Septuagint text and its later use, or as Pietersma defines it between the text as produced and the text as received (again Pietersma 2006: 50–2).

Places which have been adduced as evidence for a messianic tendency in the Septuagint according to a list by Johan Lust are: Gen. 3:15; 49:10, Num. 24:7, 17; 2 Sam. 7:16; Isa. 7:14; 9:5–6; 11:4; 14: 29–32; Ezek. 21:30–2; 43:3; Dan. 7:13; Hos. 8:10; Amos 4:13; Zech. 9:10; Ps. 110(109):3 (Lust 2004: 9 = 1985: 174). As a tentative definition of messianism the same author proposes: 'Messianism is the expectation of an individual human and yet transcendent saviour. He is to come in a final eschatological period and will establish God's Kingdom on earth. In a more strict sense, messianism is the expectation of a royal Davidic saviour at the end of time' (Lust 2004: 10 = 1985: 175).

Coming from the New Testament writings one would expect contemporary Judaism to be obsessed with messianic expectations. But obviously this theme has been far more marginal than the New Testament authors lead us to think. Thus it can be shown that many a Hebrew text that later received a messianic interpretation in the Targumim receives no additional messianic exegesis in the Septuagint. At some places this translation even weakens a messianic tendency in the Hebrew text, either by a 'collectivizing' interpretation (for instance in Isa. 42:1), or—where the Hebrew text underlines the role of a royal saviour—by emphasizing that it is God who sends the saviour (for instance in Isa. 9:5–6); or by replacing an eschatological outlook with an actualizing tendency (as for instance in Dan. 9:25–26) (Lust 2004: 10–16). Further it can be adduced that in some cases textual and literary criticism weakens what could seem a messianic opening (as in Amos 4:13a) and in other cases the fact that the Septuagint was transmitted in a Christian milieu throws suspicion on pronounced messianic readings—this seems, for instance, to be rather obvious in the reading *χριστὸς κύριος* in Lam. 4:20, probably rightly corrected by the editors to *χριστὸς κύριου* (Lust 2004: 14 = 1985: 179).

The question concerning possible messianism in the Septuagint of course should not be isolated from the question of messianism in contemporary Judaism as such. Here it can be concluded that messianic belief seems to have been much more dominant in the first century BCE than in the preceding period. To the above list of places where in the Septuagint a messianic interpretation has been seen, from the Apocrypha Horbury adds Sirach 45:25; 47:11, 22 and 1 Macc. 2:57; 3:3–9; 9:21 (Horbury 1998 = 2003; but see Knibb 2006b: 14–15).

It also should be remarked that expectation of a royal messiah was not popular in all circles in Palestinian Judaism in this period. Knibb notes, 'for the period before the Common Era, Psalms of Solomon 17 and 18, from the middle of the first century, provide the main evidence in the Pseudepigrapha for the belief in a Davidic messiah'

(Knibb 2006b: 11). In the first century CE, however, we find messianism represented in apocalypses such as 4 Ezra, 2 Baruch, and the Parables of Enoch (1 En. 37–71).

Concerning Alexandrian Judaism at least Philo is a witness that messianic expectations were not in the first place on the agenda of his days. His view of Judaism obviously had other priorities.

That said, it is obvious that in a number of places the Septuagint's rendering if not reflects then at least facilitates a messianic understanding. And this way it offered an opportunity for the Christian exegete to see the content of his belief prophesized in Scripture, a conviction which also allowed for letting Scripture add traits to the picture of Jesus Christ, as for instance the virgin birth (Isa. 7:14) and many a detail in the passion story (Ps. 22). In the Christian reading it was not a question of reaching back to the author's intention, but to catch the message which the Spirit wanted to impart through the prophecy, be it through a *peshet*-interpretation as in the oldest layers of the New Testament, or in the proof from Scripture, the beginning of which we see in the Lukan writings, to reach a preliminary culmination in the writings of Justin. At the end of the day it has to be admitted that the potential messianism in the Septuagint was of especial interest among Christians who soon developed its Christology to transcend any Jewish expectation in this regard.

In the Pentateuch two examples are normally adduced. The first is Gen. 49:10 in Jacob's blessing of Judah where the Greek translation instead of a sceptre and a ruler's staff speaks of an ἄρχων and ἡγούμενος and what is kept for him until he comes; and instead of the Hebrew 'the nations shall obey him' we have καὶ αὐτὸς προσδοκία ἐθνῶν, 'and he is the expectation of the nations' (Rösel 1995: 54–70). The second is from the Balaam story in Num. 22–4 where the Hebrew text in 24:7, 17 speaks of flowing water and a star coming forth out of Jacob respectively while the Greek text has ἐξελεύσεται ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτοῦ καὶ κυριεύσει ἐθνῶν πολλῶν, 'a human shall come forth from his seed and shall rule many nations', and then that a star shall come forth out of Judah καὶ ἀναστήσει ἄνθρωπος ἐξ Ἰσραὴλ 'and a human shall arise from Israel'. It is possible that this tendency to messianic interpretations, as also the growth in angelology, is due to the ever higher transcendence of God (Rösel 1998: 61). However, that these two places should be clear examples of the introduction of a messianic interpretation is not undisputed (Lust 1995 = 2004: 69–86 esp. 81).

This also pertains to most of the other places (see *passim* in Lust 2004; Knibb 2006a: XIII–XXXI). Among these Dan. 7:13 poses its own problems. Here the reading in some Septuagint manuscripts in Dan. 7:13 replacing ἕως before παλαιὸς ἡμερῶν παρῆν with ὡς, with the apparent effect that son of man is identified with the Ancient of Days, has caused some exegetes to claim it as evidence of a supernatural son of man or even Son of God (Müller 2008a: 344–5). Recently Siegfried Kreuzer also evaluated this identification as the older version, later to be revised and brought in accord with the Masoretic Text, the revised reading being the background of the gospel son of man sayings while the original reading is reflected in Rev. 1:12–16 (see Kreuzer 2011: 3005–7).

Nevertheless Michael Knibb concludes, 'The fact remains, however, that the Septuagint has introduced messianic references in places where such do not exist in the Masoretic Text and even if messianic expectation was less pervasive at the turn of the era than often assumed, Greek-speaking Christians found it natural to apply numerous

passages in the Septuagint to their interpretation of the significance of the life and death of Jesus. The real difficulty is to assess properly, without being unduly influenced by later Christian and Jewish interpretation, the extent to which the translators have introduced messianic references into the Greek translation' (Knibb 2006b: 17).

Besides the eventual messianic interpretations, the translations of some 'older' books show clear references to the belief in a resurrection and eternal life for the just, as in the most recent book of the Hebrew Bible, the book of Daniel, in Dan. 12:2–4. It is, for instance, also the case in Job 14:13–17; 19:25–7; 42:17 (Gard 1954; Fernández Marcos 1994; Schnocks 2006).

THEOLOGY AS INCULTURATION

Theology in the Septuagint, however, not only shows up in the reworking of central concepts. It also can be detected in the subtler incorporation of fragments of the surrounding culture's philosophical thinking, mythology, and history writing, thus continuing a process already effectively present in the creation of the books of the Hebrew Bible. Martin Rösel in particular has shown the fruitfulness of this approach. Thus Rösel has rendered it probable that the translation of the story of the creation of the human being shows influence from Plato's *Timaeus*, if not directly then at least indirectly (Rösel 1994: 73–87). This is seen in surprising parallels between the biblical and the Platonic creation story to the effect that the first creation story in Genesis 1 which is dominated by the verb 'to make' (ποιέω) functions as a description of the creation of the immaterial world, inclusive of the human, while the second in Genesis 2 pertains to the material, changeable, and perishable world, indicated through the use of the verb 'to form' (πλάσσω). The result is that the human created in Gen. 1:26–7 is the idea of the human, while man formed in Gen. 2:7 together with the woman formed from his rib to be his helper are the ancestors of the human race. This understanding of the Greek rendering of the creation stories is later confirmed by Philo, who makes it explicit in two places in his works (*Legum allegoriae* I.131, *De officio mundi* §134). This understanding is further reflected in Paul, 1 Cor. 15:45–9, albeit in an eschatological reinterpretation.

The intention to couple the biblical account in Genesis with the surrounding culture is also witnessed in the modifications of the chronological information, thereby attempting to avoid a clash with Egyptian traditions. The result is that the first year of the Second Temple becomes the year 5000, where the Masoretic Text dates the reconsecration of the temple by the Maccabees to the year 4000 (Rösel 1994: 129–44).

CONCLUSION

The theology we meet in the Septuagint with its more or less special character is not only an important chapter in the reception history of the Hebrew Bible and thus an integral

part of the history of Jewish religion. It also forms a presupposition for New Testament theology that is difficult to overestimate. If the holy books of Judaism had not existed in a Greek version, they would soon have been inaccessible for most early Christians. No wonder that Church fathers such as Clement of Alexandria could deem the Septuagint the result of ‘the counsel of God carried out for the benefit of Grecian ears’ (*Stromata* I.22.149). Thus it was also chiefly in their Greek translation that the holy writings of Judaism were employed by the New Testament authors either as direct quotations or in allusions. But also a long series of notions and concepts had in the Septuagint found their counterparts which were taken over and developed further in the New Testament. Timothy McLay rightly claims, ‘For any scholar to ignore the weight of the historical evidence and try to claim that in some way the early church was primarily dependent on the Hebrew Scriptures, rather than the Greek, borders on the ridiculous’ (McLay 2010: 617). As James Barr has also stated, ‘The Septuagint has paramount importance for our purpose, since, at least in many places, it was the form of the ancient Jewish scriptures that lay before the early Christians and is quoted in the New Testament and indeed throughout later Greek-speaking Christianity’ (Barr 1999: 576).

SUGGESTED READING

The introduction to Ausloos and Lemmelijn’s edited volume of contributions on the theology of the Septuagint (2020) provides useful further reading on the issues involved. Themes such as wisdom, Law, covenant, and monotheism are covered by other scholars in separate chapters of the same volume, each relating to major sections of the LXX corpus.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aejmelaeus, Anneli (1993). *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators*. Kampen: Kok; rev. and expanded edn. Leuven: Peeters, 2007.
- Aejmelaeus, Anneli (2006). ‘Von Sprache zur Theologie: Methodologische Überlegungen zur Theologie der Septuaginta’, in M. A. Knibb, ed., *The Septuagint and Messianism*. BETL 195. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 21–48.
- Ausloos, Hans, and Bénédicte Lemmelijn, eds. (2020). *Die Theologie der Septuaginta/The Theology of the Septuagint*. Handbuch zur Septuaginta/Handbook of the Septuagint LXX.H. Band 5. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus.
- Austermann, F. (2003). *Von der Tora zum Nomos: Untersuchungen zur Übersetzungsweise und Interpretation im Septuaginta-Psalter*. MSU 27. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Barr, James (1999). *The Concept of Biblical Theology: An Old Testament Perspective*. London: SCM.
- Berger, Klaus (1972). *Die Gesetzesauslegung Jesu: Ihr historischer Hintergrund im Judentum und im Alten Testament, Teil 1: Markus und Parallelen*. WMANT 40. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag.
- Bertram, Georg (1936). ‘Das Problem der Umschrift und die religionsgeschichtliche Erforschung der Septuaginta’. *BZAW* 66: 97–109.
- Bertram, G. (1954–9). ‘Vom Wesen der Septuaginta-Frömmigkeit’. *WO* 2: 274–84.
- Bertram, G. (1961). ‘Septuaginta-Frömmigkeit’, in *RGG*, 3rd ed. 5, pp. 1707–9.

- Bertram, G. (1967). 'Praeparatio evangelica in der Septuaginta'. *VT* 7: 225–49.
- Blank, S. H. (1930). 'The LXX Renderings of Old Testament Terms for Law'. *HUCA* 7: 259–83.
- Cimosa, Mario (2000). 'É possibile scrivere una "teologia" della Bibbia Greca (LXX)?', in R. Fabris, ed., *Initium Sapientiae: Scritti in onore di Franco Festorazzi nel suo 70. Compleanno*. Supplementi alla Rivista biblica 36. Bologna: EDB, pp. 51–64.
- Cook, Johann (2010). 'Interpreting the Septuagint: Exegesis, Theology and/or Religionsgeschichte', in W. Kraus and M. Karrer, eds., with M. Meiser, *Die Septuaginta: Texte, Theologien, Einflüsse*. WUNT 252. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 590–606.
- Coppens, Joseph (1968). *Le Messianisme royal: Ses origins, son development, son accomplissement*. LD 54. Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf.
- Dafni, Evangelia G. (2002). 'Theologie der Sprache der Septuaginta'. *ThZ* 58: 315–28.
- Deissmann, Adolf (1925). *Paulus*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2nd edn. English: *Paul: A Study in Social and Religious History*. Trans. William E. Wilson (1927). Repr. 1957, New York, NY: Harper & Brothers.
- Fernández Marcos, N. (1994). 'The Septuagint Reading of the Book of Job', in W. A. M. Beuken, ed., *The Book of Job*. BETL 114. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 251–66.
- Fernández Marcos, N. (2001). *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Version of the Bible*. Trans. W. G. E. Watson. Leiden: Brill.
- Frankel, Zacharias (1841). *Vorstudien zu der Septuaginta*. Leipzig: Vogel.
- Frankel, Zacharias (1851). *Über den Einfluss der palästinischen Exegese auf die alexandrinische Hermeneutik*. Leipzig: Joh. Ambr. Barth. Repr. Westmead, Farnborough, Hants, England, 1972.
- Fritsch, Charles T. (1943). *The Anti-Anthropomorphisms of the Greek Pentateuch*. Princeton Oriental Texts 10. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Gard, Donald H. (1954). 'The Concept of the Future Life According to the Greek Translator of the Book of Job'. *JBL* 73: 137–43.
- Harl, Marguerite (1988). 'Les Divergences entre la Septante et les textes massorétique', in G. Dorival, M. Harl, and O. Munnich, eds., *La Bible grecque des Septante*. Paris: Cerf. 2nd edn. 1994, pp. 201–22.
- Hengel, Martin (2002). *The Septuagint as Christian Scripture: Its Prehistory and the Problem of Its Canon*. Trans. R. Deines. OTS. Edinburgh: T&T Clark; German original, 1994.
- Horbury, William (1998). 'Messianism in the Old Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha', in J. Day, ed., *King and Messiah in Israel and the Ancient Near East*. JSOT.S 270. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, pp. 402–33; reprinted in Horbury, *Messianism among Jews and Christians: Biblical and Historical Studies*. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2003, pp. 35–64.
- Jobes, K. H. and M. Silva (2002). *Invitation to the Septuagint*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic; Carlisle: Paternoster.
- Joosten, Jan (2000). 'Une théologie de la Septante? Réflexions méthodologiques sur l'interprétation de la version grecque'. *RTP* 132: 31–46.
- Knibb, M. A., ed. (2006a). *The Septuagint and Messianism*. BETL 195. Leuven: Peeters.
- Knibb, M. A. (2006b). 'The Septuagint and Messianism: Problems and Issues', in M. A. Knibb, ed., *The Septuagint and Messianism*. BETL 195. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 3–19.
- Kreuzer, Siegfried (2011). 'Exkurs: Papyrus 967, seine Besonderheiten und seine Bedeutung', in M. Karrer and W. Kraus, eds., *Septuaginta Deutsch: Erläuterungen und Kommentare zum griechischen Alten Testament Band II Psalmen bis Daniel*. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, pp. 3005–7.
- Law, T. Michael (2013). *When God Spoke Greek: The Septuagint and the Making of the Christian Bible*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Lust, Johan (1985). 'Messianism and Septuagint', *VTSup* 36: 174–91 = reprint in K. Hauspie, ed., *Messianism and the Septuagint: Collected Essays by J. Lust*. BETL 178. Leuven: Peeters, 2004, pp. 9–26.
- Lust, Johan (1995). 'The Greek Version of Balaam's Third and Fourth Oracles: The *ἄθροισμα* in Num 24:7, 17. Messianism and Lexicography', in L. Greenspoon and O. Munnich, eds., *VIII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Paris*. SBL SCS 41. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, pp. 233–57. Repr. in Lust, *Messianism and the Septuagint*, 69–86.
- Lust, Johan (2004). 'A Septuagint Christ Preceding Jesus Christ? Messianism in the Septuagint Exemplified in Isa 7,10–17', in K. Hauspie, ed., *Messianism and the Septuagint: Collected Essays by J. Lust*. BETL 178. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 211–26.
- McLay, Timothy (2010). 'Why Not a Theology of the Septuagint?', in W. Kraus and M. Karrer, eds., with M. Meiser, *Die Septuaginta: Texte, Theologien, Einflüsse*. WUNT 252. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 607–20.
- Menken, Maarten J. J. (2004). *Matthew's Bible: The Old Testament Text of the Evangelist*. BETL 173. Leuven: Peeters.
- Müller, Mogens (1996). *The First Bible of the Church: A Plea for the Septuagint*. JSOTSup 206 = CIS 1. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press (Danish edn. 1994).
- Müller, M. (2008a). *The Expression 'Son of Man' and the Development of Christology: A History of Interpretation*. Copenhagen International Seminar. London: Equinox.
- Müller, M. (2008b). 'Die Septuaginta als Teil des christlichen Kanons', in M. Karrer and W. Kraus, eds., with M. Meiser, *Die Septuaginta: Texte, Kontexte, Lebenswelten*. WUNT 219. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 708–27.
- Ngunga, Abi T. (2013). *Messianism in the Old Greek of Isaiah: An Intertextual Analysis*. FRLANT 245. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Pietersma, Albert (2006). 'Messianism and the Greek Psalter: In Search of the Messiah', in M. A. Knibb, ed., *The Septuagint and Messianism*. BETL 195. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 49–75.
- Rösel, M. (1991a). 'Die Jungfrauengeburt des endzeitlichen Immanuel: Jesaja 7 in der Übersetzung der Septuaginta'. *Jahrbuch für Biblische Theologie* 6: 135–51.
- Rösel, Martin (1991b). 'Die Übersetzung der Gottesnamen in der Genesis-Septuaginta', in D. R. Daniels, U. Glessmer, and M. Rösel, eds., *Ernten was man sät: Festschrift für Klaus Koch zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, pp. 357–77.
- Rösel, M. (1994). *Übersetzung als Vollendung der Auslegung: Studien zur Genesis-Septuaginta*. BZAW 223. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Rösel, M. (1995). 'Die Interpretation von Genesis 49 in der Septuaginta'. *BN* 79: 54–70.
- Rösel, M. (1998). 'Theo-logie der griechischen Bibel: Zur Wiedergabe der Gottesaussagen im LXX-Pentateuch'. *VT* 48: 49–62.
- Rösel, M. (2000). *Adonaj—warum Gott ‚Herr‘ genannt wird*. FAT 29. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Rösel, M. (2006a). 'Der griechische Bibelkanon und seine Theologie', in T. Engberg-Pedersen, N. P. Lemche, and H. Tronier, eds., *Kanon: Bibelens tilblivelse og normative status*. Festschrift Mogens Müller. Forum for Bibelsk Eksegese 15. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum, pp. 60–80.
- Rösel, M. (2006b). 'Towards a "Theology of the Septuagint"', in W. Kraus and R. G. Wooden, eds., *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures*. SBL.SCSS 53. Leiden: Brill, pp. 239–52.
- Rösel, M. (2007). 'Nomothese: Zum Gesetzesverständnis der Septuaginta', in H.-J. Fabry and D. Böhler, eds., *Im Brennpunkt: Die Septuaginta*. Band 3: *Studien zur Theologie, Anthropologie, Ekklesiologie, Eschatologie und Liturgie der Griechischen Bibel*. BWANT 174. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, pp. 132–50.

- Rösel, M. (2010a). 'Die *graphie* gewinnt Kontur: Die Stellung der Septuaginta in der Theologiegeschichte des Alten Testaments.' *TLZ* 135: 639–52.
- Rösel, M. (2010b). 'Tempel und Tempellosigkeit: Der Umgang mit dem Heiligtum in der Pentateuch-LXX,' in W. Kraus and M. Karrer, eds., with M. Meiser, *Die Septuaginta: Texte, Theologien, Einflüsse*. WUNT 252. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 447–61.
- Rösel, M. (2012). 'Theology after the Crisis: The Septuagint Version of Daniel 8–12,' in J. Cook and H.-J. Stipp, eds., *Text-Critical and Hermeneutical Studies in the Septuagint*. SupVT 157. Leiden: Brill, pp. 207–19.
- Rösel, M. (2018). 'A Theology of the Septuagint? Clarifications and Definition,' in M. Rösel, *Tradition and Innovation: English and German Studies on the Septuagint*. SCS 70. Atlanta, GA: SBL Press, pp. 273–90.
- Schenker, Adrian (2006). *Das Neue am neuen Bund und das Alte am alten: Jer 31 in der hebräischen und griechischen Bibel*. FRLANT 212. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Schenker, Adrian (2007). 'Gibt es eine *graeca veritas* für die hebräische Bibel? Die "Siebzig" als Textzeugen im Buch Haggai als Testfall,' in H.-J. Fabry and D. Böhler, eds., *Im Brennpunkt: Die Septuaginta*, Band 3: *Studien zur Theologie, Anthropologie, Ekklesiologie, Eschatologie und Liturgie der griechischen Bibel*. BWANT 174. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, pp. 57–77.
- Schnocks Johannes. (2006). "'Wacht auf und jubelt, Bewohner des Staubes!'" (Jes 26,19): Theologische Aspekte der Auferstehungshoffnung in prophetischen Schriften des Alten Testaments.' *Bibel und Kirche* 61: 40–5.
- Schoeps, Hans-Joachim (1959). *Paulus: Die Theologie des Apostels im Lichte der jüdischen Religionsgeschichte*. Tübingen: Mohr (Siebeck). English: *Paul: The Theology of the Apostle in the Light of Jewish Religious History*. Trans. Harold Knight. Philadelphia, PA: Westminster, 1961.
- Seeligmann, Isaac L. (1948). *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah: A Discussion of Its Problems*. MEOL 9. Repr. in R. Hanhart and H. Spieckermann, eds., *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah and Cognate Studies*. FAT 40. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004, pp. 119–294.
- Tov, Emanuel (1987). 'Die Septuaginta in ihrem theologischen und traditionsgeschichtlichen Verhältnis zur hebräischen Bibel,' in M. Klopfenstein et al., eds., *Mitte der Schrift? Ein jüdisch-christliches Gespräch: Texte der Berner Symposions vom 6.–12. Januar 1985*. Judaica et Christiana 11. Bern, Frankfurt, New York, NY, and Paris: Lang, pp. 237–65.
- Troxel, Ronald L. (2003). 'Isaiah 7,14–16 through the Eyes of the Septuagint.' *ETL* 79: 1–22.
- Waddell, W. D. (1944). 'The Tetragrammaton in the LXX.' *JTS* 45: 158–61.
- Weber, R. (2000). *Das Gesetz im hellenistischen Judentums: Studien zum Verständnis und zur Funktion der Tora von Demetrios bis Ps-Phokylides*. ARGU 10. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Weber, R. (2001). *Das 'Gesetz' bei Philon von Alexandrien und Flavius Josephus: Studien zum Verständnis und zur Funktion der Tora bei der beiden Hauptzeugen des hellenistischen Judentums*. ARGU 11. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Wevers, John William (1996). 'The Interpretative Character and Significance of the Septuagint Version,' in M. Sæbø, ed., *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation*, Vol. I/1: *Antiquity*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 84–107.
- Woude, A. S. van der (1973). 'Χρίω, χριστός: C: Messianische Vorstellungen im Spätjudentum,' in G. Kittel, ed., *TWNT* 9: 500–2.
- Ziegert, Carsten (2008). 'Das Buch Ruth in der Septuaginta als Modell für eine integrative Übersetzungstechnik.' *Bib* 89: 221–51.

CHAPTER 8

THE LETTER OF ARISTEAS

DRIES DE CROM

INTRODUCTION

MOST students of the Septuagint will, sooner or later, want to familiarize themselves with the *Letter of Aristeas*. Historical sources on the origins of the Septuagint are few and far between. Yet the *Letter of Aristeas* claims to be just that: an eyewitness account by one Aristeas, a courtier in third-century BCE Ptolemaic Alexandria, relating the events that resulted in the first ever translation of the Pentateuch from Hebrew into Greek.

The story, as related by Aristeas, begins with King Ptolemy II Philadelphus (309–246 BCE) and his royal librarian, Demetrius, discussing the need for a translation of the Jewish Law into Greek in order to complete the collection of the Royal Library. Aristeas, the king's courtier and purported author of the account, jumps to the occasion and prompts the king on the liberation of Jewish slaves in all Egypt, to which the king agrees. This gesture will, after all, procure the goodwill of the Jewish community towards the king's enterprise. After the obligatory exchange of diplomatic letters, Aristeas himself is sent as envoy to the high priest in Jerusalem in order to obtain both a faithful copy of the Jewish Law and a team of highly skilled translators: seventy-two Jewish elders well-versed in both Hebrew and Greek. These are received at Alexandria with an exquisite royal banquet, spread out over seven consecutive nights. They eventually set to work on an island (presumably Pharos), where they convene each day to produce their collective translation of the Law. After exactly seventy-two days of work, the translation is presented to the Jewish community of Alexandria and to the king (in that order), whereupon the elders are sent safely home.

We can only guess at the popularity the *Letter of Aristeas* must have enjoyed: its version of events was taken up by both Philo of Alexandria and Flavius Josephus (both first century CE), and thence in countless patristic sources (Wasserstein and Wasserstein 2006). The *Letter* itself is preserved in over twenty manuscripts ranging

from the tenth to the sixteenth century. Starting with Philo's account, the story was embellished with astonishing events absent from the *Letter of Aristeas*. For example, whereas in the original account the translation was the result of collective labour, in Philo's version all seventy-two translators, though working in separate cubicles, arrived at the exact same translation through divine intervention. This obvious miracle was taken up by most Church fathers, and thence passed into general Christian lore. Nor was Aristeas's story entirely unknown in Jewish circles, as witnessed by Talmudic stories of a 'Torah for king Talmai' (Veltri 1994). Thus, for over fifteen centuries Aristeas's account was regarded, in some form or other, as the definitive historical source on the origins of the Septuagint.

From the sixteenth century onwards, however, the *Letter of Aristeas* was gradually exposed as a falsification by the emerging historical-critical methods of Renaissance humanism. The first suspicions were raised by Juan Luis Vives. It did not sustain further critical analysis by the seventeenth-century scholar Humphrey Hody, whose arguments, though inspired by theological and even anti-Semitic bias (see Rajak 2009: 38–9), still stand today. As it is, no modern-day scholar accepts the *Letter of Aristeas* for what it claims to be. Its version of events contains too many historical inaccuracies to be a genuine eyewitness account from the third century BCE; besides, its claims on Septuagint origins have been firmly contradicted by the findings of twentieth-century Septuagint Studies.

The historical inaccuracies are conveniently summarized by Hadas (1973: 5–9). The most blatant would be the involvement of Demetrius of Phalerum, the royal librarian, who fell from grace early in the reign of Ptolemy II, for backing another claimant to the throne. Other revealing errors include the anachronistic use of court titles and official formulas, which points rather to the second century BCE (Bickermann 1976). By contrast, the author's knowledge of contemporary Jewish matters is strikingly accurate, suggesting that he was not a Gentile but himself a Jew.

Furthermore, linguistic analysis of the Greek Pentateuch has shown that the individual books each reflect a different (set of) translator(s) from a decidedly Egyptian background (Evans 2001: 263–4). The translations, therefore, could not have been produced by a single team of translators from Jerusalem, as the *Letter of Aristeas* claims.

All of this has led to the following being accepted as scholarly consensus: the *Letter of Aristeas* was not written by Aristeas, a Greek courtier in the early third century BCE, but by an anonymous Jewish author ('Pseudo-Aristeas'), academically schooled and close to the Alexandrian court, somewhere in the second century BCE. The discussion on the date of the *Letter* is not yet closed (see most recently Rappaport 2012), but the finer points of this discussion do not really concern us here. The fact remains that, with the pseudepigraphic nature of the *Letter of Aristeas* established beyond doubt, its version of events can no longer be accepted at face value.

And yet, despite all earlier misgivings, Septuagint scholars continue to turn to the *Letter of Aristeas*. Especially during the latter half of the twentieth century, attempts have been made to rehabilitate the Aristeas story as a valid source on the origins of the Septuagint. Thus, the central problems of scholarship on the *Letter of Aristeas* have

hardly changed over 400 years. We are still trying to come to grips with the historicity of the writing, the ways in which it manipulates the history it claims to describe, the purposes for which it does so, and the possibility that it preserves some kernel of historical truth.

This chapter will therefore discuss the issues raised by current research on the historicity of the *Letter of Aristeas*. This is an important aspect of scholarship on the *Letter*, but hardly the only one. Many matters of interpretation will fall beyond the limits of this study, or will be discussed only insofar as they relate to the central issue of historicity. The bibliography will hopefully prove helpful in filling the gaps. In what follows, these aspects of the historicity problem will be discussed: the possible presence of a historical nucleus in the writing, its affinity with ancient historiography, and its value as a source on the reception history of the Septuagint. Attention will also be paid to recent insights into the function of the Aristeas story as a social myth of Alexandrian Jews. All of these issues, however, are closely related to the preliminary question of the genre of the *Letter of Aristeas*.

THE GENRE OF THE *LETTER OF ARISTEAS*

Historiography

The *Letter of Aristeas* is unfortunately named, since the writing exhibits none of the formal characteristics of the epistolary genre. The author does repeatedly address one Philocrates, to whom the writing is dedicated, but there are no initial or concluding salutations, nor any reference to the sending of a letter or to a great distance separating writer and addressee. The closest parallels to this kind of composition are Luke–Acts or some of Plutarch's *Moralia*, works which few would describe as letters even though they are addressed to one specific person. Nevertheless, the designation *Letter of Aristeas* is usually maintained for tradition's sake, even though it is inadequate.

As to its actual genre, the *Letter of Aristeas* does not easily fit into any one category. If we let the work speak for itself, it appears to belong to the genre of historiography. The author thrice describes his own work as a *diēgēsis* or 'narration', a text form that is known from both historical and rhetorical theory. A *diēgēsis* is the description of past events, in the context of either history or oratory, in such a way that the narration supports some central thesis to which it is related. It is, in short, a historical account with an implicit persuasive function. The author of the *Letter of Aristeas* actually goes to great lengths to present his work as a genuine historical account. When the king liberates all Jewish slaves in Egypt, or when he corresponds with the high priest in Jerusalem, all official documents and letters are reproduced for the reader's information. Furthermore, in the closing paragraph the author emphasizes that his own account should please the reader more than 'the books of story-tellers'. All of this certainly belongs to the standard

practices of historians. However, to observe that the *Letter of Aristeas* presents itself as a work of history and leave it at that is no adequate solution to the genre question. Indeed, one of the defining characteristics of the writing is that it combines several literary genres into one composition.

Rhetoric

One of the most striking features of the *Letter of Aristeas* is that, at four separate occasions in the narrative, the plot is interrupted by long-winded and apparently unnecessary digressions. When Aristeas and his company leave for Jerusalem, they take with them a wealth of royal gifts, which the author describes to an amazing level of detail (§§51b–83a). Upon their arrival in Jerusalem, some time is devoted to describe the city and its surroundings (§§83b–120). After generously providing both the requested manuscripts and specialist translators, the high priest engages in an in-depth exegesis of the Jewish Law (§§128–72), in itself highly interesting but hardly relevant to the storyline. Finally, and most impressively, at the seven-day welcome feast each of the seventy-two translators is in turn interrogated by the king on matters of philosophy, politics, and religion (§§187–300). The author meticulously records every single question, quotes every single reply, and does not fail to describe how the king and his courtiers are immensely impressed and applaud the answer given—every single time.

Together, these four digressions take up roughly two-thirds of the entire composition. This means that the actual project of translating the Pentateuch into Greek, which is supposed to be the *Letter of Aristeas*'s subject matter, is in fact dealt with quite succinctly. For this reason, in the past the *Letter of Aristeas* was often judged to be unbalanced and, consequently, lacking in genuine literary merit. To explain away the seeming inconsistencies, Février (1925) assumed that a nucleus on the translation of the Pentateuch had been embellished and elaborated upon by later redactors, resulting in the apparently incoherent amalgamate that is the *Letter of Aristeas*. This was a perfectly sensible theory in the early twentieth century, when this type of analysis was an established practice in both Classical and biblical scholarship. Methods of analysis have changed, though, and so has our understanding of the *Letter of Aristeas*'s literary composition.

Two studies in particular have done much to rehabilitate the *Letter of Aristeas* as a skilful literary composition, at least if judged by the standards of its own time. Hadas (1973) was the first to realize the strong ties that exist between the *Letter of Aristeas* and the rhetorical practices of its day. This insight was developed further by Honigman (2003). Together, they have convincingly demonstrated that the *Letter of Aristeas* is an intelligently composed, multifaceted, yet single-purposed work of literature. According to Hellenistic tastes, the merging of various literary genres into a single composition was a true feat of skill—and this is exactly what is achieved in the *Letter of Aristeas*. Each of the digressions belongs to a different type of rhetorical exercise or *progumnasma*, as

described in contemporary handbooks of rhetoric such as that of Aelius Theon (Kennedy 2003). In the description of the king's gifts, ancient readers would have recognized an *ekphrasis*, a meticulous and artful description of objects. The description of Jerusalem they would have read as a standard utopian travelogue, while the high priest's speech to them would have been a *chreia*, an oration on the (de)merits of a specific subject. The attraction of the astonishingly long symposium scene would have lain in the endless stylistic variations in the king's questions, the wise men's replies, and the audience's applause. The digressions, therefore, must in fact have appealed to the original readership's taste for variety and rhetorical display.

Philosophical and Wisdom Literature

It has long been recognized that there are strong ethical overtones in the writing, making it a combination of 'historiography with philosophy and religion' (Honigman 2003: 33). Without a doubt, the author attached important ethical values to the story he had to tell. Yet it has not always been sufficiently recognized how close the ethics of the *Letter of Aristeas* take it to traditional Old Testament wisdom literature. In his opening remarks (§2), the author himself stresses that his work is intended to teach his readers *eusebeia* or 'piety', an ethical quality achieved through *philomatheia* or 'love of learning'. These are not merely intellectual or religiously neutral concepts. I would argue that the qualities of *eusebeia* and *philomatheia*, as intended in the *Letter of Aristeas*, actually refer to the wise man's attitude towards life and God, the well-known 'fear of the Lord' of wisdom literature (see also Boccaccini 1990; De Crom 2007).

Of course, the *Letter of Aristeas* is not a sapiential work per se. The influences from traditional Jewish wisdom are unmistakably there, but so are concepts from Hellenistic philosophy, particularly Stoicism. Especially in the interrogation of the wise men at the seven-day banquet (§§187–300), Jewish wisdom and Greek philosophy stand shoulder to shoulder. The elders' replies, when taken together, read as a series of precepts and counsels for princes, a disguised handbook on kingship (Murray 1967). Some of the counsels given might have come straight from the books of Proverbs or Ben Sira: 'If you take as your starting point the fear of God, you would fail in nothing' (§189); 'God governs all things, and even in our greatest achievements we do not accomplish our purposes by ourselves' (§195). At other times the elders' advice sounds particularly Stoic, such as when one of the wise men declares that the highest form of power is 'to control oneself and not get carried away by one's impulses' (§222).

In conclusion, the author of the *Letter of Aristeas* created a many-sided literary work, into which he wove strands of several genres and text forms. While the resulting composition may appear unbalanced and tiresome to modern readers, there can be no doubt that it was a fine achievement by the standards of the day. The author himself emerges as a sophisticated individual who, in the course of a single composition, assumes in turn the roles of historian, orator, philosopher, and wisdom teacher.

THE HISTORICITY OF THE LETTER OF ARISTEAS

A Historical Nucleus

Because the *Letter of Aristeas* is pseudepigraphical, its claim that the Pentateuch was translated into Greek by order of Ptolemy II was considered spurious for almost 400 years of scholarship. However, throughout the twentieth century there has been a persistent idea that not all of its claims should be rejected outright. Several scholars today recognize the possibility that it preserves a historical nucleus concerning the origins of the Septuagint under layers of literary obfuscation. After all, a second-century BCE source may well preserve traditions about third-century BCE events. This historical nucleus actually boils down to two distinct hypotheses: a) that the Jewish Law was first translated into Greek by order, or at least under the patronage of, the Ptolemaic court; and b) that the resulting Greek translation was indeed part of the collection of the Alexandrian Royal Library. Either or both of these hypotheses are at times put forth in scholarly discussion; the former, in particular, has gained quite some support in the latter half of the twentieth century.

Unfortunately, all attempts to distil any historical information from the *Letter of Aristeas* are hampered by a lack of evidence. For instance, we have very little data about the actual contents of the Royal Library at Alexandria (Fraser 1972 remains an indispensable source on this subject), nor are we certain that any translated works were ever part of it (see the analysis of Rajak 2009: 43–6). As far as the involvement of the Ptolemaic court is concerned, all arguments in favour rely on indirect evidence. For example, there is an oft-quoted tradition that Ptolemy III aggressively appropriated the original copies of the great Attic tragedies for the Royal Library, which some regard as analogous to the Ptolemaic kings' supposed acquisition of the Jewish Law in Greek (see e.g. Honigman 2003). Others rely on arguments of plausibility (Bickermann 1976; Fernández Marcos 2009) or mistaken chronology (Collins 2000).

One particular theory of Septuagint origins deserves special mention here, because it comes closest to proving that the *Letter of Aristeas* is, at some level, in touch with historical reality (Barthélemy 1974; Méléze-Modrzejewski 1986, 1995; Dorival 2009). A select few papyrological sources from Ptolemaic Egypt suggest that, in the early third century BCE, the Egyptian Jewish community adopted a higher form of civic organization and autonomy, the *politeuma*. In the Ptolemaic legal system, such ethnic communities had the right to maintain their own by-laws. There are indications that, for Egyptian Jews, the Greek Pentateuch served this purpose—in which case the translation itself may well have had some form of official recognition.

What all these theories have in common is that they do not actually rely on the *Letter of Aristeas* itself as a source text. Rather, the historical nucleus which some scholars recognize in the *Letter of Aristeas* remains to be confirmed or denied on the basis of other sources.

New Impulses from Ancient Historical Theory

Despite all historical-critical misgivings, the discussion on the historicity of the *Letter of Aristeas* is far from closed. In the last twenty years headway has been made by scholars approaching the *Letter of Aristeas* from the field of ancient history (Honigman 2003; Rajak 2008). Their main innovation was to confront it with contemporary reflections on historical method, as found in, among others, Aristotle and Polybius, rather than judging it solely by the standards of modern-day scholarship. Indeed, insights in Hellenistic ideas about history and historiography may greatly help us to understand the intentions and choices of the *Letter's* anonymous author. Since the study of the historiography of the Hellenistic age is itself a vibrant sub-discipline, the *Letter of Aristeas* will in the future require further study from this angle.

To illustrate the issues at stake, I will discuss one relevant example. In his important commentary on the *Letter of Aristeas*, Hadas (1973) had argued that the writing was intended by its author as a work of fiction, and by its audience received as such. He came to this conclusion by judging it against literary conventions of the Hellenistic age. Yet by using additional comparative material, Honigman (2003) arrived at precisely the opposite conclusion, namely that the author of the *Letter* had meant to write an earnest work of history and that his audience would have expected no less. How is it that we do not even know for sure whether the *Letter of Aristeas* was meant to be a serious work of history or not?

One of the most crucial things to consider here is the narrative stance adopted by its author. To ancient historiographers from Herodotus onwards, the claim of *autopsia*, i.e. being an eyewitness, gave an immediate air of reliability (Honigman 2003: 67–71). In these cases, the accuracy of narrated events was guaranteed by the personality of the historian who had witnessed them. Narrating a history from a personal point of view was the more authoritative stance for ancient historiographers. By way of contrast, disguising one's identity was not so well received. Historians like Herodotus, Thucydides, and Polybius all started their works by presenting themselves to their audience. Keeping one's identity hidden would negatively affect the reliability of a historical work. Indeed, in historiography the very concept of *alêtheia* ('truth', literally 'non-hiding') seems to have started with the personality of the historian, who could not therefore afford to keep his identity hidden.

By contrast, in modern views of historiography, objectivity can only be guaranteed by cancelling out the ego, so that the absence of an ego-narrator is often what distinguishes historiography from other genres (journalism, memoirs, historical novels).

Paradoxically, then, the author of the *Letter of Aristeas* chose to assume a different personality precisely because he was concerned to create a reliable account that would not be taken for fiction. The persona of Aristeas, a fictional courtier from the previous century, allowed the author to keep up the eyewitness character of the account, making plausible his presence at certain scenes and his access to certain sources.

Thus, the adoption of an alter ego, which Hadas regarded as one of the signs that the *Letter of Aristeas* was only ever intended as an edifying work of fiction, may to its ancient

audience have suggested exactly the opposite, as Honigman rightly posits. The literary characteristics of the *Letter of Aristeas* may in fact betray a closer affinity with genuine historiography than has been assumed in the past. It should be noted that Honigman's ultimate aim is to isolate and undo some of the literary devices employed in the narrative, in order to identify the historical events behind it—which brings us right back to the issue of the 'historical nucleus' in the *Letter of Aristeas's* narrative. Whether this avenue of research can indeed recuperate the *Letter* as an independent historical source remains to be seen.

The most important lesson to be learned is that the *Letter of Aristeas* should not be judged by modern standards of historiography, if it is to be understood correctly. The author is only concerned with historical detail insofar as it is relevant to his persuasive aims; the rest is lost in abstraction. For example, it would be unfair to ask whether the high priest's harsh judgement of incestuous relations (§152) is a covert criticism of the Ptolemaic practice of brother–sister marriages (see Beavis 1987 for supposed anti-Gentile propaganda in the *Letter*). Ptolemy's married life is of no interest to the author of the *Letter of Aristeas*, as is indicated by the historical inaccuracies in his passing reference to the royal family (see Pelletier 1962: 127–8, 187).

To a very large extent, the author of *Letter of Aristeas* creates his own idealized version of Alexandria, a story world fit for an event so momentous as the translation of the Law of Moses into Greek. This is most evident in the way it portrays the interaction of Jews and Gentiles—or rather, what it imagines this interaction should be like (Gruen 2008; Kovelman 2005).

Indeed, there is something highly tendentious about the story world in which the narrative is set. It has often been remarked that the *Letter of Aristeas* does not give a realistic portrayal of Jewish–Greek contacts: many details are simply too perfect. When asked to liberate 100,000 Jewish slaves at enormous expense, the king readily agrees to it as an act in honour of God (the economic consequences would have been crippling in real life). Upon their arrival in Alexandria, the seventy-two translators are admitted into the king's presence without further ado, and every precaution is taken to make them feel at home, including kosher menus during the seven-day feast. The king is credited with exaggerated piety when he falls on his knees no less than seven times for the Hebrew scrolls of the Law, and again for their Greek translation.

The list of examples could be multiplied, but one case will clarify exactly how the author of the *Letter of Aristeas* operates. Concerning the official letters and edicts reproduced in the writing, critics long suspected the author to have had access to official models on which to style his own. Material proof for such creative rewriting was found in a papyrus fragment from the Rainer collection (P. Rain. 24, 552), whose content and wording neatly fit the king's edict about the liberation of Jews enslaved during his royal father's campaign in Judea (§§22–5; see Westermann 1938). However, in the *Letter of Aristeas* the king, when presented with the finished edict, makes one small but vital modification which is not in the papyrus fragment. He adds that 'likewise if any of them were here before [my father's campaign], or were brought here afterwards', these should also be set free. So we see that, in the *Letter of Aristeas*, the edict is presented in accordance with the formal demands of ordinary royal edicts. Yet it is made extraordinary by

the addition of one phrase, which vastly magnifies the symbolical value of the edict, raising it from an ordinary economic measure to an ‘anti-Exodus’, a historic sign of goodwill towards Jewry at large (see Hacham 2005).

This is typical of how the unknown author of the *Letter of Aristeas* operates: he infuses his work with ‘historical’ details from Hellenistic Alexandria, a world he must have known very well, but links these details together in new ways and magnifies them beyond their original scope. The story world thus created is modelled after an actual historical society, but presents an idealized reinvention of it. For this reason, Momigliano (1932) was right to qualify the *Letter of Aristeas* as a ‘messianic’ work, in that it describes a perfect vision of society as it should be for Jews in Hellenistic Alexandria.

To be sure, the *Letter of Aristeas* does not describe Alexandria as a cultural melting pot in which Judaism happily coexists with Greek and Egyptian cultures—a melting pot which, historically speaking, it never really was. Rather, it describes a highly structured society in which everything and everyone has its rightful place. In it, Jews and Greeks live in harmony and are united in common purpose, but Jews definitely claim the moral higher ground (Gruen 1998: 228).

The Reception History of the Septuagint

Even if one rejects the *Letter of Aristeas* as a source text on Septuagint origins, it can be put to use in reconstructing the early history of the Septuagint. From it, we can deduce not what really happened in the first half of the third century BCE, but what an anonymous author in the second century BCE wanted his audience to believe had happened: that the translation of the Law of Moses into Greek had been approved of by both the Ptolemaic king and the Jewish high priest, that it had been translated by the most skilled and pious elders to be found, and most importantly, that the Law in Greek stood on a par with its Hebrew counterpart. The *Letter of Aristeas* is, in short, an excellent source on the reception history of the Septuagint.

Tcherikover (1974) identified the *Letter* as an apologetic writing, that is, written in a social context where the Greek translation of the Jewish Law (or one particular translation) was not universally accepted and needed a propaganda effort. Indeed, there has been no lack of hypotheses in which the *Letter of Aristeas* features as a polemic pamphlet, defending one officially sanctioned Greek translation against older versions or later revisions (Kahle 1959), or even against its Hebrew source (Howard 1971). Not all of these theories have stood the test of time, as discussed by Gooding (1974). Kahle’s theory, in particular, has since been disproved by a more correct understanding of a vital passage of the *Letter of Aristeas* on which it was based (Zuntz 1959). A recent reappraisal of these issues may be found in Matusova (2015).

The most recent studies of the *Letter of Aristeas* from the reception perspective are inspired by the recent cross-fertilization of the disciplines of Septuagint Studies and Translation Studies. In this light, what we have at our disposal in the *Letter of Aristeas* is an almost unique commodity in the field of Septuagint Studies. It is a genuine ‘meta-text’

on Hebrew–Greek translation, a secondary source from which to deduce how people in the second century BCE talked about translation, what values were attached to it, and what themes and strategies were used to justify it. It should be emphasized that any links with the historical origins of the Septuagint are of minor importance in this approach. In Translation Studies, attention is rather given to prescriptive language and idealization in all discourse on translation—which, incidentally, are prominent features of the *Letter of Aristeas*. Wright’s work on the *Letter of Aristeas* captures this point brilliantly and provides a solid basis for anyone wishing to engage in the Translation Studies approach (Wright 2006a, 2006b, 2015).

In fact, studying the *Letter of Aristeas* as a meta-text on Hebrew–Greek translation appears to be a very promising avenue for future research. What is needed is a comparative analysis of the *Letter* and other so-called ‘meta-texts’ (including, but not limited to, the prologue to Greek Ben Sira, the colophon to Greek Esther, and the account of Philo of Alexandria), in order to discover if they share any common ideology on translation, any common terminology or cultural code (for a very brief attempt, see De Crom 2011: 83–7). This is in the first place a matter of textual analysis rather than of historical investigation. In this way, we will be able to realize the *Letter of Aristeas*’s potential as a source text more fully than with continued efforts of source criticism and historical speculation.

The *Letter of Aristeas* as a Social Myth

Several authors have pointed out that a popular tradition on the translation of the Law is likely to have circulated already at the time when the *Letter of Aristeas* was composed (among them Tcherikover 1974; Bickerman 1976; Troiani 1987; Murray 1987; Honigman 2003; Rajak 2009). To be sure, there is no direct attestation of an older version of the story, but the idea has proved difficult to resist. The *Letter of Aristeas* would then be a literary reworking of pre-existing popular beliefs of Alexandrian Jewry.

The argument actually also involves the Jewish historian Aristobulus, the only other Hellenistic author to mention the translation of the Law into Greek under King Ptolemy (his testimony is preserved in Eusebius, *Praep. Ev.* 13.12.1; Clement, *Strom.* 1.22.148). His report, however brief, strongly resembles the events described in the *Letter of Aristeas* (including the tell-tale involvement of Demetrius of Phalerum). However, the date of Aristobulus is a notorious crux, so that it is unclear who is dependent on whom. One possible solution may be that both drew from an independent source, possibly an unrecorded oral tradition.

There even seems to have been a popular ritual connected to the origins of the Septuagint. Philo (*Mos.* 2.41–2) tells us that Alexandrian Jews gathered annually on the isle of Pharos to celebrate the occasion of the translation. Unfortunately, there is no mention of this peculiar celebration prior to Philo, so there are no apparent means to verify its relationship to the *Letter of Aristeas*. In any case, Philo’s evidence implies that the story preserved in the *Letter* was part of the collective memory of Alexandrian Jewish society (Rajak 2009: 47–63) and that it held special significance for the community as a whole.

Murray (1987) was in fact the first to describe the *Letter's* story as a 'charter myth', an expression borrowed from Bronislaw Malinowski's theory of myth (1954). A charter myth is a story, passed down within a given society, on that society's origins. Often, it does not accurately describe the historical facts, but transforms them into something larger, something 'mythical'. In the words of Csapo (2005: 143): 'They are reflections not so much of how things came to be, but of how they should be, or how they should remain.' This neatly fits the kind of historicity we have posited for the *Letter of Aristeas*—and indeed, the *Letter* is often interpreted as a social myth of Alexandrian Jewish society, a pleasant fiction of how life should be for Jews in the Egyptian Diaspora (for instance Honigman 2003: 38–41).

However, a word of caution is in order here. The *Letter* is, first and foremost, a work of literature. Whereas myth is, ever in Malinowski's terms, a product of collective consciousness, bound to a social group and actively at work within that group as a means of self-justification, a literary writing is a product of a single individual, whose personality cannot but enforce itself upon the myth, shaping it into a work of art. Therefore, I do not think that we can simply identify the *Letter of Aristeas* as 'the' charter myth of its society. Rather, it is a literary reflection of it, bearing a message of its own which does not necessarily correspond in every respect to the social myth itself.

Whether or not the popular tradition existed prior to the composition of the *Letter of Aristeas* does not really matter to clarify the distinction. When in Philo's time Alexandrian Jews went out to celebrate on the isle of Pharos, they did not celebrate the events narrated in the *Letter of Aristeas*—they celebrated the miracle of a divinely inspired, unanimous translation by seventy-two elders, as Philo himself relates. What the *Letter of Aristeas* offers is one anonymous author's singular take on the Greek translation of the Pentateuch, which might or might not correspond to the beliefs of the majority of Alexandrian Jews. Besides, in trying to assess the charter myth that was active in Alexandrian Jewish society, Malinowski himself would probably have given far more attention to the annual ritual testified to by Philo than to the literary elaboration of it in the *Letter of Aristeas*.

The assumption that there is a popular myth underlying the *Letter of Aristeas* would certainly help us to understand why the author puts so much effort into presenting his work as reliable and truthful. At this point it should be remembered that the author of the *Letter* does everything he can to stress the historical reliability of his account, and expressly dissociates himself from the 'tellers of myths'. Given the cultivated language and academic interest displayed by the author, as well as the prominence of court life in the narrative, the *Letter of Aristeas* is more likely to be an elitist reworking of popular beliefs, designed to confirm and at the same time transcend them.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

If anything, the historicity of the *Letter of Aristeas* cannot be denied—it is, after all, presented as a work of historiography, bound to the particular historical context in which it

was written. However, both its image of Ptolemaic Alexandria and its narrative plot are a reinvention, an idealization of historical reality. The *Letter of Aristeas*, therefore, is performative rather than objective history. Whatever it may be able to tell us on the actual origins of the Septuagint is lost in the literary make-up of the writing. We should not confront the text on things it was never meant to address. The most important thing it can show us is what a particular author from the elite of second-century Alexandrian Jewry thought important to know on the matter—the popularity of his account with later authors showing that his view on the matter was generally well received. If we accept that this is what the *Letter of Aristeas* has to offer, it will remain a significant piece of Hellenistic prose literature and a plentiful source of information for Septuagint Studies. If we continue to search for any historical truth in the Aristeas story, it will turn out to be an evidentiary non-event, always to be corroborated from other sources—a grim prospect for any ancient work.

SUGGESTED READING

An excellent starting point for reading up on the *Letter of Aristeas* is Hadas (1973), whose introduction and notes are invaluable. On matters of textual criticism, one should also consult the edition of Pelletier (1962). Among the wealth of interpretative studies, both Honigman (2003) and Wright (2006a) deserve a special mention for their many stimulating observations. The afterlife and evolution of the *Letter's* version of Septuagint origins is treated extensively in Wasserstein and Wasserstein (2006). For a wider scope on the historical and cultural background, one should consult Gruen (1998) and Rajak (2009). The excellent and comprehensive commentary by Wright (2015) has already established itself as an indispensable tool.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Barthélemy, D. (1974). 'Pourquoi la Torah a-t-elle été traduite en grec?', in Matthew Black and William A. Smalley, eds., *On Language, Culture, and Religion*. Den Haag: Mouton, pp. 23–41.
- Beavis, M. (1987). 'Anti-Egyptian Polemic in the Letter of Aristeas 130–165, the High Priest's Discourse'. *JSS* 18: 145–51.
- Bickerman, Elias (1976). 'Zur Datierung des Pseudo-Aristeas', in *Studies in Jewish and Christian History*, Vol. 1. Leiden: Brill, pp. 109–36 [= E. Bickerman (1930). *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 29: 280–98].
- Boccaccini, Gabriele (1990). 'La sapienza dello Pseudo-Aristea', in Angelo Vivian, ed., *Bibliche und judaistische Studien: Festschrift für Paolo Sacchi*. Bern: Lang, pp. 143–76.
- Collins, Nina L. (2000). *The Library in Alexandria and the Bible in Greek*. SupVT 82. Leiden: Brill.
- Csapo, Eric (2005). *Theories of Mythology*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- De Crom, Dries (2007). 'The Letter of Aristeas and the Authority of the Septuagint'. *JStP* 17: 141–60.
- De Crom, Dries (2011). 'Translation and Directionality in the Hebrew–Greek Tradition', in Siobhán McElduff and Enrica Sciarrino, eds., *Complicating the History of Western Translation*. Manchester: St. Jerome, pp. 77–87.

- Dorival, Gilles (2009). 'De nouvelles données sur l'origine de la Septante?'. *Semitica et Classica* 2: 73–9.
- Evans, Trevor V. (2001). *Verbal Syntax in the Greek Pentateuch: Natural Greek Usage and Hebrew Interference*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Fernández Marcos, Natalio (2009). 'The Greek Pentateuch and the Scholarly Milieu of Alexandria'. *Semitica et Classica* 2: 81–9.
- Février, James G. (1925). *La Date, la composition et les sources de la lettre d'Aristée à Philocrate*. Paris: Champion.
- Fraser, Peter M. (1972). *Ptolemaic Alexandria*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Gooding, David (1974). 'Aristeas and Septuagint Origins: A Review of Recent Studies', in Sidney Jellicoe, ed., *Studies in the Septuagint: Origins, Recensions and Interpretations*. New York, NY: Ktav, 158–80 [= David Gooding (1963). 'Aristeas and Septuagint Origins'. VT 13: 357–79].
- Gruen, Erich S. (1998). *Heritage and Hellenism: The Reinvention of the Jewish Tradition*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Gruen, Erich S. (2008). 'The Letter of Aristeas and the Cultural Context of the Septuagint', in Martin Karrer and Wolfgang Kraus, eds., *Die Septuaginta: Texte, Kontexte, Lebenswelten. Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D), Wuppertal 20.–23. Juli 2006*. WUNT 1.219, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 134–56.
- Hacham, Noah (2005). 'The Letter of Aristeas: A New Exodus Story?'. *JSJ* 36: 1–20.
- Hadas, Moses (1973). *Aristeas to Philocrates (Letter of Aristeas)*. New York, NY: Wipf & Stock.
- Honigman, Sylvie (2003). *The Septuagint and Homeric Scholarship in Alexandria: A Study in the Narrative of the Letter of Aristeas*. London: Routledge.
- Howard, George (1971). 'The Letter of Aristeas and Diaspora Judaism'. *JTS* 22: 337–48.
- Kahle, Paul (1959). *The Cairo Genizah*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Kennedy, George A. (2003). *Progymnasmata: Greek Textbooks of Prose Composition and Rhetoric*. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.
- Kovelman, Arkady (2005). *Between Alexandria and Jerusalem: The Dynamic of Jewish and Hellenistic Culture*. Leiden: Brill.
- Malinowski, Bronislaw (1954). *Magic, Science, and Religion and Other Essays*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- Matusova, Ekaterina D. (2015). *The Meaning of the Letter of Aristeas: In Light of Biblical Interpretation and Grammatical Tradition, and with Reference to its Historical Context*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Mélèze-Modrzejewski, Joseph (1986). 'Livres sacrés et justice lagide'. *Acta Universitatis Lodzianis. Folia Juridica* 21: 11–44.
- Mélèze-Modrzejewski, Joseph (1995). 'Law and Justice in Ptolemaic Egypt', in Markham H. Geller and Herwig Maehler, eds., *Legal Documents of the Hellenistic World*. London: University of London, pp. 1–19.
- Momigliano, Arnaldo (1932). 'Per la data e la caratteristica della Lettera di Aristeo'. *Aegyptus* 12: 161–72.
- Murray, Oswyn (1967). 'Aristeas and Ptolemaic Kingship'. *JTS* 18: 350–1.
- Murray, Oswyn (1987). 'The Letter of Aristeas', in Biagio Virgilio, ed., *Studi ellenistici II*. Pisa: Giardini, pp. 15–29.
- Pelletier, André (1962). *Lettre d'Aristée à Philocrate*. Paris: Cerf.
- Rajak, Tessa (2008). 'Translating the Septuagint for Ptolemy's Library: Myth and History', in Martin Karrer and Wolfgang Kraus, eds., *Die Septuaginta: Texte, Kontexte, Lebenswelten. Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D), Wuppertal 20.–23. Juli 2006*. WUNT 1.219, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 176–93.

- Rajak, Tessa (2009). *Translation and Survival: The Greek Bible of the Jewish Diaspora*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Rappaport, Uriel (2012). 'The Letter of Aristeas Again'. *JStP* 21: 285–303.
- Tcherikover, Victor (1974). 'The Ideology of the Letter of Aristeas', in Sidney Jellicoe, ed., *Studies in the Septuagint: Origins, Recensions and Interpretations*. New York, NY: Ktav, pp. 181–207.
- Troiani, Lucio (1987). 'Il libro di Aristeas ad il giudaismo ellenistico: Premesse per un' interpretazione', in Virgilio Biagio, ed., *Studi ellenistici II*. Pisa: Giardini, pp. 31–61.
- Veltri, Giuseppe (1994). *Eine Tora für den König Talmai: Untersuchungen zum Übersetzungsverständnis in der jüdisch-hellenistischen und rabbinischen Literatur*. TSAJ 41. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Wasserstein, Abraham, and David Wasserstein (2006). *The Legend of the Septuagint: From Classical Antiquity to Today*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Westermann, William L. (1938). 'Enslaved Persons Who Are Free: Rainer Papyrus (PER) Inv. 24,552'. *American Journal of Philology* 59: 1–30.
- Wright, Benjamin G. (2006a). 'The Letter of Aristeas and the Reception History of the Septuagint'. *BIOSCS* 39: 47–67.
- Wright, Benjamin G. (2006b). 'Translation as Scripture: The Septuagint in Aristeas and Philo', in Wolfgang Kraus and R. Glenn Wooden, eds., *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures*. SBLSCS 53. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, pp. 47–61.
- Wright, Benjamin G. (2015). *The Letter of Aristeas: 'Aristeas to Philocrates' or 'On the Translation of the Law of the Jews'*. Commentaries on Early Jewish Literature. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Zuntz, Günther (1959). 'Aristeas Studies II: Aristeas on the Translation of the Torah'. *JSS* 4: 109–26.

CHAPTER 9

MANUSCRIPTS, PAPYRI, AND EPIGRAPHY

Papyri and Epigraphy Relating to the Septuagint

MICHAEL P. THEOPHILOS

INTRODUCTION

THE vast majority of scholars who incorporate discussion of the LXX into their research (typically commentary writing and general theological studies) rely almost exclusively on the edited printed critical editions of the text of the early to mid-twentieth century (typically Brooke, McLean, and Thackeray 1906–40; Rahlfs 1935; Göttingen 1931–). However, the Göttingen enumeration of *Handschriften* lists over 400 papyri of the LXX dated at or before the eighth century CE (of which over 120 are dated pre-fourth century CE). In regard to inscriptions, there is currently no exhaustive list of the LXX; however, L. Jalabert (1914) catalogued an inventory of 159 region-specific LXX inscriptions. There continues to be a veritable increase in the number of newly discovered materials. The tangible benefit of these discoveries for research on the LXX is the textual and interpretive light shed on the history of the early transmission of the text. In Dines's discussion of this predicament, she laments that it is 'extremely difficult to recover the original form of the text; indeed in some places it may have been irretrievably lost' (Dines 2004: 3). Furthermore, because Origen's work on the LXX changed the text as understood, 'any pre-Origenic manuscripts, however fragmentary, are of great importance, especially when they come from a Jewish milieu' (Dines 2004: 3–4). This chapter offers a survey of the most significant papyrological and epigraphic evidence of the LXX, including representative and illustrative examples of the manner in which this early and significant data might contribute to the ongoing discussion. We will conclude by suggesting several promising areas for future research.

PAPYRI

Cyperus Papyrus is the name given to a fibrous plant which grew in marshy areas especially in Egypt, and from which a variety of products were manufactured. In Theophrastus's *Enquiry into Plants* 4.8.4 (371–287 BCE), he states ‘ὁ πάπυρος πρὸς πλείστα χρήσιμος’, ‘the papyrus is useful for many purposes’ (ll. 4–5), listing no fewer than a dozen applications for the plant, including the manufacture of boats (ll. 5–6), woven sails (ll. 7–8), ropes (l. 8), food (ll. 9–11 ‘μάλιστα δὲ καὶ πλείστη βοήθεια πρὸς τὴν τροφήν ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ γίνεται’, ‘above all, the plant is also of very great use in the way of food’), but concludes, ‘καὶ ἐμφανεστάτα δὴ τοῖς ἕξω τὰ βιβλία’, ‘most familiar to foreigners are the papyrus rolls made of it’ (ll. 8–9). For an ancient description of the manufacturing process, one may turn to Pliny the Elder's description in *Natural History* 13.68–82, who, writing approximately three hundred years after Theophrastus, states ‘Praeparatur ex eo charta diviso acu in praetenuas, sed quam latissimas philyras. Principatus medio, atque inde scissurae ordine’, ‘the process of making sheets from papyrus is to split it with a needle into very thin strips made as broad as possible, the best quality being in the centre of the plant, and so on in the order of its splitting’ (13.74). Modern scientific analysis of ancient papyri indicates that each of these strips would be laid in a row in parallel, and then a second row of strips would be laid upon the first in perpendicular fashion. The plant's juices acted as a natural adhesive and ‘bonded [the strips] into a single flexible cohesive sheet’ (Wallert 1989: 2). These sheets of papyri were exported from Egypt and used all over the Mediterranean in antiquity, yet despite this wide diffusion and use, papyri have survived into modern times almost exclusively in Egypt (with some rare exceptions), and more specifically in the Nile Valley below the Delta, attributable to the region's dry and virtually rainless climate.

Papyrology (the technical art of deciphering and editing documents written on papyrus and other portable objects such as ostraca and lead amulets) is a relatively young discipline by the standards of Classics. While the first papyrus was discovered in 1788 (the so-called Charta Borgiana, an unexciting list of labourers on an irrigation canal from 192 CE), it was not able to generate significant scholarly or popular interest as most considered the mundane nature of the manuscript to be disappointing. Many had hoped for a text in the grand literary Classical tradition, perhaps a new play by Sophocles or the like. The field of papyrology only began to take shape with the voluminous discoveries of papyri in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Because of the scale of these later finds, the famous historian Theodore Mommsen grandly predicted that the twentieth century would be the century of papyrology, just as the nineteenth century had been the century for epigraphy (van Minnen 1993: 5), by which he meant that papyri would have the same revolutionary impact on historical research as inscriptions did in his time. This was certainly the case with the textual tradition of the LXX. For a comprehensive listing of LXX papyri as of 2004 see Fraenkel (2004). We

will proceed by surveying the most significant finds, starting with the earliest dated manuscripts.

The Rylands Greek Papyrus 458 consists of eight fragments containing portions of twenty verses from Deuteronomy chs. 23–8 (a = 23:24(26)–24:3; b = 25:1–3; c = 26:12; d = 26:17–19; e = 28:31–3; f = 27:15; g = 28:2; h = ?). The manuscript is dated both paleographically and by virtue of its later reuse in a variety of documentary texts to the mid- to late second century BCE (Roberts 1936: 21–2, 24). The papyrus fragments were recovered from mummy cartonnage (a common source for both documentary and literary papyri of the period, see Wright 1983: 122–6) from the Fayyum, and it is assumed that they originate from the Jewish synagogues known in the area during this period. It is fascinating, however, to consider the social implications of also extracting Classical Greek literary fragments (Homer, *Iliad*, book 1) from the same cartonnage. Roberts (1936:14, 29) and Dines (2004: 5) raise the possibility of whether this is an example of non-Jewish access to the LXX or Jewish acquaintance with Classical texts. Either outcome would have important implications for our understanding of Diaspora Judaism. In addition to the manuscript's great age, two other observations are noteworthy. First, there is a discernible system of spacing, which is relatively rare in this period. This phenomenon is especially evident on fragment a (l. 14) and b (ll. 4–5), where spaces are used for 'thought divisions' rather than word divisions. Roberts argues that 'the writer's principle seems to be to leave a fairly large space at the end of a sentence . . . and a smaller one at the end of a group of words' (Roberts and Skeat 1983: 25). Others have surmised that the spaces give some indication of public reading or Hebrew and Aramaic influence (Tov 2001: 148). Würthwein has also pointed out that several readings in P.Ryl.458 agree with some readings in later Lucianic manuscripts (1979: 176), thus opening up the possibility that the 'Lucianic recension may have very old foundations' (Vaccari 1936: 504 cited in Würthwein 1979: 176).

Papyrus Fouad 266 has been assigned three separate Rahlfs numbers in the Göttingen LXX project: 942 = P.Fouad 266a, fragments of Gen. 3:10–12; 4:5–7, 23; 7:17–20; 37:34–38:1; 38:10–12; 848 = P.Fouad 266b, Deut. 17:14–33:29; and 847 = P.Fouad 266c, Deut. 10:17–33. The texts are all dated paleographically to the late second or early first century BCE (Waddell 1944: 159). In addition to spaces after groups of words, a characteristic also seen in P.Ryl.458, P.Fouad 266b, Deut. 32:2 (col. 2, l. 7) and 32:4 (col. 2, l. 15) is noteworthy for the manner in which it treats the Divine Name. Rather than translating the Tetragrammaton (Hebrew *Yhwh*) by *κύριος* or *ὁ θεός*, the scribe initially left an estimated space on the line, whereafter the Divine Name was inserted in Palaeo-Hebrew script (cf. P.Oxy 1007 [c.250 CE] which abbreviates the Divine Name as a double *yod*). R. Hanhart argues that this manuscript represents a secondary stage in reaction to the earliest textual tradition of the Septuagint which it presupposes (1978: 42). Jerome refers to the writing out of the Divine Name in Palaeo-Hebrew script ('in ancient letters') in his *Prologus Galeatus*. He also notes in *Epistula 25 ad Marcellam* that 'those who did not understand this [practice], would pronounce [the Name in Hebrew letters in square script] . . . as PIPI when they read them in Greek books, because of their similarity to the Greek letters'.

(For fragments of LXX Pentateuch at Qumran, see Chapter 29 in this volume.)
The Chester Beatty Papyri of the LXX comprise eleven separate codices:

P. Chester Beatty VI [961, fourth century CE];
V [962, third/fourth century CE];
VI [963, second century CE];
VII + P.Mert 2 [965, third century CE];
VIII [966, second/third century CE];
IX/X [967, second/third century CE];
XI [964, fourth century CE];
XIII [2149, fourth century CE];
XIV [2150, fourth century CE];
XV [2151, fourth century CE];
XVIII [854, third century CE]

These range in date from the second to the fourth century CE (Fraenkel 2004: 68–108). Significant scribal features and readings are as follows: 961 is set out in a double column and has sense divisions at Gen. 15:1; 18:24; 21:1; 29:1; 34:22; 35:13; 36:11; and 41:53, often accompanied by wedge-shaped paragraphoi. The scribe freely contracts the divine name as *KC* with supralinear horizontal bar. Kenyon suggests that this text has ‘most agreement with . . . representatives of the Origenian text’ (Kenyon 1975: 35). 962 is set out in one column and has textual markers indicating sense divisions at Gen. 24:60, 61; 35:4, and regularly abbreviates the Divine Name in similar manner to 961. 965 regularly employs high dots and dicola to indicate various forms of punctuation (Tov 2001: 138), and in addition to the abbreviation of the Divine Name, Kenyon notes that ‘several short Coptic notes . . . are added in the margins’ (1975: 36). 967, in Ziegler’s view, ‘provides the earliest attainable form of the Greek text of Ezekiel’ (ET cited in Würthwein 1979: 182). Tov suggests that the ‘original scribe probably inserted the signs [of division] himself (e.g. col. 39.1 [before Ezek. 20:1])’, and that ‘these signs reflect division of the MT’ (Tov 2001: 144). Sense divisions are included at Dan. 4:1, 34; 8:1.

The rubbish dumps of Oxyrhynchus have, thus far, yielded no fewer than thirty LXX fragments, ranging in date from the first to the sixth century CE.

- a) The oldest LXX published fragment from Oxyrhynchus is that of P.Oxy 3522 (Job 42:11–12) dated to the early first century CE (Parsons 1983: 1). It includes several notable features including punctuation by spacing (i. ll. 4, 5, 7), the Divine Name written as the Tetragrammaton in Palaeo-Hebrew script (i. ll. 2, 5), and a text which ‘stands closer to the LXX rather than the literal accurate version of Symmachus’ (Parsons 1983: 1).
- b) Another early fragment dated to the late first/early second century CE is that of P.Oxy 5101, consisting of Psalms 26:9–14; 44:4–8; 47:13–15; 48:6–21; 49:2–16; 63:6–64:5 (Colomo and Henry 2011: 1). This scribe also records the Divine Name with Palaeo-Hebrew script (frag. A l. 12, 14; frag. D l. 14). There are no attested

nomina sacra, but there is a curious abbreviation of $\tau\epsilon^\lambda$ for $\tau\epsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ in frag. D l. 13. It has been noted that ‘several readings . . . correspond more closely to the Masoretic Text (MT) than . . . Rahlfs’s edition’ (Colomo and Henry 2011: 2). However, at other points certain readings are not in accord with the MT, for example frag. C iii. ll. 20, 27.

- c) A third early LXX fragment from Oxyrhynchus is that of P.Oxy 4443, a late first-/early second-century manuscript of Esther (Esther 8:16–9:3; Col. i. l. 1–Col. ii. l. 8 includes the additions), with consistent use of paragraphoi, and the frequent enlargement of initial letters (Luchner 1998: 4–8). Both the roll form and uncontracted Divine Names ($\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$) suggest Jewish origin (Roberts 1979: 74–8; Roberts and Skeat 1983: 38–40). Other significant LXX papyri from Oxyrhynchus include P.Oxy 656; 845; 1075; 1166; 1167; 1168; 1225; 1226; 1351; 1352; 1779; 2386; 4442; 4444; 4931; 4932; 4933; 5020; 5021; and 5127.

The Berlin Genesis comprises portions of thirty-two codex leaves, includes Genesis chapters 1–35, and has been dated to the latter parts of the third century CE (Sanders and Schmidt 1927: 238). This manuscript is especially important textually due to the lacuna of Gen. 1:1–46:28a in Vaticanus. An interesting codicological feature of this manuscript is that throughout pages 1–18, the text is presented in two columns, yet on pages 19–32 the codex adopts a single-column layout. In regard to the text, the editors of the *editio princeps* noted thirty-three instances of corrections in apparent assimilation to the Hebrew text before the time of Origen (Sanders and Schmidt 1927: 25), concluding that ‘Origen did not start this form of corruption in the text, though he doubtless increased it’ (Sanders and Schmidt 1927: 265). MacCarter describes the text as ‘a pre-hexaplaric manuscript with affinities for the hexaplaric text’ (2001: 88).

EPIGRAPHY

An inscription is to be distinguished from a manuscript by virtue of it being produced by engraving rather than calligraphy (Tabbernee 2008: 122), typically including monumental, funerary, lintel, graffiti, mosaic, and other dedicatory texts. Due to their portability, ostraca are customarily assigned to the papyrologist rather than epigrapher (amulets, however, often display hybrid features of both categories). The location of many LXX inscriptions appears to be prophylactic, preventing, it was thought, the entry of evil spirits, or the like. However, it is also common to find inscriptions in liturgical contexts of synagogue, church, and tombs (Fernández Marcos 2000: 268).

Although earlier discussions were aware of the importance of LXX inscriptions (Böhl 1881; Nestle 1883), Jalabert’s 1914 catalogue of biblical inscriptions was the earliest attempt to develop a systematic inventory of the material. Combined with New Testament quotations, Jalabert provided a total of 247 instances of biblical inscriptions. It is intriguing to note that 143 of these quotations are from 48 individual Psalms, with

only 16 other quotations covering the remaining portions of the LXX (Fernández Marcos 2000: 267). It is truly remarkable that Psalm 120:8 occurs forty-three times; Psalm 117:20 thirty-one times; Psalm 28:3 seventeen times; and Psalm 90:1 fifteen times (Head 2013: 445). Throughout the early to mid-twentieth century, despite the burgeoning amount of new material discovered, progress of research was somewhat hampered by the methodological deficiencies and outdated nature of the main source for Jewish inscriptions, namely the work of J. B. Frey (1936–52). However, the meticulous work presented in Horbury and Noy (1992), Noy (1993, 1995), Noy, Panayotov, and Bloedhorn (2004), together with the updates of LXX inscriptions by Feissel (1984: 223–31) and Malunowicz (1982), has taken the cataloguing of LXX inscriptional material a considerable way beyond the initial efforts of the early twentieth century.

The apparent limited text-critical usefulness of these inscribed objects, which often only comprise of a verse or two of text, many of which are of a later date than the papyrological data, has tended to discourage scholarly attention. However, as Feissel notes, ‘abridging texts, adapting them to their own interests, and arbitrarily linking fragments that have very different origins in the Bible . . . can contribute to determining the state of the biblical text in use at a given period in a given part of the world, and to discerning its connections to various manuscript traditions’ (1997: 294). Emanuel Tov has pursued exactly this line of enquiry in his discussion of the Thessalonian attestation of Num. 6:22–7, in which he suggests that the inscription finds its origin in a revised version of the Pentateuch (Tov 1974: 394–9). Or, indeed, Stichel (1978) who, in discussion of the inscribed Mosaic of Mopsuestia, argues that Judg. 16:1–4 was subject to either Targumic or Christian influence (cf. Fernández Marcos 2000: 267).

The tangible value of inscriptions is often the geographic demarcation they provide. That is, they provide specific geographic textual information from areas in which the damp environment was hostile to the preservation of papyri, and hence ‘delimit . . . the sphere of influence of the recensions’ (Fernández Marcos 2000: 269). Indeed, Fernández Marcos enumerates the following distribution of LXX inscriptions: 112 from Palestine and Syria, 18 from Egypt, and 7 from Asia Minor, 8 from Europe, and 2 from Greece (2000: 267). By way of illustration we may note the intriguing example of *SEG* 1586, which consists of an epitaph set up by T. Flavius Amphikles for his son. Lines 22–7 include portions of Deut. 28:22, 28 warning that *τοῦ|τόν τε Θεός* (LXX = *κύριος*) *πατάξαι ἀπορίᾳ καὶ|πυρετῶ καὶ ῥύγει καὶ ἐρεθισμῶ* (LXX = *+καὶ φόνῳ* [but omitted in Vaticanus]) *|καὶ ἀνεμοφθορίᾳ καὶ παραπλη|ξία καὶ ἀορασία καὶ ἐκστάσει δια|νοίας*, ‘God will afflict this person with poverty, fever, cold shivers, irritation, blight, derangement, blindness, and distraction of mind’. A combination of textual clues, including the use of *θεός*, suggests that the author was a Greek intellectual judaizer, and thus ‘gives us a hitherto unrecognized witness to the penetration of Jewish monotheism among the intelligentsia of Old Greece under the early empire’ (Horsley 1983: 124). For further discussion see Parrot 1939; Strubbe 1994; and Lincicum 2008.

Overall, then, the inscriptional epigraphic attestations of the LXX provide distinct and tangible insights into both the geographical spread of textual traditions as well as the religious, social, and economic habits of the communities that produced them.

AVENUES FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The papyri and epigraphy of the LXX are an exceptional and fertile area of LXX research. Of immediate need is a comprehensive and exhaustive catalogue of LXX inscriptions. As noted in our opening comments, a full catalogue of extant material is currently unavailable, and thus we echo the words of Feissel; '[the] lack of a comprehensive treatment is regrettable' (Feissel 1997: 294).

The discipline is also in need of a thorough discussion on what constitutes an LXX quotation. That is, to what extent is a 'quotation' governed by a strict definition of verbatim reproduction? Quantifiable and transparent criteria must be established so as to more carefully nuance and distinguish a quote, allusion, echo, or indeed the complexity of the oral dimension. In particular, further research is required of the definition of a quotation from a meaningful ancient perspective.

In regard to the papyri, there are vast amounts of excavated but unpublished material that requires attention. Parsons notes that in six seasons of excavation at Oxyrhynchus '700 boxes of papyri, which might be estimated at 500,000 pieces' had been recovered and brought back to Oxford (Parsons 2007: 17). Given that after one hundred years of research only a fraction of this material has been published (c.1 per cent), many opportunities remain for the recovery of otherwise lost texts.

Attention is also required as to the definition of LXX papyri as being 'Jewish' or 'Christian'. Several discussions have provided helpful clues (Roberts and Skeat 1983; Hurtado 2006); however, the criteria are often muddled by the less than clear boundaries between the two groups in the early Christian period. Further work on the palaeography of Greek during the relevant periods would help to bring sharper definition to this debate.

CONCLUSION

As can be readily appreciated from this overview, the fields of papyrology and epigraphy, as they pertain to the LXX, are vast, variegated, and fascinating. Complications abound in almost every dimension of investigation. Despite this, however, it is difficult to overestimate the importance of the papyrological and epigraphic testimony in providing an admittedly fragmentary but genuine snapshot of the LXX text as it existed at a certain point in antiquity.

SUGGESTED READING

Several of the works in the following bibliography will serve as helpful introductions to the pertinent themes and exploration for further research. The following are additional:

Aitken, J. K. (2014). *No Stone Unturned: Greek Inscriptions and Septuagint Vocabulary*. CSHB. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.

- Bagnall, R. S. (2009). *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bodel, J. (2001). *Epigraphic Evidence: Ancient History from Inscriptions*. London: Routledge.
- Felle, Antonio Enrico (2015). 'Esporre la scrittura: L'uso di testi biblici in epigrafi d'ambito pubblico fra Tarda Antichità e prima età bizantina (secoli IV–VIII)'. *Antiquité Tardive* 23: 353–70.
- Horsley, G. H. R., and J. A. Lee (1994). 'A Preliminary Checklist of Abbreviations of Greek Epigraphical Volumes'. *Epigraphica* 56: 129–69.
- Johnson, W. A. (2004). *Bookrolls and Scribes in Oxyrhynchus*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Kraft, R. A. (1972). *Septuagintal Lexicography*. Missoula, MT: Society of Biblical Literature.
- Kraft, R. A. (1978). 'Christian Transmission of Greek Jewish Scriptures', in A. Benoit, M. Philonenko, and C. Vogel, eds., *Paganisme, Judaïsme, Christianisme: Influences et affrontements dans le monde antique. Mélanges offerts à Marcel Simon*. Paris: Editions de Boccard, pp. 207–26.
- Pestman, P. W., B. A. van Groningen, and D. Martin (1990). *The New Papyrological Primer*. 5th edn. Leiden: Brill.
- Seider, R. (1967–90). *Paläographie der griechischen Papyri*. 3 vols. Stuttgart: Hiersemann.
- Woodhead, A. G. (1981). *The Study of Greek Inscriptions*. 2nd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Barthélemy, D. (1953). 'Redécouverte d'un chaînon manquant de l'histoire de la LXX'. *RB* 60: 18–29.
- Böhl, E. (1881). 'Alte christliche Inschriften nach dem Text der Septuaginta'. *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* 54: 692–713.
- Brooke, A., N. McLean, and H. St. J. Thackeray (1906–40). *The Old Testament in Greek According to the Codex Vaticanus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Colomo, D., and W. B. Henry (2011). 'LXX, Psalms', in A. Benaïssa, ed., *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Vol. 77. London: Egypt Exploration Society, pp. 1–11.
- Dines, J. M. (2004). *The Septuagint*. London: T&T Clark.
- Feissel, D. (1984). 'La Bible dans les inscriptions grecques', in C. Mondesert, ed., *La Monde grec ancien et la Bible*. Bible de tous les Temps 1. Paris: Beauchesne, pp. 223–31.
- Feissel, D. (1997). 'The Bible in Greek Inscriptions', in P. M. Blowers, ed., *The Bible in Greek Christian Antiquity*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, pp. 289–98.
- Fernández Marcos, N. (2000). *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Versions of the Bible*. Trans. W. G. E. Watson. Leiden: Brill.
- Fraenkel, D. (2004). *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments*. Bd. 1: Die Überlieferung bis zum VIII. Jahrhundert. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Frey, J. B. (1936–52). *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicarum: Recueil des inscriptions juives qui vont du IIIe siècle avant Jésus-Christ au VIIe siècle de notre ère*. 2 vols. Rome: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologia Cristiana.
- Göttingen (1931–). *Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum: Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Göttingensis editum*. 20 vols. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Hanhart, R. (1978). 'Review of F. Dunand (1966), *Papyrus grecs bibliques*'. *OLZ* 73: 39–45.
- Head, P. (2013). 'Additional Greek Witnesses to the New Testament (Ostraka, Amulets, Inscriptions and Other Sources)', in B. E. Ehrman and M. Holmes, eds., *The Text of the New*

- Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 429–60.
- Horbury, W. and D. Noy (1992). *Jewish Inscriptions of Graeco-Roman Egypt*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Horsley, G. H. R. (1983). *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity: A Review of the Greek Inscriptions and Papyri*, Vol. 3. North Ryde: AHDRC.
- Hurtado, L. W. (2006). *The Earliest Christian Artefacts*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans.
- Jalabert, L. (1914). ‘Citations bibliques dans l'épigraphie grecque’, in F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq, eds., *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, Vol. III, 2. Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, cols. 1731–56.
- Jobs, K., and M. Silva (2000). *Invitation to the Septuagint*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker.
- Kenyon, F., rev. A. W. Adams (1975). *The Text of the Greek Bible*. Surrey: Unwin Brothers.
- Lincicum, D. (2008). ‘The Epigraphic Habit and the Biblical Text: Inscriptions as a Source for the Study of the Greek Bible’. *BIOSCS* 41: 84–92.
- Luchner, K. (1998). ‘LXX, Esther E.16–9.3’, in M. W. Haslam et al., eds., *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Vol. 65. London: Egypt Exploration Society, pp. 4–8.
- MacCarter, K. (2001). *Textual Criticism*. London: Fortress Press.
- Malunowicz, L. (1982). ‘Citations bibliques dans l'épigraphie grecque’, in E. A. Livingstone, ed., *Studia Evangelica VII: Papers Presented to the Fifth International Congress on Biblical Studies Held at Oxford 1973*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, pp. 333–7.
- Nestle, E. (1883). ‘Die alten christlichen Inschriften nach dem Text der Septuaginta’. *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* 56: 153–4.
- Noy, D. (1993, 1995). *Jewish Inscriptions of Western Europe*. 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Noy, D., A. Panayotov, and H. Bloedhorn (2004). *Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis*. 3 vols. Vol. 1: *Eastern Europe*, eds. D. Noy, A. Panayotov, and H. Bloedhorn; Vol. 2: *Kleinasien*, ed. W. Ameling; Vol. 3: *Syria and Cyprus*, eds. D. Noy and H. Bloedhorn. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Parrot, A. (1939). *Malédiction et violations de tombes*. Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner.
- Parsons, P. J. (1983). ‘Job 42:11–12’, in A. K. Bowman et al., eds., *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, Vol. 50. London: Egypt Exploration Society.
- Parsons, P. J. (2007). *City of the Sharp-Nosed Fish*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.
- Rahlfs, A. (1935). *Septuaginta: Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes*. 2 vols. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft.
- Roberts, C. H. (1936). *Two Biblical Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Roberts, C. H. (1979). *Manuscript, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Roberts, C. H., and T. C. Skeat (1983). *The Birth of the Codex*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Sanders, H. A., and C. Schmidt (1927). *The Minor Prophets in the Freer Collection and the Berlin Fragment of Genesis*. New York, NY: Macmillan.
- Skehan, P. W., E. Ulrich, J. E. Sanderson, and P. J. Parsons (1992). *Qumran Cave 4: IV, Palaeo-Hebrew and Greek Biblical Manuscripts*. DJD IX. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Stichel R. (1978). ‘Die Inschriften des Samson-Mosaiks in Mopsuestia und ihre Beziehung zum biblischen Text’. *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 71.1: 50–61.

- Strubbe, J. H. M. (1994). 'Curses against Violation of the Grave in Jewish Epitaphs of Asia Minor', in J. W. van Henten and P. W. van der Horst, eds., *Studies in Early Jewish Epigraphy*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 70–128.
- Tabbernee, W. (2008). 'Epigraphy', in S. A. Harvey and D. G. Hunter, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 120–39.
- Tsalampouni, E. (2010). 'Citation of Biblical Texts in Greek, Jewish and Christian Inscriptions of Late Antiquity: A Case of Religious Demarcation', in P. Pachis and D. Wiebe, eds., *Chasing Down Religion: In the Sights of History and the Cognitive Sciences: Essays in Honor of Luther H. Martin*. Thessaloniki: Barbounakis Publications, pp. 459–78.
- Tov, E. (1974). 'Une Inscription grecque d'origine samaritaine trouvée à Thessalonique'. *RB* 81: 394–9.
- Tov, E. (2001). 'Scribal Features of Early Witnesses of Greek Scripture', in R. J. V. Hiebert, C. Cox, and P. J. Gentry, eds., *The Old Greek Psalter: Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, pp. 125–48.
- Vaccari, Alberto (1936). 'Fragmentum Biblicum Saeculi II ante Christum'. *Biblica* 17: 501–4.
- Van Minnen, P. (1993). 'The Century of Papyrology (1892–1992)'. *BASP* 30: 5–18.
- Waddell, W. G. (1944). 'The Tetragrammaton in the LXX'. *JTS* 45: 158–61.
- Wallert, A. (1989). 'The Reconstruction of Papyrus Manufacture: A Preliminary Investigation'. *Studies in Conservation* 34.1: 1–8.
- Wright, M. M. (1983). 'A Method of Extracting Papyri from Cartonnage'. *Studies in Conservation* 28.3: 122–6.
- Würthwein, E. (1979). *The Text of the Old Testament*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans.
- Ziegler, J. (1945/1948). 'Die Bedeutung der Chester Beatty-Scheide Papyrus 967 für die Textüberlieferung der Ezechiel-Septuaginta'. *ZAW* 61: 76–94.

CHAPTER 10

MANUSCRIPTS, PAPYRI, AND EPIGRAPHY

Manuscripts of the Septuagint from Uncials to Minuscules

LUCIANO BOSSINA

GENERAL ORIENTATION

The *Verzeichnis* of Alfred Rahlfs

THE essential tool for the manuscript tradition of the Septuagint remains the *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments* (Rahlfs 1914; cf. Schäfer 2016: 154–62), currently being updated (for Vol. 1 see Rahlfs and Fraenkel 2004).

Rahlfs's arrangement of the material was a practical one. From Lagarde, Swete, and Brooke-McLean he maintained the idea of distinguishing the most important majuscule manuscripts with Latin letters (Alexandrinus = A; Vaticanus = B; Sinaiticus = S, etc.). For all the other manuscripts he adopted Arabic numbers. The greater part of the manuscripts is divided into six other categories (Rahlfs 1914: 338–9). His distribution distinguished visually the best-known witnesses, while retaining the numbering system adopted in the two major previous editions (Holmes-Parsons and Brooke-McLean), and it also provides an initial orientation concerning the content and the chronology of single manuscripts. Discoveries during the last century have often filled the gaps left by Rahlfs and have therefore necessitated the introduction of new *Bereiche* (categories). However, the governing principle remains unchanged. Table 10.1 summarizes the Septuagint manuscripts in the current update to the *Verzeichnis*.

Table 10.1 Septuagint Manuscripts according to Rahlfsnummer

<i>Bereich</i>	<i>Rahlfsnummer</i>	<i>Typology of manuscripts</i>
I	A–Z	Selected majuscule manuscripts
II	13–311	Manuscripts already numbered by Holmes–Parsons
III	312–800	Manuscripts of the OT, excluding the Psalter
IV	801–1000	Small fragments of the OT, excluding the Psalter
V	1001–(1400)	Psalters until the twelfth century
VI	1401–(2000)	Psalters from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century
VII	2001–(3000)	Small fragments of the Psalter, up to the eighth century
VIII	3001–(5000)	Manuscripts of the OT, excluding the Psalter
IX	5001–(7000)	Small fragments of the OT, excluding the Psalter
X	7001–	Psalters

The specific purpose of the catalogue—promoting a critical edition of the LXX—explains some criteria that are not otherwise comprehensible. For example, the concept of the ‘biblical manuscript’ includes the catenae but not lectionaries or manuscripts of patristic works. These are collected in the *Verzeichniss*, at least for writers up to the fifth century, but they do not have a number. These differences will be examined later.

Statistics

So far, the *Verzeichniss* has 2,238 assigned *sigla*. Figure 10.1 provides a summary of the manuscript witnesses from the second century BCE to the sixteenth century CE, listed chronologically and excluding those that are dated after the sixteenth century or of very uncertain date. However, it includes manuscripts now dispersed or destroyed, for which there exists some knowledge and which were important to consider for statistical purposes. The following results are therefore based on 2,180 manuscripts (as regards the dating, the considerations implemented by Orsini and Clarysse 2012 should also be extended to LXX witnesses). The statistics here are only approximate and should be treated with caution.

The simple quantitative data can be observed as a cultural ‘thermometer’ of an era, because used with caution they can signal the increase or decrease of book production, the growth or the reduction of the reading public, the diffusion or the contraction of *scriptoria*, libraries, etc.

Furthermore, a more credible evaluation of this vast material should be able to rely not only on chronological distribution but also on geographical location. In addition, economic fluctuations over the course of a millennium need to be considered as these impacted on book production (see Treadgold 1979). Throughout Late Antiquity and the

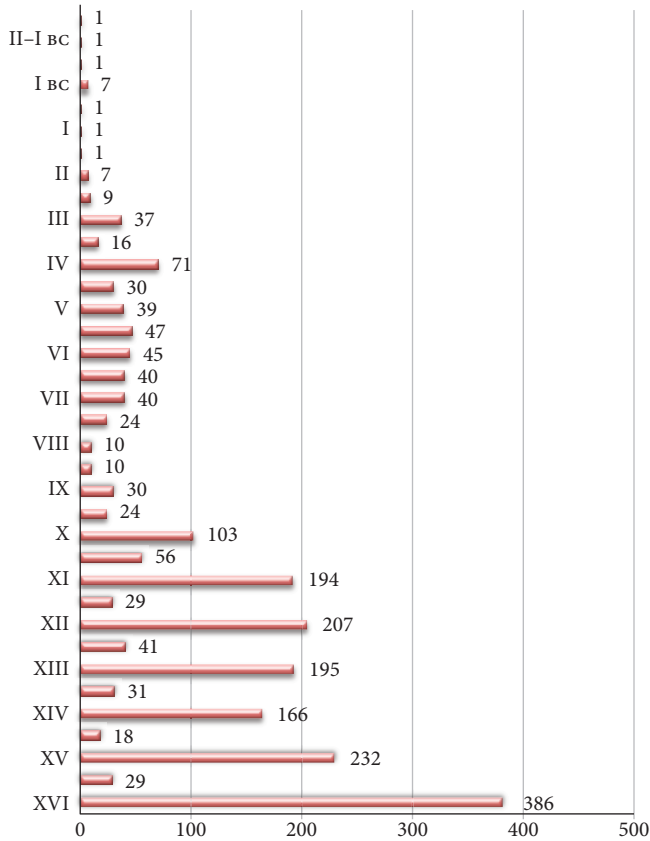


FIGURE 10.1 Chronological distribution of the LXX MSS

Byzantine period the book remained a particularly expensive object, both in terms of the parchment used and the labour of the copyist. In fact, though the transcription price could vary greatly from one copyist to another, the cost of copying was always much higher than the price of parchment (see Wilson 1975; Schreiner 1990; Mratschek 2000). Luxury codices therefore cost large sums of money. Such costs explain why the book market was always limited, why book-borrowing and transcriptions for personal use were rare, and copying took place mainly in institutions (Parpulov 2012: 314). The dramatic reduction and the subsequent recovery of the number of LXX manuscripts between the seventh and thirteenth centuries aligns with the overall tendencies of Byzantine culture (Mango 1975: 43).

It is often stated that the period when Greek uncial manuscripts were re-transcribed as minuscule texts (first half of the ninth century: see Ronconi 2003) led to the destruction of a large quantity of uncials. It is difficult to say whether many pre-ninth-century biblical manuscripts did disappear for this reason. If anything, the Iconoclastic movement may

have been more effective (see Auzépy 2007; Dagron 2007; Noble 2009, Brubaker and Haldon 2001, Brubaker and Haldon 2011), since it coincides with the very period that represents the lowest point in the manuscript tradition of the LXX. In the same way, the revival of the tenth century may be connected with the renewed economic and intellectual revival of the so-called ‘Macedonian Renaissance’. One of the most valuable artistic products of this epoch is Par. gr. 139 (= Ra 1133) known as the Paris Psalter (Weitzmann 1929). Rethinking of the periodization of Byzantine history has led to caution in adopting the terms ‘decadence’ and ‘renaissance’ (Treadgold 1984: 75–99), and LXX manuscript tradition seems to match the recently revised image of Byzantine studies for the seventh to twelfth centuries.

More than 30 per cent of all the surviving manuscripts were produced between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, 20 per cent of them in the sixteenth century alone. Manuscripts of the Psalter predominate, making up 70 per cent of the 400 sixteenth-century Septuagint witnesses, even though this period saw the rise of the printing press and of the great biblical editions (Aldina, Complutensis, Sixtina). The proliferation of manuscripts contemporary with these printed editions suggests that many of the manuscripts were intended either for individual prayer or for study, and, therefore, that mass printings did not reduce their usefulness (see Parpulov 2010).

TURNING POINTS IN THE TRADITION

From the Roll to the Codex

Regardless of the well-attested use of ‘parchment notebooks’ for taking notes (*μυμβράναι* and *pugillares*; see Degni 1998; Spicq 1969: 509–10; Roberts and Skeat 1983: 22, 60; Skeat 1979; Dorandi 1997: 7–10), the codex ‘in its definition as a book of literary content’ is essentially a ‘Roman invention’ (Cavallo 1995: 61) and by the end of the first century CE editions of literary texts in codex form were already in circulation owing to their portability (Martial XIV.184–192: see Blanck 1992, and contrast Radiciotti 2002). In the East the codex arrived later, while the roll remained in use to the beginning of the fifth century. There has been much debate about the relationship between the success of the codex and the establishment of Christianity (see Wallraff 2013), and this also relates to LXX texts. Arguments about theological identity tend to consider the codex as intrinsically connected to early Christianity and ‘the only possible form for Christian Scripture’ (Skeat 1969: 46). Explanations focus on the convenience of the codex for the needs of Christian controversialists (Gregory 1907: 322–3; also McCormick 1985), and some relate the history of the canon to the adoption of this book form (Skeat 1992). The Roman origin of the codex form suggests that this is why it succeeded in Christianity, either for practical reasons (van Haelst 1989) or for ecclesiastical ones (Bagnall 2009: 89–90). Others insist on sociological aspects, the new book form being adapted to the needs of a

culturally different audience from that of the dominant classes traditionally associated with the use of the roll (Cavallo 1995: 63). Yet the two types of books coexisted for a long period, the same works being transcribed both on rolls and on codices (Roberts and Skeat 1983; Crisci 2008). Overall, the precocity with which Christians adopted the new format is notable (Wallraff 2013: 14–15, with useful graphics and commentary on the tables by Hurtado 2006 and Bagnall 2009).

From the statistical point of view, however, the dominance of codices over rolls for Gospels is ‘total’ (Skeat 1994: 79). For the 143 manuscripts of the Septuagint ranging from the first to the fourth centuries, rolls constitute a percentage just over 1 per cent: thirteen rolls, of which eleven are papyrus and two parchment. There are around one hundred codices, while the rest of the witnesses occupy individual sheets (Skeat 1969: 48).

From Judaism to Christianity

The case of the Septuagint differs from that of the NT because of the possible presence of Jewish witnesses and criteria that may distinguish them from Christian ones. Kurt Treu (1973) has called into question the ‘three axioms’ previously held. First, that Jews rejected the LXX due to its adoption by Christians. Second, that Jews used only rolls. Third, that the contraction of the so-called *nomina sacra* was a uniquely Christian trait (Brown 1970), and thus found only in Christian manuscripts. Though Treu’s evaluations are not always accepted (van Haelst 1976; Rahlfs and Fraenkel 2004; Kraft 2008), they constitute a healthy antidote to the tendency to deny the existence of Christian rolls in order not to undermine the relationship between Christianity and the adoption of the codex (contrast van Haelst 1976 with Roberts and Skeat 1983 on the identity of the roll Ra 850 = P.Alex. Inv. 203 of the third/fourth century). The assumption that initial Christian graphic production was based on documentary production rather than that of Classical Greek manuscripts or Greco-Jewish practices (Roberts 1979: 20) has made scholars suspicious of rolls with ‘unusually calligraphic’ writing, e.g. Ra 944 = P.Oxy 1166, *Genesis* from the third century (variously Roberts 1979: 77; Treu 1973: 142; Roberts and Skeat 1983; Rahlfs and Fraenkel 2004: 296). More recent research has also shown that the graphic customs of the first Christian manuscripts were influenced by Jewish production (Kraft 2008).

Finally, we should consider whether Jewish witnesses to Greek Scripture also existed during the Byzantine period (de Lange 2010). Though Jews used Hebrew and Aramaic as written languages at this time, they spoke Greek and wrote it with Hebrew characters. The transition from Greek to Hebrew for liturgical purposes came about only during the tenth century. Moreover, literary and epigraphic evidence shows that in Late Antiquity, the Jews in Egypt, Asia Minor, and Europe used Greek in worship (see Smelik 2012). A few significant manuscripts attest to the continuance of reading Greek by Byzantine Jews (Burkitt 1897; de Lange 1996: 71–8; 2010), but confirm the centrality of Aquila in Greek-speaking Judaism. Therefore, these witnesses concern the manuscript tradition of Greek Jewish Scripture, but not of the Septuagint.

From Single-Text Codices to Multi-Text Codices

There is another aspect of the transition from roll to codex relating to the formation of the canon. In each roll, there was one work (or a book of one work). The codex allowed for the collection of several works, and different authors, in the same book, and its sum being a 'library without the library' (Petrucci 1986: 179). The origin, nature, and functions of the 'miscellaneous codex' are the subject of important debate among codicologists (Thorndyke 1946; Petrucci 1986; Crisci and Pecere 2004; Maniaci 2004; Ronconi 2007; Maniaci 2016).

It is possible to conceive of a distinction between manuscripts that are monoblock or multiblock codices and between single-/multiple-text codices. By combining these types, the manuscripts can then be divided into four different categories: (a) 'single-text monoblock codices'; (b) 'single-text multiblock codices'; (c) 'multiple-text monoblock codices'; (d) 'multiple-text multiblock codices.' This kind of enquiry especially interests codicologists but can also be useful to the biblical scholar. For example, the manuscripts of the Bible (or its parts: Octateuch, Prophets, Gospels, etc.) are considered 'single-text monoblock codices', because they were perceived as unified texts, and not as 'multiple-text' (Maniaci 2016: 30–2; Maniaci 2004: 82, 88). It is clear that in the Byzantine era the Bible had all the features of a homogeneous text and, despite the articulation of its different books, the sense of its original plurality was lost. The confluence of so many books in a single book is the result of a long and difficult process, coinciding with the history of the canon. These codicological studies offer the fresh observation that the canon emerged just when the miscellaneous codex did. It is fair, then, to ask whether this is just a coincidence.

Research has suggested two hypotheses: (a) that the invention of the miscellaneous codex must be traced back to the Christian world between the third and fourth centuries (Petrucci 1986: 176), and (b) that the 'publishing devices' that characterize and refine the miscellaneous book were established between the fourth and sixth centuries (Cavallo 1995: 66), the same chronological period in which the canon was defined and the Pandect Bibles were produced. Between the miscellaneous codex and the formation of the canon, there seems to be a significant mirroring.

The next step is to see 'the Bible' as a unique 'double-text', concluding a process that is at the same time codicological and theological. The many texts collected in a single book have become a single text in a single book.

THE DISTINCTIONS IN THE *CORPORA*

Complete, 'Pandect', Bibles are very rare because they were luxury products, requiring an enormous amount of writing material and considerable technical difficulties (including binding). The concept of the 'Bible-in-a-book' familiar to modernity through printing

was unknown to the ancient Christian. Rather, the Bible consisted of a conglomerate of different book units, as is evidenced by the very word *Biblia* (a plural form). There are four famous examples of Pandect Bibles: Sinaiticus (S) and Vaticanus (B) of the fourth century; Alexandrinus (A) of the fifth century; and the Venetus (V) of the eighth. To these will be added Codex Ephremi rescriptus (C), also from the fifth century, of which only leaves of the Libri Sapientiales and NT now remain.

Apart from these five codices, in the entirety of the manuscript tradition it is notable that the books of the Septuagint are mostly transmitted in homogeneous blocks. Seven are distinguished: (1) Octateuch, (2) I–IV Kgdms, Par. II, Esdr. I–II; (3) Esther–Judith–Tobit; (4) I–IV Macc. (IV is often disconnected from I–III);¹ (5) Psalms and Odes (6); Wisdom books; (7) XVI Prophets (IV ‘Major’ + XII ‘Minor’). The four Pandect Bibles all have a different sequence of the books, and therefore allow for the singling out of the common stable groups (see Table 10.2).

From this schema, the recurring nature of some fixed blocks emerges. The most significant is the connection of Octateuch + Historical Books (Kgdms Par.).

The incorporation of the XVI Prophets is also stable. It should be noted that the Minor Prophets soon formed an independent book unit, as is already suggested by Sir 49:10, and is reaffirmed in terms of the explicit whole by Gregory of Nazianzen (*Carm.* I 12) and Augustine (*De Civ. Dei* 18, 29). Traces of their autonomy also emerge in Ra 943 (leather roll, first century BCE/first century CE) and in the W codex (Papyrus, third century), which only contains the XII (see Rahlfs and Fraenkel 2004: 156–60; 387–9). It was necessary, therefore, to decide whether to place them before or after the four Major Prophets (cf. Tov 2015: 23–4). The Jewish order presumed the placement of the Major Prophets before the Minor (already assumed by Sir 48:20–49:9). The same sequence is also found in Sinaiticus and in some uncial manuscripts (e.g. Ra 46, 68, 106, 122, 130, 420, 631), but more generally in the LXX tradition the sequence of XII + IV prevails.

The internal structure of Pandect Bibles of Late Antiquity suggests valid constants throughout the rest of the tradition and seems to anticipate the existence of book units. One major difference that distinguishes B with respect to S and A is the location of the group Psalms, Odes, and Wisdom books. In B this group is located after the block of Octateuch and Historical books, while in S and in A they are at the end of the OT. Was this for theological or for practical reasons? The location of Wisdom books after the Prophets could reflect the Jewish tripartite organization of the canon, or alternatively for

Table 10.2 Contents of the Four Pandect Bibles

S	Oct.	Reg.Par.	Esdr.	Est.Tob.Jud.	Mac.	IV + XII Proph.	Ps.	Libri Sap.
B	Oct.	Reg.Par.	Esdr.	Ps.	Libri Sap.	Est.Jud.Tob.	XII +	IV Proph.
A	Oct.	Reg.Par.	XII + IV Proph.	Est.Tob.Jud.	Esdr.	Mac.	Ps.Od.	Libri Sap.
V	Oct.	Reg.Par.	Est.	Esdr.	Libri Sap.	XII + IV Proph.	Tob.Jud.	Mac.

reasons of *mise en page*, since poetic books consist of a different arrangement of the text in columns in comparison to books in prose. Placing the Prophets at the end of the OT and just before the NT would reflect the continuity between the prophetic message and the messianic realization of Christian understanding.

Among the autonomous book units of OT, the Psalter is without a doubt the most widespread: we know of almost six hundred parchment Psalters (Parpulov 2014). In some exegetical manuscripts the ‘extra’ LXX Psalm 151 is omitted. Some manuscripts of the Septuagint maintain the Jewish division of Psalms into five books (Parpulov 2014: 54), while some organize the Psalms into seventy-four groups: four *κατ’ ὄρθρον*, two *κατὰ λυχνικόν*, and sixty-eight *ἀντίφωνα*. Most Psalters also include the fourteen Odes, of which the first nine are always present, but the last five are rare. However, the oldest witness to bear the Odes is Alexandrinus. They are missing in both Sinaiticus and Vaticanus.

THE PANDECT BIBLES

We will focus in particular on three major codices: the Sinaiticus (S), the Vaticanus (B), and the Alexandrinus (A).

Sinaiticus (S)

The controversial circumstances of the acquisition of this manuscript by Konstantin von Tischendorf from the monks of the Monastery of St Catherine led to its being divided into multiple *membra disiecta* (Hotzelt 1949; Parker 2010; Böttrich, Fahl, and Fahl 2009; Böttrich 2010; Böttrich 2011; McKendrick et al. 2015). Today, the Sinaiticus is housed in four different locations, London (British Library Add. 43,725), Leipzig (Univ.-Bibl., Graec. 1), Saint Petersburg (RNB, Gr. 2, Gr. 259, Gr. 843, Oct. 156), and the Monastery of St Catherine (Sinai), where in 1975 further fragments were discovered. The recent Codex Sinaiticus Project has brought together the scattered folios as a digital whole (see www.codexsinaiticus.org). The parchment folios are laid out in four columns (prose books) or two columns (poetic books). Several scribes were responsible, perhaps four in all (Milne and Skeat 1938; Rahlfs and Fraenkel 2004; Jongkind 2007; Parker 2010). The codex has undergone an extensive process of correction by various hands. This had a significant impact on the text, including the insertion of textual variants from a different *Vorlage*, and in 160 places correction towards Origen’s Hexaplaric text via a manuscript that had itself been corrected by Pamphilus, as stated in the colophons to 2 Esdras and to Esther (Parker 2010: 79; Malik 2013). The dating of this codex to the fourth century depends on palaeographic analysis, more precisely, c.360 CE (Cavallo 1967: 58; cf. also Milne and Skeat 1938: 60–5).

Vaticanus (B)

The other great fourth-century uncial is Vaticanus (B: Vat. gr. 1209), where the hands of at least two scribes, and possibly three or four, have been recognized (Milne and Skeat 1938: 87–90). Vaticanus shows far greater attention to correct spelling than Sinaiticus. However, since the writing faded over time, it underwent a re-inking process so successful that it is difficult to distinguish from the hands of the original scribes. Punctuation and accents were also added to the entire text, probably in the ninth–tenth centuries (Canart 2009: 26). Vaticanus may be a little earlier than Sinaiticus, perhaps *c.*350 CE (Cavallo 1967: 55).

The codex has been in the Vatican Library catalogues since at least 1475 (Devreesse 1965: 73; Skeat 1984; Skeat 1999: 230–5). Its prior location and readership before its arrival in Constantinople are unclear.

The Problem of Localization

Certain features seem to attest to B and S's common origin, such as similarity between some scribal hands of Sinaiticus and Vaticanus (Lake 1908: 14–15; Cavallo 1967: 63; Canart 2009), in terms of their ornamentation (Skeat 1999: 214–16; Elliott 2009: 125), and their binding (Canart 2009: 39).

However, there are several substantial differences. These include size, S's pages being almost double the size of B's; spelling, since unlike B, S is characterized by ubiquitous errors (perhaps due to dictation: Skeat 1999: 194), subsequently corrected by several hands (Canart 2009: 40); arrangement of the books; text-type. Clearly, then, B and S depended on different exemplars.

Those who still affirm the common origin of B and S in the same scriptorium (Milne and Skeat 1938: 115; 1999: 214; Elliott 2009: 125–8; Canart 2009: 39; more prudently Cavallo 1967: 63) argue that since identifying the geographic origin of just one of them is sufficient to place both, possible geographical hints in the text may be used (Rendel Harris 1893: 75; Skeat 1999: 209; Canart 2009: 40; but see Jongkind 2007: 253). The colophon at the end of Esther shows that S was corrected in the sixth century by collation with a codex revised by Pamphilus, on the basis of Origen's Hexapla, indicating that S was located in Caesarea at this time (Lake 1908: 14; Hanhart 1983: 60ff.).

However, most scholars place B in Egypt. The arguments in favour of Alexandria relate to the history of the text and the canon, the arrangement of the biblical books in B having close analogies with the canon of Athanasius of Alexandria in *Festal Letter* 39 (367 CE) (Rahlfs 1899, nuanced by Bogaert 2009: 143).

In any case, the analysis of the text-type is more relevant and indicates B's origin in Egypt. A Caesarean origin is also unlikely for both B and S (Bogaert 1999: 75; Pisano 1999; Amphoux 2009: 165), since neither has traces of Origen's Hexaplaric revisions apart from Isaiah in B (Bogaert 2009: 140).

Though Skeat claimed that S and B were among the fifty fine-quality manuscripts commissioned by Constantine from Eusebius of Caesarea (*Vita Constantini* (IV 36)B) (Skeat 1999) and sent to Constantinople ‘in threes and fours’ (Skeat 1999: 219–20), this connection between the two manuscripts depends wholly on the assumption that they were produced in Caesarea. It is also undermined by their contents, which differ from each other and from Eusebius’s own canon (see Andrist 2009b: 236–8; Gamble 2015: 9).

Alexandrinus (A)

A is a large codex on parchment, in two columns (Rahlfs and Fraenkel 2004: 221–6; Smith 2014). It was written and corrected by many hands (Cavallo 1967: 77–8; Smith 2014: 102ff.). The palaeographic dating is c.450–75 CE (Cavallo 1967: 79). Though the initial *pinax* lists the Psalms of Solomon at the end, these are missing. The present separation into four tomes (London Royal 1 D. V–VIII) happened long ago (Baber 1828: ii; see also Mercati 1910).

Before the manuscript was donated to King Charles I of England by the Patriarch of Constantinople, Cyril Lucar, in 1627 (Smith 2014: 7–34), it may have been located in either Alexandria after being written in Constantinople (Skeat 1955; 1957: 4; Smith 2014: 31; 245–6) or Mount Athos (Burkitt 1909–10). There is even a note in the manuscript itself claiming that it had been written by St Thecla.

In terms of text-type, A shows more consistent (and peculiar) textual features in comparison with B and S. A’s Pentateuch tends to go against B, whereas from Ruth onwards it shows obvious traces of the Hexaplaric text (especially in I–IV Kgdms). In the case of the Prophets, the text of Daniel is affected by Hexaplaric editing, while Isaiah, Ezekiel, and the XII Prophets are in line with the ‘Alexandrian’ text, featuring modest Hexaplaric traces.

PARTICULAR TYPOLOGIES

Catena

The category of Septuagint manuscripts also includes the witnesses that contain the entire biblical text along with comments from patristic exegetes (Karo and Lietzmann 1902; Devreesse 1928; Mühlenberg 1975–8; Dorival 1984; Dorival 1985; Dorival 1986–95; Mühlenberg 1989; Curti and Barbàra 2000). Christians developed a new literary genre that combined and juxtaposed the interpretations of various commentators. This is termed *catena* literature by modern scholars. The birth of the *catenae* is unquestionably related to Procopius of Gaza in Palestine in the sixth century, with the Egyptian and Antiochian traditions on the fringes. From the first half of the eighth century, the focus of production and innovation moved to Constantinople.

From a codicological point of view, these manuscripts should be investigated both in their autonomous forms (the text separately from the commentary), as well as in their integrated forms (accompanied by the text commentary found on the same pages) (see the papers in Goulet-Cazé 2000 and in Fera, Ferraù, and Rizzo 2002).

Several typological distinctions have been proposed for the catenae, depending on the sources they absorbed and their material structure. They are divided into ‘two-author catenae’ and ‘multi-author catenae’. ‘Two-author catenae’ are those that collect the integral exegesis of two commentators; however, this is a rather rare model. More commonly the catena is built around a dominant author, to whom the (partial) comments of one or more other authors are added. If there are two authors, but one is dominant and the other partial, this is a ‘two-author catena’ in appearance only, since this model should more properly be considered a ‘multi-author catena’ (see Dorival 1986–95: I, 33–42).

The *mise en page* (layout) is also relevant. In the catena manuscripts there are three possible layouts: (a) full-page catenae, in which Bible verses and comments are alternated throughout the entire page of script, forming a single block of text; (b) two-column catenae, where biblical text and comments are placed in two parallel columns; and (c) marginal catenae, in which the biblical text occupies the inner part of the pages, while comments are placed on the outer margins (Figure 10.2). (See Maniaci 2000; Maniaci 2006 for discussion of similar layout in Homeric scholia.)

The first form is probably also the first chronologically, while the marginal catena may have originated from the two-column catena in response to the need for more space in the occupied part of the catena. Transitions between one form and another are also likely, though the physical difficulties of copying encouraged the continued use of each catena’s original form (Dorival 1984: 365–8; Dorival 1986–95: I, 42; 51–81; Lowden 2010: 123).

The work was carried out in two distinct phases: first, the biblical text was copied on all the pages; next, the comments were added (either by the same scribe or by a different one). But the relationship between the biblical text and the commentary could become misaligned. The structure could be further complicated if the catena also included a cycle of illustrations, as with the illuminated Octateuchs (Lowden 2010: 115ff.), and the Psalter-Catena of *Vat. Gr. 752* (Crostiti and Peers 2016; Parpulov 2014: 122–6).

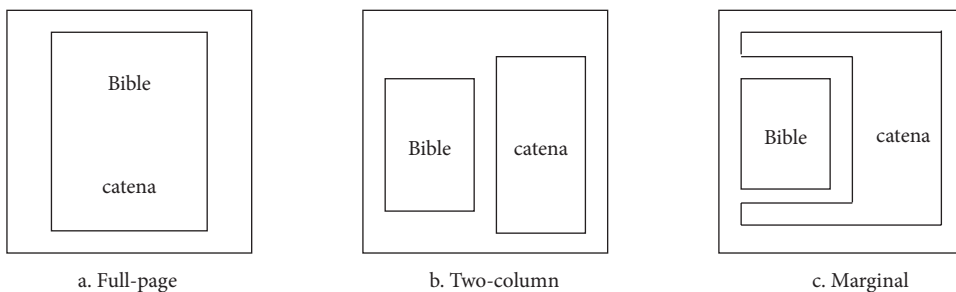


FIGURE 10.2 Layouts of catenae MSS

From the point of view of the LXX text and of Rahlfs's *Verzeichnis*, the catena manuscripts are typologically distinct from those of the patristic commentaries, and in fact the nature of the biblical text in the catenae is mostly independent of the exegetes' scholia. This means that the catena manuscripts are treated like any other witness to the Septuagint and given a precise *Rahlfnummer* (Rahlfs 1914: xii; xxvii).

Hexapla Manuscripts

In 1890, Giovanni Mercati discovered among the shelves of the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan part of a copy of Origen's Hexapla, MS Ambr. sup. O. 39 (Ra = 1098). This is a palimpsest, with the tenth-century underwriting of the ancient codex containing large fragments of the Hexapla on the Psalms. Between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries it was reused to write an Octoechos by John of Damascus. The Hexaplaric fragments of this manuscript were published with detailed photographic plates (Mercati 1958). The lower writing is in minuscule and retains about 150 verses of Psalms, intermittently ranging from Pss. 17:26 to 88:53 (LXX). The original structure of the codex provided only five columns, since the first Hebrew column is missing. To these are joined another two blocks, namely the text of the LXX in part, as well as a Psalter catena. For instance, fr. II has the five Hexaplaric columns of Ps. 27:6–9 followed by the full text of the Psalm and a catena on vv. 1–5. The Hexapla column text follows Vaticanus (B) very closely; the text of the LXX is certainly Alexandrian and follows B almost entirely; the catena only occasionally strays from B (Jellicoe 1968: 132–3).

The other most important witness of the Hexapla is Ra 2005, an even older palimpsest found in the Cairo Genizah (<https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-TS-00012-00182>; Taylor 1900). Only one page remains: the tenth-century upper writing is in Hebrew and preserves Jewish liturgical poetry by Yannai. The lower writing is in a Greek majuscule script dating from the seventh to eighth century, containing verses of Ps. (21)22 divided into columns. The recto of the surviving folio contains the remains of three columns: the first (damaged on the left side) has Aquila's translation; the second (complete) has the translation of Symmachus; the third (damaged on the right) has the LXX translation. Since the page has preserved only these three columns, some scholars believe that the original codex already excluded the Hebrew and transcription columns. It is essential to note, however, that there is a page separation ('gutter') between the columns of Aquila and Symmachus. This suggests that there were at least three columns on every page, and that therefore when the pages were opened the reader could view all six columns at once (Jenkins 1998; and already in Mercati 1958: i, xxix–xxxi). So the original manuscript included both the Greek transliteration and the Hebrew column (see essays by Flint, Jenkins, and Norton in Salvesen 1998).

These two important but damaged specimens of the Hexapla represent sophisticated products for erudite readers of high social rank. Their structural similarities may come directly from the original Hexapla, in which case, if we assume that each Hebrew word occupies one line (Norton 1998: 116–20), the book of Psalms alone would have contained 49,520 lines. Allowing forty lines per page, the Hebrew Psalter would have filled 1,238

columns, for a total of 2,476 pages, and alone would have occupied more than one codex. For the entire OT, Origen's Hexapla would therefore have occupied dozens of codices, hence its non-preservation.

Some LXX witnesses preserve Origen's critical signs, notably Codex Sarravianus-Colbertinus (G: fourth and fifth centuries; Genesis to Judges) and Codex Marchalianus (Q: edn. Ceriani 1890, sixth to seventh centuries; Egypt; Minor and Major Prophets). Q's original text has been supplemented with critical signs, Hexaplaric annotations, and citations of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, by two earlier correctors using majuscule, and there are later interventions in minuscule (Ceriani 1874; Jenkins 1991; Law 2008; Law 2011). Other witnesses featuring Aristarchian signs include MS R. VII Chigi. 45 from the tenth century (= Ra 88: the famous testimony text of Daniel) and P. Grenf. 1.5 (Ox. Gr. Bibl. D. 4 = Ra 922), a modest-sized fragment containing only Ezek. 5:12 to 6:3, but dated between the third and fourth centuries, and therefore close to the original Hexapla: Schironi (2015: 184) tends towards 'a late third/early fourth century date'; Orsini and Clarysse (see Schironi 2015: 184) suggest 300–50 CE.

FUTURE GOALS

Though the huge corpus of LXX manuscripts is relevant to research in many fields, future research into the text of the Septuagint could fruitfully take the following lines:

- (a) Investigation into the geographic provenance of individual witnesses.
- (b) The *editio critica maior* of Göttingen is based on the systematic collation of each witness and the cataloguing of all variants, including spelling. The study of these orthographic peculiarities coupled with the geographical element may provide valuable insights into the linguistic history of Greek, and therefore also the provenances of the manuscripts. Only large *corpora* such as the Septuagint can provide such extensive and credible statistical points.
- (c) Further research is necessary into the relationship between the philological analysis of the text, the material examination of the codex, and the environment in which single witnesses were circulated and used. There are benefits in learning who actually read these magnificent specimens, since the history of the manuscripts is not just the history of the text but the history of its readers.

SUGGESTED READING

Particularly illuminating are two recent studies of individual significant manuscripts. David Parker's illustrated history of Codex Sinaiticus (2010) covers technical aspects in the creation of this hugely important book. Mariachiara Fincati's 2016 monograph on the Ambrosian Hexateuch provides fascinating insights into the development of another famous manuscript and the processes of revision and critical editing it has undergone over the centuries.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Amphoux, C.-B. (2009). 'Les Circonstances de la copie du Codex Vaticanus (Vat. gr. 1209)', in P. Andrist, ed., *Le Manuscrit B de la Bible (Vaticanus graecus 1209)*. Lausanne: Éditions du Zebre, pp. 157–76.
- Andrist, P., ed. (2009a). *Le manuscrit B de la Bible (Vaticanus graecus 1209): Introduction au fac-similé, Actes du Colloque de Genève (11 juin 2001), Contributions supplémentaires. Histoire du text biblique* 7. Lausanne: Éditions du Zebre.
- Andrist, P. (2009b). 'Le Milieu de productions du Vaticanus graecus 1209 et son histoire postérieure: Le Canon d'Eusèbe, les listes du IV^e siècle des livres canoniques, les diastigmai et les manuscrits connexes', in P. Andrist, ed., *Le Manuscrit B de la Bible (Vaticanus graecus 1209)*. Lausanne: Éditions du Zebre, pp. 227–56.
- Auzépy, M.-F. (2007). *L'Histoire des iconoclastes*. Paris: Association des amis du Centre d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance.
- Baber, H. H. (1828) *Vetus Testamentum Graecum e Codice MS. Alexandrino: Prolegomena et notae*, London.
- Bagnall, R. S. (2009). *Early Christian Books in Egypt*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Blanck, H. (1992). *Das Buch in der Antike*. Munich: Beck.
- Bogaert, P.-M. (1999). 'Le Vaticanus graecus 1209 témoin du text grec de l'Ancient Testament', in P. Andrist, ed., *Le Manuscrit B de la Bible (Vaticanus graecus 1209)*. Lausanne: Éditions du Zebre, pp. 47–76.
- Bogaert, P.-M. (2009). 'Le Vaticanus, Athanase et Alexandrie', in P. Andrist, ed., *Le Manuscrit B de la Bible (Vaticanus graecus 1209)*. Lausanne: Éditions du Zebre, pp. 135–55.
- Böttrich, C. (2010). 'Neue Dokumente zur Geschichte des Codex Sinaiticus'. *Early Christianity* 1: 605–13.
- Böttrich, C. (2011). *Der Jahrhundertfund: Geschichte und Entdeckung des Codex Sinaiticus*. Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt.
- Böttrich, C., S. Fahl, and D. Fahl (2009). 'Das Dossier des Russischen Ministers Golovnin von 1862 zur Frage des Codex Sinaiticus'. *Scriptorium* 63: 288–326.
- Brown, S. (1970). 'Concerning the Origin of the Nomina Sacra'. *Studia Papyrologica* 9: 7–19.
- Brubaker, L., and J. Haldon (2001). *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era (ca. 680–850): The Sources, an Annotated Survey*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Brubaker, L., and J. Haldon (2011). *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era (ca. 680–850): A History*. Cambridge and New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Burkitt, F. C. (1897). *Fragments of the Books of Kings according to the Translation of Aquila*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Burkitt, F. C. (1909–10). 'Codex Alexandrinus'. *JTS* 11: 603–6.
- Canart, P. (2009). 'Le Vaticanus graecus 1209: Notice paléographique et codicologique', in P. Andrist, ed., *Le Manuscrit B de la Bible (Vaticanus graecus 1209)*. Lausanne: Éditions du Zebre, pp. 19–45.
- Cavallo, G. (1967). *Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica*. Florence: Le Monnier.
- Cavallo, G. (1995). 'Tra "volume" e "codex": La lettura nel mondo romano', in G. Cavallo and R. Chartier, eds., *Storia della lettura nel mondo occidentale*. Rome and Bari: Laterza, pp. 37–69.
- Ceriani, A. M. (1874). *Codex Syro-hexaplaris Ambrosianus, photolithographice editus*. Milan: Imp. Biblioth. Ambrosianae.

- Crisci, E. (2008). 'Riflessioni paleografiche (e non solo) sui più antichi manoscritti greci del Nuovo Testamento', in D. Bianconi and L. Del Corso, eds., *Oltre la scrittura: Variazioni sul tema per Guglielmo Cavallo*. Dossiers byzantins 4. Paris: Centre d'études byzantines, néo-helléniques et sud-est européennes, pp. 53–93.
- Crisci, E., and O. Pecere (2004). *Il codice miscellaneo: Tipologie e funzioni*. Cassino: Università di Cassino.
- Crostini, B., and G. Peers, eds. (2016). *A Book of Psalms from Eleventh-Century Byzantium: The Complex of Texts and Images in Vat. gr. 752*. Vatican City: Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana.
- Curti, C., and M. A. Barbàra (2000). 'Catene esegetiche greche', in A. Di Berardino, ed., *Patrologia*, Vol. 5: *Dal Concilio di Calcedonia (451) a Giovanni Damasceno († 750), i padri orientali*. Genova: Marietti, pp. 609–55.
- Dagron, G. (2007). *Décrire et peindre: Essai sur le portrait iconique*. Paris: Gallimard.
- de Lange, N. R. M. (1996). *Greek Jewish Texts from the Cairo Genizah*. Tübingen: Mohr.
- de Lange, N. R. M. (2010). 'The Greek Bible Translations of the Byzantine Jews', in P. Magdalino and R. Nelson, eds., *The Old Testament in Byzantium*. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, pp. 39–54.
- Degni, P. (1998). *Usi delle tavolette lignee e cerate nel mondo greco e romano*. Università di Messina: Centro di studi umanistici.
- Devreesse, R. (1928). 'Chaînes exégétiques grecques', in *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*, 1:1084–1233.
- Devreesse, R. (1965). *Le Fonds grec de la Bibliothèque Vaticane, des origines à Paul V*. Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
- Dorandi, T. (1997). 'Tradierung der Texte im Altertum: Buchwesen', in H.-G. Nesselrath, ed., *Einleitung in die griechische Philologie*. Stuttgart and Leipzig: Teubner, pp. 3–13.
- Dorival, G. (1984). 'Des Commentaires de l'écriture aux chaînes', in C. Mondésert, ed., *Le Monde grec ancien et la Bible*. Paris: Beauchesne, pp. 360–86.
- Dorival, G. (1985). 'La Postérité littéraire des chaînes exégétiques grecques'. *Revue des Études Byzantines* 43: 209–26.
- Dorival, G. (1986–95). *Les Chaînes exégétiques grecques sur les Psaumes: Contribution à l'étude d'une forme littéraire*, Vols. 1–4. Leuven: Peeters.
- Dorival, G. (2003). 'L'Apport des Pères de l'Église à la question de la clôture du Canon de l'Ancien Testament', in J.-M. Auwers and H. J. de Longe, eds., *The Biblical Canons*. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 81–110.
- Elliott, J. K., ed. (2004). *The Collected Biblical Writings of T. C. Skeat*. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill.
- Elliott, J. K. (2009). 'Theodore Skeat et l'origine du Codex Vaticanus', in P. Andrist, ed., *Le Manuscrit B de la Bible (Vaticanus graecus 1209)*. Lausanne: Éditions du Zebre, pp. 119–33.
- Fera, V., G. Ferràù, and S. Rizzo, eds. (2002). *Talking to the Text: Marginalia from Papyri to Print*, Vols. 1–2. Messina: Centro Interdipartimentale di Studi Umanistici.
- Fincati, M. (2016). *The Medieval Revision of the Ambrosian Hexateuch: Critical Editing between Septuaginta and Hebraica Veritas in MS Ambrosianus A 147inf*. DSI 5. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Flint, P.W. (1998). 'Columns I and II of the Hexapla: The Evidence of the Milan Palimpsest (Rahlfs 1098)', in A. Salvesen, ed., *Origen's Hexapla and Fragments*. TSAJ 58. Tübingen: Mohr, pp. 125–32.

- Gamble, H. Y. (2015). 'Codex Sinaiticus in Its Fourth Century Setting,' in S. McKendrick, D. Parker, et al., eds., *Codex Sinaiticus: New Perspectives on the Ancient Biblical Manuscript*. London: British Library, pp. 3–18.
- Goulet-Cazé, M.-O., ed. (2000). *Le Commentaire entre tradition et innovation*. Paris: J. Vrin.
- Gregory, C. R. (1907). *Canon and Text of the New Testament*, Edinburgh: T&T Clark.
- Hanhart, R. (1983). *Esther*, 2nd rev. edn. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Hotzelt, W. (1949). 'Die kirchenrechtliche Stellung von Bistum und Kloster Sinai zur Zeit der Entdeckung der Sinaibibel,' *TLZ* 74: 457–70.
- Hurtado, L. W. (2006). *The Earliest Christian Artifacts: Manuscripts and Christian Origins*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans.
- Jellicoe, S. (1968). *The Septuagint and Modern Study*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Jenkins, R. G. (1991). 'Colophons of the Syrohexapla and the Textgeschichte of the Recensions of Origen,' in C. E. Cox, ed., *VII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies*. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, pp. 261–77.
- Jenkins, R. G. (1998). 'The First Column of the Hexapla: The Evidence of the Milan Codex (Rahlfs 1098) and the Cairo Genizah Fragment (Rahlfs 2005),' in A. Salvesen, ed., *Origen's Hexapla and Fragments*. TSAJ 58. Tübingen: Mohr, pp. 88–102.
- Jongkind, D. (2007). *Scribal Habits of Codex Sinaiticus*. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias.
- Karo, G., and I. Lietzmann (1902). *Catenarum graecarum catalogus*. Nachrichten der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Phil.-hist. Klasse, 1–66; 299–350; 559–620.
- Kraft, R. A. (2008). 'Connecting the Dots: Early Jewish and Early Christian Greek Evidence in Context.' Boston SBL 2008, <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/rak//temp/Connect-Dots.html>.
- Lake, K. (1908). *The Text of the New Testament*. 4th edn. London: Rivingtons.
- Law T. M. (2008). 'La Version syro-hexaplaire et la transmission textuelle de la Bible grecque,' in F. Briquel Chatonnet and Ph. Le Moigne, eds., *L'Ancien Testament en syriaque*. Paris: Geuthner, pp. 101–20.
- Law T. M. (2011). *Origenes Orientalis: The Preservation of Origen's Hexapla in the Syrohexapla of 3 Kingdoms*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Lowden J. (2010). *Illustrated Octateuch Manuscripts: A Byzantine Phenomenon*, in P. Magdalino and P. Nelson, eds., *The Old Testament in Byzantium*. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, pp. 107–52.
- Magdalino, P., and P. Nelson, eds. (2010). *The Old Testament in Byzantium*. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.
- Malik, P. (2013). 'The Earliest Corrections in Codex Sinaiticus: A Test Case from the Gospel of Mark.' *BASP*: 207–54.
- Mango, C. (1975). 'The Availability of Books in the Byzantine Empire, AD 750–850,' in I. Ševčenko and C. Mango, eds., *Byzantine Books and Bookmen*. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, Center for Byzantine Studies, Trustees for Harvard University, pp. 29–45.
- Maniaci, M. (2000). 'Stratégies de juxtaposition du texte et du commentaire dans quelques manuscrits d'Homère,' in M.-O. Goulet-Cazé, ed., *Le Commentaire entre tradition et innovation*. Paris: J. Vrin, pp. 65–78.
- Maniaci, M. (2004). 'Il codice greco "non unitario": Tipologie e terminologie,' in E. Crisci and O. Pecere, eds., *Il codice miscellaneo: Tipologie e funzioni*. Cassino: Università di Cassino, pp. 75–107.
- Maniaci, M. (2006). 'Problemi di mise en page dei manoscritti con commento a cornice: L'esempio di alcuni testimoni dell'Iliade.' *Segno e testo* 4: 211–97.

- Maniaci, M. (2016). 'The Medieval Codex as a Complex Container: The Greek and Latin Traditions', in C. Schwarke and F. Friedrich, eds., *One-Volume Libraries: Composite and Multiple-Text Manuscripts*. Berlin and Boston, MA: de Gruyter, pp. 27–46.
- McCormick, M. (1985). 'The Birth of the Codex and the Apostolic Lifestyle.' *Scriptorium* 39: 150–8.
- McKendrick, S., D. Parker, A. Myshrall, and C. O'Hogan (2015). *Codex Sinaiticus: New Perspectives on the Ancient Biblical Manuscript*. London: British Library.
- Mercati, G. (1910). 'Un'oscura nota del codice Alessandrino', in *Mélanges offerts à M. Émile Chatelain*. Paris: A. Champion, pp. 79–82.
- Mercati, G. (1958). *Psalterii Hexapli reliquiae*, Vols. 1–2. Vatican City: Bibliotheca Vaticana.
- Milne, H. J. M., and T. C. Skeat (1938). *Scribes and Correctors of the Codex Sinaiticus*. London: British Museum.
- Mratschek, S. (2000). 'Codices vestri sumus, Bücherkult und Bücherpreise in der christlichen Spätantike', in A. Haltenhoff and F.-H. Mutschler, eds., *Hortus litterarum antiquarum: Festschrift für Hans Armin Gärtner zum 70. Geburtstag*. Heidelberg: Winter, pp. 369–80.
- Mühlenberg, E. (1975–8). *Psalmenkommentare aus der Katenenüberlieferung*. Vols. 1–3. Berlin and New York, NY: de Gruyter.
- Mühlenberg, E. (1989). 'Katenen.' *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* 18: 14–21.
- Noble, T. F. X. (2009). *Images, Iconoclasm, and the Carolingians*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Norton, G. J. (1998). 'Observations on the First Two Columns of the Hexapla', in A. Salvesen, ed., *Origen's Hexapla and Fragments*. TSAJ 58. Tübingen: Mohr, pp. 103–224.
- Orsini, P., and W. Clarysse (2012). 'Early New Testament Manuscripts and Their Dates: A Critique of Theological Palaeography', *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 88: 443–74.
- Parker, D. C. (2010). *Codex Sinaiticus: The Story of the World's Oldest Bible*. London: British Library.
- Parpulov, G. R. (2010). 'Psalms and Personal Piety in Byzantium', in P. Magdalino and P. Nelson, eds., *The Old Testament in Byzantium*. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, pp. 77–105.
- Parpulov, G. R. (2012). 'The Bibles of the Christian East', in R. Marsden and E. A. Matter, eds., *The New Cambridge History of the Bible*, Vol. 2: *From 600 to 1450*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 309–24.
- Parpulov, G. R. (2014). *Towards a History of Byzantine Psalters, ca 850–1350 ad*. Plovdiv.
- Petrucchi, A. (1986). 'Dal libro unitario al libro miscellaneo', in A. Giardina, ed., *Società romana e impero tardoantico*, Vol. 4: *Tradizioni dei classici e trasformazioni della cultura*. Rome: Laterza, pp. 173–87; 271–4.
- Pisano, S. (1999). 'The Vaticanus graecus 1209: A Witness to the Text of the New Testament', in P. Andrist, ed., *Le Manuscrit B de la Bible (Vaticanus graecus 1209)*. Lausanne: Éditions du Zebre, pp. 77–97.
- Radiciotti, P. (2002). 'Palaeographia papyrologica.' *Papyrologica Lupiensia* 2: 199–201.
- Rahlfs, A. (1899). 'Alter und Heimat der vatikanischen Bibelhandschrift.' *Nachrichten der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, pp. 72–9.
- Rahlfs, A. (1914). *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments*. Berlin: Weidmann.
- Rahlfs, A., and D. Fraenkel (2004). *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments*, Vol. I, 1: *Die Überlieferung bis zum VIII. Jahrhundert*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

- Rendel Harris, J. (1893). *Stichometry*. London: C. J. Clay and Sons.
- Roberts, C. H. (1979). *Manuscript, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt*. London: for the British Academy by Oxford University Press.
- Roberts, C. H., and T. C. Skeat (1983). *The Birth of the Codex*. London and New York, NY: for the British Academy by Oxford University Press.
- Ronconi, F. (2003). *La traslitterazione dei testi greci*. Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo.
- Ronconi, F. (2007). *I manoscritti greci miscellanei: Ricerche su esemplari dei secoli IX–XII*. Spoleto: Fondazione Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo.
- Salvesen, A., ed. (1998). *Origen's Hexapla and Fragments: Papers Presented at the Rich Seminar on the Hexapla, Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies, 25th [July]–3rd August, 1994*. TSAJ 58. Tübingen: Mohr.
- Schäfer, C. (2016). *Alfred Rahlfs (1865–1935) und die kritische Edition der Septuaginta: Eine biographisch-wissenschaftsgeschichtliche Studie*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Schironi, F. (2015). 'P.Grenf. 1.5, Origen, and the Scriptorium of Caesarea.' *BASP* 52: 181–223.
- Schreiner, P. (1990). 'Kosten der Handschriftenherstellung in Byzanz', in E. Plassmann, ed., *Buch- und Bibliothekswissenschaft im Informationszeitalter: Internationale Festschrift für Paul Kaegbein zum 65. Geburtstag*. Munich: Saur, pp. 331–44.
- Skeat, T. C. (1955). 'The Provenance of the Codex Alexandrinus', repr. in J. K. Elliott, ed., *The Collected Biblical Writings of T. C. Skeat*, Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, pp. 119–21.
- Skeat, T. C. (1957). *The Codex Alexandrinus (Royal MS. 1 D V–VIII) in Reduced Photographic Facsimile: Old Testament, Part IV: 1 Esdras–Ecclesiasticus*. London: British Museum.
- Skeat, T. C. (1969). 'Early Christian Production: Papyri and Manuscripts', repr. in J. K. Elliott, ed., *The Collected Biblical Writings of T. C. Skeat*, Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, pp. 33–59.
- Skeat, T. C. (1979). 'Especially the Parchments: A Note on 2 Timothy 4:13', repr. in J. K. Elliott, ed., *The Collected Biblical Writings of T. C. Skeat*, Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, pp. 262–6.
- Skeat, T. C. (1984). 'The Codex Vaticanus in the Fifteenth Century', repr. in J. K. Elliott, ed., *The Collected Biblical Writings of T. C. Skeat*, Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, pp. 122–34.
- Skeat, T. C. (1992). 'Irenaeus and the Four-Gospel Canon', repr. in J. K. Elliott, ed., *The Collected Biblical Writings of T. C. Skeat*, Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, pp. 73–8.
- Skeat, T. C. (1994). 'The Origin of the Christian Codex', repr. in J. K. Elliott, ed., *The Collected Biblical Writings of T. C. Skeat*, Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, pp. 79–87.
- Skeat, T. C. (1999). 'The Codex Sinaiticus, the Codex Vaticanus and Constantine', repr. in J. K. Elliott, ed., *The Collected Biblical Writings of T. C. Skeat*, Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, pp. 193–237.
- Smelik, W. F. (2012). 'Justinian's Novella 146 and Contemporary Judaism', in T. M. Law and A. Salvesen, eds., *Greek Scripture and the Rabbis*. CBOT 66. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 141–64.
- Smith, W. A. (2014). *A Study of the Gospels in Codex Alexandrinus: Codicology, Palaeography, and Scribal Hands*. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill.
- Spicq, P. C. (1969). *Saint Paul: Les Épitres pastorales*, 4th edn., Vol. 1. Paris: J. Gabalda.
- Taylor, C. (1900). *Hebrew–Greek Cairo Genizah Palimpsests from the Taylor-Schechter Collection, Including a Fragment of the Twenty-Second Psalm According to Origen's Hexapla*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Thorndyke, L. (1946). 'The Problem of the Composite Manuscript', in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati*, Vol. 6. Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, pp. 93–104.
- Tov, E. (2015). 'The Septuagint in Codex Sinaiticus Compared with Other Sources', in S. McKendrick, D. Parker, et al., eds., *Codex Sinaiticus: New Perspectives on the Ancient Biblical Manuscript*. London: British Library, pp. 21–9.

- Treadgold, W. T. (1979). 'The Revival of Byzantine Learning and the Revival of the Byzantine State.' *The American Historical Review* 84: 1245–66 (= W. T. Treadgold, *Studies in Byzantine Cultural History*, ed. B.-P. Maleon and A.-E. Maleon, București-Brăila 2015, pp. 305–32).
- Treadgold, W. T. (1984). *Renaissances before the Renaissance*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Treu, K. (1973). 'Die Bedeutung des Griechischen für die Juden im römischen Reich.' *Kairos* 15: 123–44.
- van Haelst, J. (1976). *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens*. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne.
- van Haelst, J. (1989). 'Les Origines du codex,' in A. Blanchard, ed., *Les Débuts du codex: Actes de la journée d'étude organisée à Paris les 3 et 4 juillet 1985*. Turnhout: Brepols, pp. 13–35.
- Wallraff, M. (2013). *Kodex und Kanon, das Buch im frühen Christentum*. Berlin and Boston, MA: de Gruyter.
- Weitzmann, K. (1929). 'Der Pariser Psalter Ms Grec. 139 und die mittelbyzantinische Renaissance.' *Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 6: 178–94.
- Wilson, N. (1975). 'Books and Readers in Byzantium,' in N. Wilson, J. Irigoin, and C. Mango, eds., *Byzantine Books and Bookmen*. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, pp. 17–27.

CHAPTER 11

TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE

HANS AUSLOOS

INTRODUCTION: THE PROBLEM OF TRANSLATING THE HEBREW BIBLE

ANYONE trying to translate any text will soon experience the appropriateness of the Italian adage *Traduttore traditore* ('a translator is a traitor'). Even the most common Greek term for 'translate', *ἐρμηνεύειν*, immediately reveals the complexity inherent in the process of translation (Siegert 2001: 121). To a certain extent translation always implies interpretation. Nevertheless, this does not necessarily imply that translators—at least when they aim at fulfilling their role seriously—are free to do whatever they want. In general, one can assume that it is a translator's primary aim to transmit a source text faithfully into the target language. However, in doing so, a translator will be confronted with many problematic issues.

When speaking about the Septuagint, this fact is not least due to the fact that Hebrew and Greek are two completely different languages structurally, the first one being part of the Semitic language group, the second one belonging to the Indo-European family of languages. For one thing is certain: 'Although it may be based on it, LXX Greek cannot simply be characterized as Koine Greek. It is first of all translation Greek' (Lust, Eynikel, and Hauspie 2003: xviii).

In the introduction to his *Notes on the Greek Text of Exodus*, John Wevers gives an excellent summary of morphological, grammatical, and lexical peculiarities of the Hebrew language that may have been problematic to a Greek translator (Wevers 1990: vii–xiv). Besides these issues, there were other problems he had to deal with. For example, he had to decide whether to render a particular word consistently by the

same equivalent, or to work *ad sensum*, by trying to find an equivalent in the target language that could render as far as possible a specific nuance of the lexeme in the source text. Or how should a translator deal with proper names with a particular meaning in Hebrew: should they be transliterated, or should one rather search for a Greek equivalent? In this context, a remarkable example can be found in the difference the translators of the books Genesis–Joshua and the translators of the other biblical books render the proper name *pēlišṭīm* (Philistines). Whereas in the first group of books the translators consequently transliterate the term as *Φυλιστιμ* (e.g. Gen. 10:14), in the majority of the other instances we find the translation *ἀλλόφυλοι*, ‘of another tribe, foreign’ (e.g. Judg. 15:3).

This example illustrates the methods the translators of the biblical books used in the process of translating the Hebrew parent text into Greek. These various strategies are commonly described in the scholarly literature by the technical term ‘translation technique’. Raija Sollamo helpfully explains this concept of translation technique:

The term ‘translation technique’ must be understood as meaning the different methods and ways that the translators used when translating their Hebrew *Vorlagen*. Every translator had methods and practices, typical of him and diverging from those of others. These methods and practices constituted his translation technique. A translator by himself may not have been fully aware of the translation technique he followed. He and his colleagues probably had no fixed rules or principles, which they attempted to observe. No instructions were given beforehand or no guidelines ever existed, as far as we know. The methods, how they worked when translating, must be determined by scrutinizing their completed piece of work.

(Sollamo 2003: 509–10)

Note Sollamo’s frequent employment of the plural: the different methods and practices, the translators, the *Vorlagen*. This is important, not at least because it is commonly accepted that many translators were involved in the translation process of the Hebrew Bible. Moreover, because of the complexity of the translation process, we have to take into account that each specific problem might have been handled differently, thus making it impossible to speak about one single technique used by one single translator for the complete text of the Bible. The concept of translation technique and research on it is therefore complex.

HISTORY OF RESEARCH

The basis for the study of translation technique was laid down during the first half of the nineteenth century. It was probably the simultaneous publication in 1841 of two works that provided the impetus for the study of Septuagint translation technique as a discipline (Tov 1999a: 241–6). In a non-systematic way, Heinrich Thiersch paid attention to the Hebrew background of the Septuagint’s rendering, especially in aspects such as the

causative in Greek reflecting the Hebrew verbal pattern known as the *Hiphil*, the equivalence of tenses in Hebrew and Greek, the rendering of pronouns and of the infinitive absolute (Thiersch 1841: 129–53). Contemporaneous with Thiersch's rather tentative study, Zacharias Frankel must be mentioned as the one who started a more systematic analysis of translation technique, for which he used the German term 'Übersetzungsweise' (Frankel 1841: 134). Albeit in a rather limited way, he analyses the Greek rendering of the Hebrew noun, the verb, and the particles (Frankel 1841: 134–63).

However, the real boost to the analysis of the translation technique of the Septuagint came in the middle of the twentieth century. In 1950 Albert Wifstrand investigated the place of the enclitic personal pronouns in the different Septuagint books (Wifstrand 1950: 44–70). In Classical Greek the enclitic personal pronoun normally precedes the verb. In the Septuagint, however, it often follows the verbal form, thus 'imitating' the Hebrew, where the pronoun is mostly a suffix, being part of the conjugated verb. Some years later Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen researched the phenomenon of the rendering of the Hebrew infinitive in Greek (Soisalon-Soininen 1965), paying particular attention to the Greek rendering of the Hebrew construction of *bêt* plus infinitive construct. Soisalon-Soininen's work initiated the so-called Finnish school, in particular analysing the Greek rendering of grammatical-linguistic features of Hebrew language (Aejmelaeus and Sollamo 1987) (see section 'Qualitative Criteria').

In the footsteps of these scholars, the analysis of the techniques used by the Septuagint translators has gained considerable importance. In the wake of this subdiscipline, the impetus for a more systematic quest for criteria that are needed to characterize the Septuagint as a translation was given by James Barr (1979: 279–325). Moreover, thanks to his insights, scholars are now more cautious about speaking of Septuagint translation as either 'free' or 'literal'.

TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE AND THE CHARACTERIZATION OF RENDERINGS AS 'FREE' OR 'LITERAL'

Research into the translation technique and the translation character of the Septuagint primarily makes use of the classic distinction between a 'literal' and a 'free' rendering (Lemmelijn 2001: 43–5). In general, a translation is considered to be 'literal' when it is assumed to render its *Vorlage* very accurately, translating it in an almost mechanical way and often even word for word. In contrast to this, a translation is characterized as 'free' when it does not proceed in this manner (Barr 1979: 281). However, these concepts have to be dealt with cautiously.

Although the distinction between 'free' and 'literal' makes sense, one should, as Aejmelaeus rightly has indicated, be careful in making this distinction. More specifically, a third concept is needed here, being 'faithfulness' (Aejmelaeus 1987: 378; Ausloos

and Lemmelijn 2008: 60–1). Indeed, a very literal translation does not always imply a very faithful translation and a free translation is not *ipso facto* a less faithful translation. A good, free translation can be very faithful in relation to its *Vorlage*, while a literal translation—marked for instance by the extremely consistent choice of certain translation equivalents which do not always render the sense correctly—can thereby become less faithful (Ausloos and Lemmelijn 2010: 358–63).

Because the Septuagint can hardly be seen as a truly ‘free’ translation in a modern sense—it is not at all, or at least only rarely, a paraphrase—and because the degree of a translation’s ‘freedom’ is much more difficult to measure than its ‘literalness’, it was Barr’s aim to analyse the various kinds or aspects of literalism that characterize the Septuagint as a translation (Barr 1979: 280–1). As such, Barr has rightly stressed that when a translation is said to be literal or free, it should be specified in which ways it is either literal or free, since a translation can be simultaneously literal and free, from different perspectives. Barr himself was mainly interested in the characterization of different types of literalness, and thus in considering freedom as the lack of literalness.

Against this theoretical discussion about ‘free’ and ‘literal’ translations, several criteria have been developed which can be helpful in determining different types of literalness or freedom. They can thus contribute to the characterization of the translation techniques of the different Septuagint translators. In general, these criteria can be divided into two main categories. The first three criteria below are mainly quantitative, which means that they can be expressed statistically, whereas the other criteria are more qualitative, taking into consideration mainly the manner in which the translator deals with the content of the *Vorlage* (Tov 1997: 25–6; Aejmelaeus 2001: 58). In fact, all criteria have to do with the ‘transformation’ from one language system to another (Van der Louw 2007).

Quantitative Criteria

(1) Firstly, a translator’s work can be ‘evaluated’ by taking into consideration the way in which Hebrew forms have been divided into their constitutive segments, as well as the sequence in which these segments are represented (segmentation) (Barr 1979: 294–303; Tov 1997: 23). This aspect of literalness has in particular to do with one typical feature of Hebrew language. What at first sight seems to be one single word in Hebrew is actually often a combination of different elements. Therefore a translator working within a completely different language system often has to use several words in order to render adequately the different segments of the Hebrew source language. For example, the typical Hebrew construction *bêt* followed by an infinitive, which often has a temporal sense, is a good example of this criterion of segmentation (Soisalon-Soininen 1965). The Septuagint often renders it by the ‘literal’ Greek construction ἐν τῷ plus infinitive (as in Lev. 22:16 ἐν τῷ ἐσθίειν ‘by eating’), thus rendering accurately the different segments of the Hebrew *Vorlage*, but in the meantime not succeeding in presenting an idiomatic Greek translation. Nevertheless, there are also instances where the Septuagint translator is more in line with Classical Greek, rendering this typical Hebrew construction by a participial

construction (as in 2 Sam. 8:3 *πορευομένου αὐτοῦ* ‘as he went’) or a temporal clause (as in Deut. 32:8 *ὅτε διεμέριζεν ὁ ὕψιστος ἔθνη* ‘when the Most High was apportioning nations’).

(2) On a broader level, but closely related to the question of segmentation, the translation’s degree of quantitative equalization or representation between the source and the target language can be mentioned as a second element that can give indications as to the literalness or freedom of a translator (Barr 1979: 303–5; Wright 1987: 311–35; Tov 1997: 23–4). When a translator deliberately ‘omits’ or ‘adds’ linguistic elements in his translation, in comparison to his *Vorlage*, then a translation becomes less literal.

A synoptic parallel presentation of the Hebrew and the Greek texts can clearly illustrate this *modus operandi* (a slash indicates the different segments within the Hebrew word). As a random example we take the first words of the book of Deuteronomy (1:1) in Hebrew and Greek:

These	<i>ʿelleh</i>	<i>Οὗτοι</i>
(are) the words	<i>ha/dēbārīm</i>	<i>οἱ λόγοι</i>
that	<i>ʾāšer</i>	<i>οὗς</i>
spoke	<i>dibber</i>	<i>ἐλάλησεν</i>
Moses	<i>mōšeh</i>	<i>Μωυσῆς</i>
to all	<i>ʿel kol</i>	<i>παντί</i>
Israel	<i>yisrāʾēl</i>	<i>Ἰσραήλ</i>

As to the quantitative representation, this example shows how the translator provides an equivalent for each segment of the Hebrew original (on the hypothesis that his *Vorlage* was identical with the Hebrew text as found in the Masoretic Text). Moreover, the quantitative representation is not only complete on the word level, but also with regard to the constitutive elements of the single words, because the translator has also rendered the definite article *ha* in *ha-dēbārīm* by using an article in Greek (*οἱ*) (segmentation). Nevertheless, in using one single Greek term (*παντί*) for rendering two Hebrew words (*ʿel kol*) the translator at first sight no longer succeeds in this ‘technique’ of quantitative representation. For example, he could have rendered the particle *ʿel* by the Greek particle *πρός* or *εἰς*. However, he seems to have opted for the more idiomatic Greek possibility of using the dative, thus being faithful to his *Vorlage*, whereas for the Hebrew author there was no other possibility than to use the particle *ʿel*. This example once more clearly indicates that, besides the characterization ‘literal’ and ‘free’, the use of the term ‘faithful’ in relation to the meaning of the text is necessary.

As the rendering of two Hebrew lexemes (*ʿel kol*) by one single Greek word in Deut. 1:1 has made clear, one should be careful about using this criterion of quantitative representation too rashly, in particular because of the fact that Hebrew and Greek are different language systems. In the text of Prov. 5:21, for example, one reads four words in Greek (*τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ ὀφθαλμῶν* ‘[before] the eyes of God’), whereas the Hebrew only has two words (*ʿenē YHWH* ‘the eyes of the LORD’). However, this does not mean that the translator is twice ‘adding’ an article that would be absent in Hebrew, for in Hebrew definite-

ness is implied within the typical construct state of a noun and a proper name (the Tetragrammaton *YHWH* may be rendered by the noun *θεός* here because God's proper name was not pronounced). Moreover, in cases where the translation seems to have a (large) plus, one also has to ask whether an apparent minus in the Masoretic Text may have originated in a scribal error (e.g. eyeskip), and that, consequently, the Greek translator did not necessarily add to his Hebrew *Vorlage* (Tov 2012: 221–39).

For example, in 2 Sam. 14:30–1 the Hebrew text reads, 'and Absalom's servants set the field on fire. Then Joab rose and went to Absalom.' The Greek text, however, has a significant plus (indicated by italics): 'And the servants of Abessalom set them on fire. *And the slaves of Joab came to him with their clothes torn and said, "The slaves of Abessalom burned your portion with fire."* And Joab set off and came to Abessalom.' Both internal and external arguments make it plausible that the Greek translator of the Septuagint did not himself add the phrase in italics. From an internal perspective, it can be argued that parablepsis (eyeskip) caused the omission of the sentence in the Masoretic Text which is still preserved in Greek: the eye of the copyist of the Hebrew text jumped from the first occurrence of the word 'on fire' to the second one, thus accidentally omitting the sentence in between. From an external perspective, we can refer to the Hebrew manuscript 4QSam^c, which follows the longer Septuagint reading.

(3) Thirdly, the way in which the translator follows the word order of the Hebrew original may provide some quantitative indications with respect to his translation technique (Barr 1979: 300; Marquis 1986: 59–84; Tov 1997: 23). Although one generally gets the impression that the Septuagint translators follow the Hebrew word order meticulously (as can be seen in the example above of Deut. 1:1), this can probably be interpreted as a sort of 'easy technique', rather than as a deliberate policy of giving a literalistic translation (Barr 1979: 300). In this respect, Folker Siegert considers this *modus operandi* to be influenced by the background of the translators: 'Die Übersetzer waren Dolmetscher aus der Praxis, nicht Gelehrte des alexandrinischen Museons' (Siegert 2001: 168). Within this context, proponents of the so-called Interlinear Paradigm argue that, when possible, the translators were giving word-for-word equivalents due to the fact that, in their hypothesis, the Greek translation was originally meant to be read alongside the Hebrew text (see, for example, Pietersma 2002: 337–64). Nevertheless, despite the overall tendency to follow the Hebrew word order in Greek, sometimes one encounters examples of idiomatic Greek as well. For example, in Prov. 5:21 (τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ ὀφθαλμῶν) the translator writes idiomatic Greek. If he had followed the Hebrew word order more strictly ('*ênê YHWH*'), the translator would have rendered this expression as τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τοῦ θεοῦ.

Qualitative Criteria

Next to these three quantitative criteria, there are more qualitative criteria that enable the characterization of the translation techniques used by the Septuagint translators. Whereas the former ones 'have more to do with the structure of the text' (Aejmelaeus 2001: 58), the qualitative aspects are more centred on and around its meaning.

(1) Firstly, the translator's choice of the equivalents in transferring adequately semantic and lexical information can be referred to as a qualitative criterion. Any translator has to decide how to translate a word. For most of the words, this is not a real problem. Nevertheless, quite often the translator will have to make a decision. A Hebrew word can have a specific connotation among several possibilities and the translator is forced to choose just one. For example, the common Hebrew word *b'ērīt*, which is mostly translated as 'covenant' in English, was not rendered by the Greek term *συνθήκη* but by *διαθήκη*. This is probably because the translator interpreted the Hebrew term as denoting something in which it is mainly one party who has the right to impose a *b'ērīt*, something not typical of a 'covenant' (*συνθήκη*), in which both parties would have the same rights (see Lust, Eynikel, and Hauspie 2003: 592).

Further, the translator sometimes seems to have made some 'etymological' investigations when confronted with terms that were unclear to him, and searched for a root to which he could link them (Barr 1979: 318–22; Krašovec 2010; Ausloos and Lemmelijn 2016).

Moreover, there are some specific peculiarities within Hebrew language. Some words can be homonyms, such as *dābār*. In some instances, the lexeme means 'word', in other texts the term means 'matter, thing, affair'. Moreover, these words could be used even within a single narrative with both meanings simultaneously, as a double entendre. For example, in Judg. 3:19, the judge Ehud addresses his opponent Eglon by saying, 'I have a secret message/thing (*dābār*) for you, O King.' Within the story King Eglon interprets the term *dābār* as 'word', whereas for the reader it is clear that Ehud refers to the dagger he is wearing under his clothes. The Septuagint translates this term as *λόγος* (Ausloos 2012: 65–7).

The translator's choice of equivalents has to do not only with the semantic meaning of a term, but also with regard to the grammatical form he chooses (Aejmelaeus 2001: 58). This emphasis, which has later been called the 'grammatical-linguistic qualitative approach' (Lemmelijn 2001: 43–63; Ausloos and Lemmelijn 2010: 275) has been the field of research within the so-called Finish school, initiated by Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen with his analysis of the Septuagint's rendering of the Hebrew infinitives. In his footsteps, the Septuagint translators' renderings of various grammatical Hebrew features have been analysed. Thus, mainly within the Finnish school, attention has been paid to features such as the Greek rendering of the so-called paronomastic construction (Sollamo 1985: 101–13), the participle (Aejmelaeus 1982b: 385–93), clause connections (Sipilä 1999; 2001: 49–61), the Hebrew co-ordinate clause (Aejmelaeus 1982a) or semi-prepositions (Sollamo 1979).

(2) Secondly, when a translator has found a good translation equivalent, one should investigate whether he uses it consistently for all its occurrences in a particular translation, or introduces some variation. In this respect, the aspect of consistency or non-consistency—often the term stereotyping is used in this regard—in rendering the vocabulary of the *Vorlage* acts as a parameter in characterizing the literalness of a translator (Marquis 1987: 405–24; Olofsson 1992: 14–30; Tov 1997: 20–1). This means that one investigates how far a translator has consistently chosen the same word to render a

particular term of the original. As a typical example, reference can be made once more to the Hebrew term *bērit*, ‘covenant’, which is almost exclusively translated by the Greek term *διαθήκη*, or the Tetragrammaton *YHWH*, which is almost exclusively rendered by *κύριος* (Tov 1997: 21). Moreover, this criterion can also be applied to grammatical elements. For example, one could ask whether the translator uses a standard equivalent for a preposition like *min*, ‘from’, without taking into consideration the semantic aspect and thus ‘translating’ mechanically, or, on the contrary, whether he was influenced by the context (Aejmelaeus 2001: 60). The same problem arises with terms that are homonyms. In dictionaries, homonyms are indicated as different words. However, as far as we know, the Septuagint translators did not have dictionaries or word lists at their disposal (Barr 1979: 309). For example, in Lev. 11:30 the term *kōah* probably refers to a small reptile, whereas in Lev. 26:20 it means ‘strength’. The translator of Leviticus decided to render the term in the former text as *χαμαιλέον*, ‘chameleon’, whereas in the latter text he correctly used the term *ἰσχύς*.

Although the above distinction between ‘qualitative’ and ‘quantitative’ criteria makes sense, the borders between both categories are not always that clear. The distinction is a theoretical one, as Aejmelaeus rightly states: ‘very few such criteria are solely either quantitative or qualitative in nature; most of them reveal features of both, but in varying degrees’ (Aejmelaeus 2001: 58). Tov, for example, will consider consistency, segmentation, word order, and quantitative representation as criteria that can be expressed statistically (Tov 1997: 24). However, although it is possible to express statistically the percentage that a particular translator scores with regard to consistent use of a chosen translation equivalent (Tov 1997: 22), one must be aware that this same criterion also has a subjective element. Indeed, as indicated above, it is linked to the question of the adequacy of the translator’s lexical choice and his interpretation of his *Vorlage*. For this reason, I have classified consistency as a qualitative criterion.

DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Although the above mentioned criteria can already be very helpful in characterizing the translation technique of the different translators of the Septuagint, Aejmelaeus is undoubtedly correct when she stated that ‘it is necessary to look for criteria that more clearly have to do with the qualitative aspect of translation, that is, with the choice of equivalents, with treatment of idioms and metaphors, with the activity of the translator on the level of words’ (Aejmelaeus 2001: 60). Also Albert Pietersma, with a degree of exaggeration, wrote that ‘translation technique must be studied as exhaustively as is humanly possible’ (Pietersma 1985: 299).

Against this background and within the Louvain Centre for Septuagint Studies and Textual Criticism, some attempts have been made to develop new supplementary criteria for a more accurate characterization of the translation technique of the Septuagint’s

translators, and in order not to conclude too rashly that a translation is either literal, slavish, or free. Since these criteria are mainly concerned with the analysis of the way a translator deals with specific elements of the content, taking into consideration the context as well, they have been labelled 'content and context related criteria' (Ausloos and Lemmelijn 2010: 357–76). As in a laboratory situation, different 'content and context related' problems with which the translators were confronted are singled out, and the manner in which translators were challenged to handle these specific problems is analysed. The way translators 'react' to the concrete translational problem at stake may provide information about their 'attitude'. This kind of research not only provides new aspects in the characterization of concrete translational 'behaviour', but also complements other 'experiments' in the more traditional qualitative research, such as the more grammatical approach of the Finnish school.

A first field of research within this approach has been explored within the context of the analysis of the Greek rendering of Hebrew *hapax legomena* (Verbeke 2008: 507–21). By way of example, reference can be made to the characterization of the book of Canticles. In this respect, and in contrast to the accepted general labelling of the Greek Canticles as 'literal', or even 'slavish' (Gerleman 1965: 77–82; Dirksen 2004: 10^{*}–1^{*}), recent 'content related' research has demonstrated that the majority of the Greek translation equivalents for the Hebrew *hapax legomena* in Canticles render, in a faithful way, the probable intentions of the Hebrew author (Ausloos and Lemmelijn 2008: 43–61). A similar conclusion can be drawn with regard to the rendering of *hapax legomena* in the book of Exodus (Ausloos 2009: 360–76). Here as well, the translator reveals himself through his translation equivalents as a creative translator who strives to give a meaningful rendering of his Hebrew *Vorlage*, in this case confirming other studies of aspects of the translation technique of the LXX Exodus: he can 'be characterized as a competent translator, mindful of genuine Greek expressions, free in his relationship to the original, but still exact in reproducing his original relatively faithfully' (Aejmelaeus 2007: 92; Dines 2004: 14; Lemmelijn 2007: 1–32; 2009: 126–41).

Secondly, the Greek rendering of specific jargon in Hebrew vocabulary is a good barometer for the characterization of the translation technique. As a test case, the Greek rendering of the Hebrew nomenclature for flora and the rural landscape in Song of Songs, often bearing a metaphorical significance in these poetic texts, has been analysed (Lemmelijn 2008: 27–51). At this juncture, one has to ask whether the translator succeeded, firstly, in understanding the exact meaning of the rare Hebrew words of his *Vorlage* and, secondly, in rendering them adequately into Greek; all the more in the context of a poetic text in which the Hebrew names for flowers, plants, and spices may possess a supplementary metaphorical meaning. Based on the conclusions of this analysis of the translation of flowers, trees, fruit, and spices in Song of Songs, it would be inaccurate to describe this translator as 'slavish' as past research has tended to do. Confirming the analysis of his rendering of *hapax legomena*, the translator of Song of Songs succeeds in providing an adequate Greek equivalent for the majority of Hebrew flora that renders

its *Vorlage* faithfully, not only from the semantic and lexical point of view but sometimes even from the phonetic perspective. Where there is evidence that he did not understand a particular term, as is the case with a number of *hapax legomena*, he usually searched for a creative solution by using, for example, a more generic equivalent. Only on rare occasions was he obliged to fall back on transliterations. In many instances, he demonstrates his knowledge of idiomatic Greek, both in the use of vocabulary or grammatical style and in his awareness of the metaphorical connotations characteristic of the Hebrew and Greek usage respectively.

Thirdly, research with regard to the Greek rendering of Hebrew wordplay can function as a supplementary good ‘content-related’ criterion in the characterization of the technique used by the Septuagint translators (Ausloos 2012a: 53–68; Ausloos and Lemmelijn 2012). As the analyses of the Hebrew texts makes increasingly clear, wordplay in its various facets plays a very important role within Hebrew literature. However, it is one of the most difficult problems for a translator to adequately render wordplay from a source language into a target language. One of the first examples of wordplay in the Hebrew Bible can be found in the creation narrative in Genesis chs. 2–3, where a clear link is made between *hā’ādām* (‘man’) who is formed *min hā’ādāmāh* (‘from the ground’). Making use of similar-sounding words, the Hebrew author clearly indicates that, in his view, there is a close relationship between human beings and the earth. In cases where the Hebrew author clearly intended a wordplay, as in Gen. 2:7, a good translator who notices this has three possible options. First, he could add a footnote in order to clarify the wordplay. Second, the translator could transliterate the Hebrew words constituting the wordplay. However, as in the first possibility, in transliterating he actually fails as a translator. Third, he could translate the Hebrew words and search for good alternatives in the target language. However, in practice, it is an almost impossible task to find terms in the target language that do not only correspond in meaning, but have a similar connotation or sound as well. In LXX Gen. 2:7, the translator rendered *hā’ādām* and *min hā’ādāmāh* as (καὶ ἔπλασεν ὁ θεὸς) τὸν ἄνθρωπον χοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς (‘(And God formed) man, dust from the earth’), thus losing completely any wordplay for the reader of the Septuagint.

Within the context of Hebrew wordplay, the so-called aetiologies play a key role (Ausloos 2012b: 35–50; Ausloos, Lemmelijn, and Kabergs 2012: 273–94). An aetiology is usually a short passage that offers, often in a narrative way, an (invented) explanation of the name, the origin or existence of places, animals, plants, practices, or people (e.g. ‘The place was called . . . because . . .’). To translate an aetiology, a great deal of creativity on the translator’s part is required to find a reliable equivalent that captures the same meaning as the Hebrew. Usually, the translator’s response to this challenge will necessarily disappoint, because the target language often does not lend itself to expressing adequately the Hebrew language and Hebrew wordplays. Nevertheless, as the analysis of several test cases has already indicated, it can be a good criterion for testing the creativity of the translator, and thus it contributes to an accurate evaluation of translation technique (Ausloos 2012a; 2012b).

Finally, many Hebrew texts are poetic in nature. Although ancient Hebrew poetic stylistics are manifold, they are characterized by one specific and most typical poetic device, namely parallelism. Parallelism consists of the correspondence of one line with another on a phonological, morphological, grammatical, syntactical, and/or semantic level. Therefore, the Greek rendering of stylistic particularities of the Hebrew *Vorlage*, as well as stylistic features used autonomously in the Greek text, can shed light on the translation technique of the Greek translator.

FURTHER REMARKS ON THE CONCEPT OF 'TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE'

Within the complicated process of the characterization of translation technique as delineated above, some important elements must be taken into account. First of all, it should be borne in mind that we actually do not know which Hebrew text the translator used. Although in most instances the Septuagint is in line with extant Hebrew witnesses, one never can be sure that in cases where the Septuagint deviates, the translator did not make use of a different *Vorlage* which we no longer have at our disposal.

Secondly, obscure passages within the Greek text do not necessarily indicate an incompetent translator. It is quite possible that the translator employed an unclear source text, and therefore decided to make an unclear translation, thus imitating the obscurity of his *Vorlage*. In this regard, Barr uses the term 'imitative technique of translation' (Barr 1979: 292–3).

Thirdly, one must always be aware that the Septuagint translators worked with a non-vocalized text, although undoubtedly the *Vorlage* was also part of a tradition of vocalization (Barr 1967: 1–11; Siegert 2001: 125).

Finally, because it is commonly accepted that the Pentateuch was translated first, one has to remember that the techniques used by the translators of this corpus must have influenced the translation process of the other books of the Hebrew Bible. For example, the fact that the translator of Genesis rendered the word *hōrep* ('winter') as *εἶαρ* ('spring') seems to have influenced the translators of Ps. 74(73):17 and Zech. 14:8, who follow this awkward rendering (Siegert 2001: 165; Tov 1999b: 183–94). Closely linked to this matter is the question whether the analysis of the translation technique can be helpful in determining whether a single translator is responsible for the translation of several books (Lemmelijn 2014).

Although the above presentation of the issue of Septuagint translation technique may give the impression that this field of research is rather theoretical and sterile, without concrete implications for biblical exegesis, nothing could be less true. Indeed, biblical exegetes will always have to make a decision which text is to be preferred (textual criticism). However, textual criticism itself requires taking into account the translation technique of the Septuagint (see Chapter 47 in this volume).

SUGGESTED READING

For more detailed discussion of translation technique in general, see Harl 1988: 230–1; Olofsson 1990a and 1992; Jobes and Silva 2000: 114–18; Sollamo 2008; Weissert 1973. In relation to LXX Psalms, see Olofsson (1990b), and for LXX Genesis, Hiebert (2000); LXX Amos, Glennly (2009). Aejmelaeus (1992) notes the interaction of possible different literary editions and translation technique in Exodus.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aejmelaeus, Anneli (1982a). *Parataxis in the Septuagint: A Study of the Renderings of the Hebrew Coordinate Clauses in the Greek Pentateuch*. AASF Dissertationes Humanarum Litterarum 31. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia.
- Aejmelaeus, Anneli (1982b). 'Participium Coniunctum as a Criterion of Translation Technique'. *VT* 32: 385–93.
- Aejmelaeus, Anneli (1987). 'The Significance of Clause Connectors in the Syntactical and Translation-Technical Study of the Septuagint', in C. E. Cox, ed., *Sixth Congress of the IOSCS, Jerusalem, 1986*. SBL SCS 23. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, pp. 361–80.
- Aejmelaeus, Anneli (1992). 'Septuagintal Translation Techniques: A Solution to the Problem of the Tabernacle Account', in G. J. Brooke and B. Lindars, eds., *Septuagint, Scrolls, and Cognate Writings: Papers Presented to the International Symposium on the Septuagint and its Relations to the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Writings (Manchester, 1990)*. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, pp. 381–402.
- Aejmelaeus, Anneli (2001). 'Characterizing Criteria for the Characterization of the Septuagint Translators: Experimenting on the Greek Psalter', in R. J. V. Hiebert, C. E. Cox, and P. J. Gentry, eds., *The Old Greek Psalter: Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma*. JSOT Supp 332. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 54–73.
- Aejmelaeus, Anneli (2007). 'What Can We Know about the Hebrew Vorlage of the Septuagint?', in A. Aejmelaeus, *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators: Collected Essays*. Rev. edn. CBET 50. Leuven, Paris, and Dudley, MA: Peeters, pp. 71–106.
- Aejmelaeus, Anneli, and Raija Sollamo, eds. (1987). *Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen: Studien zur Septuaginta-Syntax. Zu seinem 70. Geburtstag am 4. Juni 1987*. AASF B 237. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia.
- Ausloos, Hans (2008). 'LXX's Rendering of Hebrew Proper Names and the Characterization of the Translation Technique of the Book of Judges', in A. Voitiola and J. Jokiranta, eds., *Scripture in Transition: Essays on Septuagint, Hebrew Bible and Dead Sea Scrolls: Festschrift Raija Sollamo*. JSJ Supp 126. Leiden: Brill, pp. 53–71.
- Ausloos, Hans (2009). 'The Septuagint's Rendering of Hebrew Hapax Legomena and the Characterization of its "Translation Technique": The Case of Exodus'. *Acta Patristica et Byzantina* 20: 360–76.
- Ausloos, Hans (2012a). 'Judges 3:12–30: An Analysis of the Greek Rendering of Hebrew Wordplay', in J. Cook and H.-J. Stipp, eds., *Text-Critical and Hermeneutical Studies in the Septuagint*. SupVT 157. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, pp. 53–68.
- Ausloos, Hans (2012b). 'The Septuagint's Rendering of Hebrew Toponyms as an Indication of the Translation Technique of the Book of Numbers', in A. Piquer Otero and P. A. Torrijano

- Morales, eds., *Textual Criticism and Dead Sea Scrolls: Studies in Honour of Julio Trebolle Barrera. Florilegium Complutense*. SupJSJ 158. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, pp. 35–50.
- Ausloos, Hans, and Bénédicte Lemmelijn (2008). 'Rendering Love: Hapax Legomena and the Characterisation of the Translation Technique of Song of Songs', in H. Ausloos, J. Cook, F. García Martínez, B. Lemmelijn, and M. Vervenne, eds., *Translating a Translation: The LXX and Its Modern Translations in the Context of Early Judaism*. BETL 213. Leuven, Paris, and Dudley, MA: Peeters, pp. 43–61.
- Ausloos, Hans, and Bénédicte Lemmelijn (2010). 'Content-Related Criteria in Characterising the LXX Translation Technique', in W. Kraus, M. Karrer, and M. Meiser, eds., *Die Septuaginta: Texte, Theologien und Einflüsse*. WUNT 252. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 357–76.
- Ausloos, Hans, and Bénédicte Lemmelijn (2012). 'Characterizing the LXX Translation of Judges on the Basis of Content-Related Criteria: The Greek Rendering of Hebrew Absolute Hapax Legomena in Judg 3,12–30', in H. Ausloos, B. Lemmelijn, and J. Trebolle Barrera, eds., *After Qumran: Old and Modern Editions of the Biblical Texts—The Historical Books*. BETL 246. Leuven, Paris, and Walpole, MA: Peeters, pp. 171–92.
- Ausloos, Hans, and Bénédicte Lemmelijn (2016). 'Etymological Translations in the Septuagint', in J. Joosten and E. Bons, eds., *The Language of the Septuagint*. Handbuch zur Septuaginta 2. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlaghaus, pp. 193–201.
- Ausloos, Hans, Bénédicte Lemmelijn, and Valérie Kabergs (2012). 'The Study of Aetiological Wordplay as a Content-Related Criterion in the Characterisation of LXX Translation Technique', in S. Kreuzer, M. Meiser, and M. Sigismund, eds., *Die Septuaginta: Entstehung, Sprache, Geschichte*. WUNT 286. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 273–94.
- Barr, James (1967). 'Vocalization and the Analysis of Hebrew among the Ancient Translators', in B. Hartmann et al., eds., *Hebräische Wortforschung: Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstag von Walter Baumgartner*. SupVT 16. Leiden: Brill, pp. 1–11.
- Barr, James (1979). *The Typology of Literalism in Ancient Biblical Translations*. NAWG 1: Philologisch-historische Klasse, 1979/11. MSU 15. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Dines, Jennifer M. (2004). *The Septuagint*. London: T&T Clark.
- Dirksen, P. B. (2004). 'Canticles', in Adrian Schenker, ed., *Biblia Hebraica quinta editione cum apparatu critico novis curis elaborato: General Introduction and Megilloth: Ruth, Canticles, Qoheleth, Lamentations, Esther*. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft.
- Frankel, Zacharias (1841). *Historisch-kritische Studien zu der Septuaginta nebst Beiträgen zu den Targumim*, Vol. I/1: *Vorstudien zu der Septuaginta*. Leipzig: Vogel.
- Gerleman, Gillis (1965). *Ruth: Das Hohelied*. Biblischer Kommentar. Altes Testament 18. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag des Erziehungsvereins.
- Glenny, W. Edward (2009). *Finding Meaning in the Text: Translation Technique and Theology in the Septuagint of Amos*. SupVT 126. Leiden: Brill.
- Harl, Marguerite (1988). 'La Langue de la Septante', in M. Harl, G. Dorival, and O. Munnich, eds., *La Bible grecque des Septante: Du judaïsme hellénistique au christianisme ancien*. Initiations au christianisme ancien. Paris: Cerf, pp. 223–68.
- Hiebert, Robert J. V. (2000). 'Translation Technique in the Septuagint of Genesis and Its Implications for the NETS Version'. *BIOSCS* 33: 76–93.
- Jobs, Karen, and Moisés Silva (2000). *Invitation to the Septuagint*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker.
- Krašovec, Jože (2010). *The Transformation of Biblical Proper Names*. Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies 418. London and New York, NY: T&T Clark.
- Lemmelijn, Bénédicte (2001). 'Two Methodological Trails in Recent Studies on the Translation Technique of the Septuagint', in R. Sollamo and S. Sipilä, eds., *Helsinki Perspectives on the*

- Translation Technique of the Septuagint*. Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society in Helsinki 82. Helsinki and Göttingen: The Finnish Exegetical Society in Helsinki/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 43–63.
- Lemmelijn, Bénédicte (2007). 'Free and Yet Faithful: On the Translation Technique of LXX Exod 7,14–11,10'. *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 33: 1–32.
- Lemmelijn, Bénédicte (2008). 'Flora in Cantico Canticorum: Towards a More Precise Characterisation of Translation Technique in the LXX of Song of Songs', in A. Voitila and J. Jokiranta, eds., *Scripture in Transition: Essays on Septuagint, Hebrew Bible and Dead Sea Scrolls*. *Festschrift Raija Sollamo*. SupJSJ 126. Leiden: Brill, pp. 27–51.
- Lemmelijn, Bénédicte (2009). *A Plague of Texts? A Text-Critical Study of the So-Called 'Plagues Narrative' in Exodus 7,14–11,10*. Oudtestamentische Studiën/Old Testament Studies 56. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill.
- Lemmelijn, Bénédicte (2014). 'The Greek Rendering of Hebrew Hapax Legomena in LXX Proverbs and Job: A Clue to the Question of a Single Translator?', in K. De Troyer, T. M. Law, and M. Liljeström, eds., *In the Footsteps of Sherlock Holmes: Studies in the Biblical Text in Honour of Anneli Aejmelaeus*. CBET 72. Louvain, Paris, and Walpole, MA: Peeters, pp. 133–50.
- Lust, Johan, Erik Eynikel, and Katrin Hauspie (2003). *Greek–English Lexicon of the Septuagint*. Rev. edn. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft.
- Marquis, Galen (1986). 'Word Order as a Criterion for the Evaluation of Translation Technique in the LXX and the Evaluation of Word-Order Variants as Exemplified in LXX-Ezekiel'. *Textus* 13: 59–84.
- Marquis, Galen (1987). 'Consistency of Lexical Equivalents as a Criterion for the Evaluation of Translation Technique as Exemplified in the LXX of Ezekiel', in C. E. Cox, ed., *Sixth Congress of the IOSCS, Jerusalem, 1986*. SBL SCS 23. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, pp. 405–24.
- Olofsson, Staffan (1990a). *The LXX Version: A Guide to the Translation Technique of the Septuagint*. Coniectanea Biblica, Old Testament Series 30. Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksel.
- Olofsson, Staffan (1990b). *God Is My Rock: A Study of the Translation Technique and Theological Exegesis in the Septuagint*. CBOT 31. Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksel.
- Olofsson, Staffan (1992). 'Consistency as a Translation Technique'. *SJOT* 6: 14–30.
- Pietersma, Albert (1985). 'Septuagint Research: A Plea for a Return to Basic Issues'. *VT* 35: 296–311.
- Pietersma, Albert (2002). 'A New Paradigm for Addressing Old Questions: The Relevance of the Interlinear Model for the Study of the Septuagint', in J. Cook, ed., *Bible and Computer: The Stellenbosch AIBI-6 Conference. Proceedings of the Association Internationale Bible et Informatique 'From Alpha to Byte'*. University of Stellenbosch, 17–21 July 2000. Leiden: Brill, pp. 337–64.
- Siegert, Folker (2001). *Zwischen Hebräischer Bibel und Altem Testament: Eine Einführung in die Septuaginta*. Münster: LIT.
- Sipilä, Seppo (1999). *Between Literalness and Freedom: Translation Technique in the Septuagint of Joshua and Judges Regarding the Clause Connections Introduced by ו and וְ*. Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society 75. Helsinki and Göttingen: The Finnish Exegetical Society/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Sipilä, Seppo (2001). 'The Renderings of the Circumstantial *ky* Clauses in the LXX of Joshua and Judges', in B. A. Taylor, ed., *X Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint*

- and *Cognate Studies*, Oslo, 1998. SBL SCS 51. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, pp. 49–61.
- Soisalon-Soininen, Ilmari (1965). *Die Infinitive in der Septuaginta*. AASF B 132. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia.
- Sollamo, Raija (1979). *Renderings of Hebrew Semiprepositions in the Septuagint*. AASF. *Dissertationes humanarum litterarum* 19. Helsinki: Tiedeakatemia.
- Sollamo, Raija (1985). ‘The LXX Renderings of the Infinitive Absolute Used with a Paronymous Finite Verb in the Pentateuch’, in N. Fernández Marcos, ed., *La Septuaginta en la investigación contemporánea: V Congreso de la IOSCS*. *Textos y Estudios ‘Cardenal Cisneros’* 34. Madrid: Arias Montano, pp. 101–13.
- Sollamo, Raija (2003). ‘The Significance of Septuagint Studies’, in Sh. M. Paul et al., eds., *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov*. SupVT 94. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, pp. 497–512.
- Sollamo, Raija (2008). ‘Translation Technique as a Method’, in H. Ausloos, J. Cook, F. García Martínez, B. Lemmelijn, and M. Vervenne, eds., *Translating a Translation: The LXX and Its Modern Translations in the Context of Early Judaism*. BETL 213. Leuven, Paris, and Dudley, MA: Peeters, pp. 35–41.
- Thiersch, Heinrich W. J. (1841). *De Pentateuchi versione alexandrina: Libri tres*. Erlangen: Blaesing.
- Tov, Emanuel (1997). *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research*. 2nd edn. Jerusalem Biblical Studies 8. Jerusalem: Simor.
- Tov, Emanuel (1999a). ‘The Nature and Study of the Translation Technique of the Septuagint’, in E. Tov, *The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint*. SupVT 72. Leiden: Brill, pp. 239–46.
- Tov, Emanuel (1999b). ‘The Impact of the Septuagint Translation of the Torah on the Translation of the Other Books’, in E. Tov, *The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint*. SupVT 72. Leiden: Brill, pp. 183–94.
- Tov, Emanuel (2012). *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*. 3rd edn. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress.
- Van der Louw, Theo (2007). *Transformations in the Septuagint: Towards an Interaction of Septuagint Studies and Translation Studies*. CBET 47. Leuven: Peeters.
- Verbeke, Elke (2008). ‘The Use of Hebrew Hapax Legomena in Septuagint Studies: Preliminary Remarks on Methodology’, in H. Ausloos, B. Lemmelijn, and M. Vervenne, eds., *Florilegium Lovaniense: Studies in Septuagint and Textual Criticism. Festschrift Florentino García Martínez*. BETL 224. Louvain, Paris, and Dudley, MA: Peeters, pp. 507–21.
- Weissert, David (1973). ‘Alexandrian Analogical Word-Analysis and Septuagint Translation Techniques’. *Textus* 8: 31–44.
- Wevers, John W. (1990). *Notes on the Greek Text of Exodus*. SBL SCS 30. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.
- Wifstrand, Albert (1950). ‘Die Stellung der enklitischen Personalpronomina bei den Septuaginta’, in K. *Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundets i Lund Årsberättelse, II (Bulletin de la Société royale des lettres de Lund)*. Lund: Gleerup, pp. 44–70.
- Wright, Benjamin G. (1987). ‘The Quantitative Representation of Elements: Evaluating “Literalism” in the LXX’, in C. E. Cox, ed., *Sixth Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Jerusalem, 1986*. SBL SCS 23. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, pp. 311–35.

PART III

THE CORPUS
OF THE
SEPTUAGINT

CHAPTER 12

THE PENTATEUCH

DIRK BÜCHNER

INTRODUCTION

ALONG the way of exploring the nature of the Septuagint Pentateuch, one will inevitably stumble across a reference to the crisis that arose in some Jewish circles a century or two after the first five books were translated into Greek. The crisis was this: the Greek Pentateuch did not appear to be particularly accurate as a translation, and it was felt that a revision was necessary, of the same order as the revision that was being made to other parts of the Old Greek (Brock 1992: 302–7; Aejmelaeus 2007: 145).

It is generally assumed that Pseudo-Aristeas's depiction of Septuagintal origins was written in response to this unease. In his famous 'Letter', he assures his audience that although the available Alexandrian Hebrew texts were obviously deficient, the Hebrew manuscript from which the Pentateuch was translated originated from the Jerusalem High Priest himself and was written in nothing less than golden letters. Besides, the translators had only the highest credentials, and therefore no revision was desirable, and cursed be anyone who should try (*Let. Aris.* §§310–11). That solution appeared to settle the issue. Philo made the same argument, as did subsequent Christian writers, who attributed to the LXX Pentateuch the status of inspired Scripture from its inception (Wright 2006: 47–61; Gallagher 2012: 120).

We of course now recognize that Aristeas's purpose was a warning to would-be revisers; not a credible description of the social context in which the LXX Pentateuch came into being. Whether or not we may interpret his vigorous defence to be a reflection of the status enjoyed by the Greek Pentateuch over against the rest of the LXX (see the discussion in Gallagher 2012: 152–64), it offers us an analogy by which to imagine what kind of apology the Pentateuch translators themselves might have made for their product and mode of work. That is what this chapter will try to do.

There are two questions that will continue to surface. First, would the Alexandrian translators have held a text written in Hebrew in the same high regard as translators working in Palestine a century or so later? Second, did they hold the same attitude to translation as their successors who regarded their Scriptures as being closer in kind to law than to literature, and thus requiring as literal a rendition as possible? Trying to answer these questions might help us determine what kind of relationship existed between early and later works of translation into Greek, and what we may know about each in relation to the other (cf. Brock 1972: 17; 1979: 73). The degree to which the Greek Pentateuch exerted influence on subsequent translation is to some extent balanced out by the degree to which it served as something on which to improve, as it were. And so it may be problematic at the outset to read the technique of the Pentateuch against, or in the light of, later praxis, since later translational activity had significantly more precedent on which to draw and more explicit cultural environments by which we are able to judge it.

TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE

The translation technique of the Greek Pentateuch is characterized by a beautiful unpredictability and variety, not only within its books but also between them. The modern reader wanting a comprehensive picture of this technique will have to be content with one that is both composite and partial. But the best place to begin is at the language level. The Greek produced by the Pentateuch translators was identical with the Koine of the period. Not only that, but we can tell by comparison with contemporary documents that the translators were in command of a superior level of Greek. Their choice of style and vocabulary was sophisticated and could only have resulted from a sound knowledge of the Classical texts, and from formal training in Greek composition (Lee 2018: 79–182). Having also an understanding of the finer nuances of Hebrew syntax they provided intuitive Greek responses. For instance, they made use of particles, rendered the Hebrew bound (‘construct’) formation with the Greek genitive as well as with other more idiomatic constructions; used subordination to account for parataxis in Hebrew (e.g. Exod. 2:5); utilized case endings instead of prepositions, especially when verbs in the target language take their direct object in cases other than the accusative; and omitted pronouns in keeping with Greek usage (Seeligman 1990: 216–19, Aejmelaeus 2007: 62, cf. Evans 2001: 259; Soisalon-Soininen 1987: 70–84; Lemmelijn 2007: 13–26).

With perhaps no model to follow other than the glossing of the Homeric text in Hellenistic schools (cf. Boyd-Taylor 2006: 27–9), the Pentateuch translators worked in creative ways with little rigidity, in a manner that has been described by Barr as improvised and carefree, ad hoc, combining literal and free approaches without a definite policy, and one that proceeds in a quite inconsequential way (1979: 280–1). This spontaneity gave rise to a wide variety of results. Within the same book may be found excellent free renderings as well as Hebraisms, e.g. in a single verse (Lev. 23:22) *b-* + infinitive con-

struct as an expression of time is rendered by ἐν τῷ + infinitive as well as by the temporal adverb ὅταν. Hebrew ‘to be pleasing in someone’s sight’ is translated both literally and idiomatically (compare Gen. 34:18, 41:37 with 45:16). The use of the Hebrew *lamed* of the dative goal is commonly represented by εἰς to produce unusual Greek expressions like εἰς ὀλοκαύτωμα (Lev. 1:10) and εἰς γυναῖκα (Gen. 34:4), but elsewhere the Hebrew construction is rendered by a regular accusative, e.g. ἀνοίσει ὁ ἱερεὺς...κάρπωμα ὀσμὴ εὐωδίας of Lev. 3:16 or ἔδωκεν αὐτὴν...αὐτῷ γυναῖκα in Gen. 16:3. The Hebrew convention of employing the object marker after a passive (GKC §121) elicited a variety of responses. The Leviticus translator at one point allowed an intrusive objective accusative to occur with the Greek passive in 13:55 μετὰ τό πλυθῆναι αὐτὸ τήν ἀφήν (cf. also v. 56) but elsewhere he altered the verb from passive to active (Lev. 2:8, 6:13). Other translators preferred to change the noun’s case to nominative to avoid the problem (Exod. 25:28, Num. 26:55).

The difficulty in deciding the gender of pronouns and adjectives appearing with feminine σάρξ (e.g. in Lev. 13:18–24) and feminine ψυχή (Lev. 7:20–7) when they refer to a male person in Hebraic style produced mixed results, and often both genders appear in the same verse. On the clausal level, a verb like ποιέω in the sense of ‘do for’ might take the dative in Hebraic style (Lev. 16:16) but elsewhere the accusative in keeping with regular usage (Lev. 4:20). The same is true for λανθάνω with accusative in the sense of ‘escape someone’s notice’ in Lev. 5:3, 4, 5, 15, but this correct usage is slightly marred by a prepositional phrase in v. 4 and an adverbial dative in v. 15, the latter two responding to features present in the Hebrew (Huber 1916: 33–50 and 69, against Thackeray 1909: 46; Aejmelaeus 2007: 20, 60; Brock 1979: 72). Probably the most striking aspect of the Greek Pentateuch, and one which is the hardest to explain in any systematic way, is this inconsistency. On the linguistic level alone, none of its books exactly fits the mould of literal or free translation (cf. Brock 1972: 26).

A general principle that would account for this state of affairs is offered by Brock: the Pentateuch translators were reluctant to make a firm commitment to literalism on the one hand and free renderings on the other. If there were any contemporary standard for them to follow, it would have been the Alexandrian practice of rendering legal texts with a higher degree of literalness than literary texts, though their source material offered them a rather greater diversity of genres. Nevertheless, it tended to be their rule of thumb to be more literal in translating legal texts compared to narratives (Brock 1972: 20 and n. 3). What can be asserted with confidence is that they had no noticeable *modus operandi*, except to work in an ad hoc fashion with fairly short bits of text, maintaining a high degree of formal equivalency between source and target language, or what Barr calls following a basically literal approach (Barr 1979: 280–1; Van Der Louw 2007: 150; Boyd-Taylor 2004b: 150).

Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen, to whom much is owed in modern Septuagint scholarship, began in a methodical way to catalogue and articulate the manner in which the pioneer translators went at their work. Of his students, Anneli Aejmelaeus greatly refined and applied his principles to present Septuagint scholarship with a more detailed and precise formulation of translation technique (Aejmelaeus 2007). Soisalon-Soininen boiled it

down to the notion that the translators worked in a forward direction with what he termed ‘translation units’. Once a unit was translated, it tended to remain in memory. Yet frequently and unpredictably, translators severed mental contact with previous phrases, as we shall see below. This is how Soisalon-Soininen describes their activity:

Die Übersetzer haben nicht in Erwägung gezogen, wie sie diesen oder jenen Ausdruck übersetzen sollten. Sie haben...den Hebräischen Text in kurzen Abschnitten gelesen und ihn gleich in Griechischen übersetzt, wie es ihnen am besten erschien. (1987: 88)

Occasionally, however, it is apparent that more than one clause was taken into consideration which then resulted in a good syntactical product, particularly in a book like Exodus. But this did not happen as a rule. Working clause by clause, translators tended to oscillate between a close precision and freedom when it came to selection of words and employment of grammatical devices. One notices this within books themselves and also more widely between the Pentateuchal books over against one another. Tjén refers to it as a case of mixed motivation—at times they would employ natural Greek syntax and at others they would allow the source text to interfere. There is no evidence that one strategy establishes itself over time. The Genesis translator at first represents the Semitic designation for age by means of *υἱός*... *ἐτῶν* in Gen. 11:10 but shortly after selects a more natural Greek formulation in 12.4, which remains in effect for the remainder of the translation. But the opposite is also true, as Lee observes (2018: 213): the same translator renders the Hebrew expression ‘do again’ in an idiomatic fashion by means of the adverb *πάλιν* in 8:10 but then, two verses later, defaults to the Hebraic use of *προστίθεμι* with infinitive. This demonstrates an important aspect of the translators’ mode of work. They adhered to a more or less literalistic policy, but exercised the freedom to deviate from it at will and express themselves in better Greek (Lee 2018: 212–15; Van der Louw 2007: 124; Tjén 2010: 2–3; Aejmelaeus 2007: 9, 29; Soisalon-Soininen 1987: 88–103; Tov 1999: 251).

Certain equivalences, once established, do tend to become more or less permanent features and are often in Aejmelaeus’s words ‘worked to death’ (2007: 19). This results in syntactic and lexical matches that cause the modern interpreter occasional unease. When Genesis provides *πρό τοῦ* consistently as a gloss for *terem*, it has the mark of deliberate matching, since the Greek expression did not mean precisely what the Hebrew meant. The same is true for the high incidence of matching *κί* with *ὅτι* when *γάρ* would have been semantically more fitting, or matching *ḥattā’t* with *ἁμαρτία* when a word like *σφάγιον* would have expressed the precise sense of the Hebrew. The same may be said of many other matches, e.g. *gēr* ‘sojourner’ and *προσήλυτος* ‘newcomer’, *gāal* ‘redeem; act as kinsman’ and *ἀγχιστεύω* ‘be next of kin’, *kippēr* ‘cover over, pacify, make propitiation’ and *ἐξιλάσκομαι* ‘appease’, some of which will be given more attention below. This phenomenon of habitual or stereotypical matching calls for some reflection on the matter of intentionality.

For the most part, the translators would have shrugged their shoulders at the suggestion that they *intended* to do this or that. When they followed the Hebrew word order, it

may have been the result of nothing more than habit and the quest for an easy technique, i.e. more by way of convenience than by deliberate moves towards literalism or creativity. No doubt the same is true for their choice of lexical matches that achieved a high level of consistency—such matches could simply be used without any kind of strain on intelligibility. One thinks of *χείλος* for *šāfā*, *πρόσωπον* for *ʾappayim*, *πνεῦμα* for *rūah* and *ψυχή* for *nepēš*. And similarly, following the pattern of Hebrew verbal syntax allowed considerable scope for perfectly natural Greek to result. Translators were not being purposefully literalistic by rendering apodotic *wāw* with *καί*, or by using the aorist instead of the imperfect. Neither did their preference for the article to stand in for the nominal relative clause come about as a result of a conscious decision to be free. Van der Louw calls it a translation strategy by which the maximum effect is achieved with the least effort (Van der Louw 2007: 111–20, cf. Evans 2001: 261; Barr 1979: 300–7; Aejmelaeus 2007: 16, 64).

Where there are noticeable and even large-scale differences between source text and target text, one is in a stronger position to identify intentionality. Boyd-Taylor provides an example of the Exodus translator, who appears to follow the rather improbable use of *λίψ* made by the translator of Genesis, but then corrects it rather cleverly by shifting the points of the compass so that north is seaward (2004a: 62–70). In many cases such purposeful activity may be confirmed by comparison with external evidence. And, needless to say, the opposite may be true for those cases in which translators resorted to the convenient technique of depending in dutiful fashion on tried and tested equivalents held in memory. They deferred any kind of interpretation by simply passing on their own difficulties to their readership.

But it is worth recognizing that the translators' overall preference for representing the Hebrew in a closely equivalent manner betrays a conscious and deliberate strategy on their part. A few examples will bring this into sharper focus. For a woman having her period, Hebrew employs various circumlocutions. The Leviticus translator may have chosen a familiar Greek equivalent such as *γυνή ἔμμενος* but carefully transposes elements of these Hebrew compound expressions into Greek, e.g. 'a woman in the separation of her uncleanness' (Lev. 18:19) and 'a woman who sits apart' (Lev. 20:18). Similarly, for the act of intercourse he faithfully emulates the Hebrew idiom, producing expressions like 'giving the bed of seed' (Lev. 18:20) or 'approach someone to uncover shame' (Lev. 18.6) instead of employing the native Greek noun *συνουσία* or the verb *μίγνυμι*. So too, in rendering Hebrew terms for the Sanctuary, the translators of Exodus and Leviticus prefer words like the substantivized neuter adjective *ἄγιον* that make an etymological connection to the words in the source text. Other, well-known Greek words for sanctuaries, *ναός*, *τέμενος*, *ιερόν*, *οἶκος ἱερός*, are not found in the LXX. On the clause level, the Pentateuch translators take care to render in full the Hebrew relative pleonasm, e.g. *ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ οὐ ἐὰν ἐπονομάσω τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐκεῖ* (Exod. 20:24), as well as the Hebrew convention of combining two verbs of motion such as *πορευθέντες ἦλθον* (Brock 1979: 80; Soisalon-Soininen 1987: 35; Aejmelaeus 2007: 6).

The point is that if the Alexandrian translators knew Greek better than Hebrew, and produced their translation for an audience of which the same was true, they would not

with such regularity have produced syntax and idiom of reduced literary quality unless there was a rationale for it that was culturally sanctioned and conditioned. Of such a cultural context for the translation process we know very little, and it is quite likely that some inner-Jewish needs provided the impetus for the project (cf. the discussion in Kreuzer 2004: 7–75). If the Canopus Decree or the Rosetta Stone were the closest models of contemporary translation efforts, the most that we may notice from them as analogous to the Greek Pentateuch is that the earlier translations tended to be less consistent than the later ones (Brock 1979: 188). But it is of Pentateuchal translation technique that we know a great deal, so that we may make some fairly solid inferences regarding cultural expectations of the time (Boyd-Taylor 2006: 24–5). For instance, we are able to say with a high level of confidence that what may be called the *causal* intention (to use Boyd-Taylor's words in private correspondence), i.e. that which gave rise to the translation, can be broadly characterized as one that seeks to create a product more or less quantitatively equivalent to the source text. In other words, the language of the Greek Pentateuch is not wholly employed in a conventional manner within its native context but rather with a deliberate goal of replicating the conventions of the original (cf. Brock 1972: 17). Even when this does not happen in hyper-literalistic fashion, it may be seen in the following example. Aejmelaeus notices that Exodus employs three distinct solutions for the Hebrew expression *nāšā' lēb* 'to lift up the heart', and it certainly demonstrates the translator's resistance to literalism (2007: 62). But in each of these cases exactly two words in Greek account for the two words in Hebrew. It therefore reminds us of what Barr argued from LXX Proverbs: there appears to be in the Septuagint a concern for what he calls 'one-for-one representation' even in works that may be called free (1979: 280). In Exod. 36:2, the third of Aejmelaeus's examples, the Hebrew expression 'to be heart-stirred' (*nēšā' libbô*) is expressed by *ἐκουσίως βουλομένους*. This is of some significance because the verb 'to be willing' without the adverb would have adequately accounted for the entire Hebrew expression. Nevertheless, it was important to have a pair of words account for a pair of words. In fact, the entire verse is a fine example of quantitative equivalence. The way in which this formal correspondence manifests itself in the Septuagint has been variously named linguistic isomorphism, interference from the source text, adherence to the word-classes of the source text, serial fidelity, retention of its syntactic matrix, linguistic subservience (Hiebert 2006: 88; Boyd-Taylor 2004b: 158; Pietersma and Wright 2006: xiii–xx; Van der Louw 2007: 114–20; cf. Evans 2001: 129ff.; Perkins 2017; Barr 1979: 316, though with reference to Targum).

Within the rule of quantitative representation, some latitude is observable regarding the translators' concern to express precisely what the Hebrew communicates. An example is the burglar's case found in Exod. 22:1–2 (2–3 English versions). Reading the Hebrew and Greek clause by clause, one can clearly see the intention of retaining the parent text's overall structure. What appears to be of lesser importance is to transmit its precise sense. If anyone would call it carelessness, the translator would argue in his defence that he rendered his parent text quite faithfully on the formal level as was expected of him. Where the Hebrew case begins with a thief apprehended in the act of burglary, in Greek the thief is apprehended at the point of entry. Supposing the thief is

beaten in the dark and dies, the Hebrew is clear that there is no blood guilt adhering to the owner of the property. But the referent of the pronoun ‘to him’ in the Greek οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῷ φόνος is ambiguous. As the argument develops in the following verse, the Hebrew term for assuming blood guilt, already rendered by φόνος in the previous sentence, is now translated obliquely by the adjective ἔνοχος ‘liable’. Conversely, what is open-ended in the Hebrew requirement of full restitution is made explicit in Greek: he must die in recompense. One may therefore conclude that this piece of legislation in Greek, viewed purely on its own, cannot provide sufficient clues about the intention of its framer. When viewed with an eye on the Hebrew, however, the translator’s rationale seems to be a loose matching of clauses, or as Brock put it, rendering the word at the expense of the sense (1972: 16). If this passage provides a clue towards meaning, meaning cannot be said to reside solely in the words of the translated text, but in the fact of the translated text’s relation to its original.

EXEGESIS?

Such cases raise the question of how the modern interpreter is to weigh the matter of theological interpretation as a mark of intentionality. Instances of exegesis are not hard to find in the LXX Pentateuch. But there are also countless cases that may have been exploited for theological purposes but were not (cf. Barr 1979: 318 referring to Aquila). More seriously, there are instances, particularly in the legal parts of the Greek Pentateuch, that are so lacking in clarity that the reader must discard the thought that they were designed to function as the kind of rules a community could live by. The student of the Septuagint must therefore keep a careful eye on the linguistic information before being persuaded in the direction of interpretive intentionality (Pietersma 2006: 33–45).

This is not to deny the possibility that theological interpretation lies behind many readings found in the Greek Pentateuch. Rabin long ago pointed out that it contains renderings incorporating midrashic and halakhic teachings, which prefigured later translational praxis typified by Aquila (1968: 21; cf. Büchner 1997a and 1997b). On the simplest level, for instance, the translator of Exod. 2:1 tries to be contextually relevant by clarifying the Hebrew expression ‘daughter of Levi’ used of Moses’s mother. He pluralizes with τῶν θυγατέρων Λεβὶ since it expresses more accurately one of the female clan members of Leui (Perkins 2017: 72). Viewing the book as a whole, Perkins finds that the Exodus translator does not hesitate to shape the meaning of his translation in a theological direction that preserves the piety of important figures and safeguards the sanctity of the Deity’s person. In other words, the translator was doing more than working on a clause-by-clause level but also taking into consideration the larger context (2013: 17–47). Many more examples of interpretation are listed in Dogniez and Harl (2001) and Wevers (1990–7; cf. also Rösel 1994; Hiebert 2006: 93–102; Aejmelaeus 2007: 64–5; Jobes and Silva 2000: 93–102). Such evidence creates the impression that the Greek Pentateuch was intended to be, and functioned as a source of, theological information for a living

community, and no doubt there were reading communities for whom it played a normative role.

But it is of equal importance that we make the opposing case: the intention of the translators was clearly something else besides cultural adaptation or the production of theological meaning. Among a host of others, two examples from Leviticus will serve to illustrate this. In both of them, a Greek reader wanting the LXX to communicate a theologically clear message would have been unsatisfied. The first deals with blame incurred following a failure to act upon certain matters of conscience (Lev. 5:1–5) and the second contains regulations for an offering (Leviticus ch. 3). In both cases translators may be said not to have given much thought to legal exactitude, and curiously so, since it was of such importance to later Judaism. Gooding was right to observe that the Alexandrian scholars were so unlike others before and after them (1959: 10–12)!

The Hebrew of Lev. 5:1 is somewhat unclear but gives the impression that the adjuration is made by a judge and that the oath is to testify in a tribunal. The translator's choice of vocabulary does nothing to clarify the Hebrew, and the modern reader may be tempted to seek help from the Hebrew context, something Barr warns against (1968: 379–81). The specialized meaning of *higgîd* 'testify' is not attested for ἀπαγγέλλω, which is 'to inform' (Muraoka 2009: 62). So while the Hebrew leaves little doubt that the adjuration is directed at the witness, and that his offence is a refusal to testify, this is not so obvious to a Greek speaker. Instead of employing a word more suited to the legal semantic field such as μαρτυρέω, the translator preferred to maintain a more translation-specific match between *higgîd* and ἀπαγγέλλω, already a precedent for the Genesis translator, and one to which later translators adhered with little deviation. The resultant sacro-legal fault presented in Greek is a rather vague one in which someone neglects to report an oath heard in passing, hardly a blameworthy act at all.

In v. 4 the verb indicating the action of the lips, διαστέλλω, occurs in standard usage with the meaning 'distinguish, define precisely' or 'command expressly' with a direct object, as well as in the absolute sense of 'be distinctive' (LSJ)—the best fit for this context. That is quite distant from the Hebrew 'speak rashly', and recalls a premeditated or resolute act, as opposed to an oath made on the spur of the moment. Next, the Hebrew *āšēm* rendered by Milgrom as 'feels guilt' (1991: 339 cf. NRSV 'shall be guilty') is altogether different, legally speaking, from Greek ἀμαρτάνω (NETS 'should sin'). This shift in emphasis is further compounded by the translator reading the final *wāw* clause of v. 4 not as introducing an apodosis leading the precedent to a close, but instead as a continuation of the protasis, i.e. as an additional failure that precedes the pronouncement of culpability requiring the penalty in v. 5.

In brief, then, the condition of v.1 makes the person concerned appear more like a witness in a bystander's role rather than a witness called to testify in a court setting. The second condition (vv. 4–5) has a distinct emphasis through the extended use of the subjunctive. It is more focused on wrongs committed rather than the matter of guilt attracted, or else the translator might have employed a field-specific expression

such as ἐν τῷ ἄγει + ἐνέχσθαι found in Herodotus, *Hist.* 6.56. By his choices he cannot be said to provide a Greek substitute for a Hebrew legal case that could function theologically or satisfy a community's juridical needs. His activity was found on the linguistic level, at which Hebrew vocabulary is loosely substituted with Greek vocabulary. In so doing he fashions a Greek overlay for the Hebrew legal precedent, not intended as a replacement for it, but rather as a frame that draws the reader to the Hebrew (to borrow an expression from Brock 1972: 17). If with our modern sensibilities we ask how he could have produced such a careless treatment of the Hebrew, especially since one expects of legal precedent more precise formulation, he, like his colleague who translated Exodus, would have replied that he was faithfully rendering his text.

Next, if a Greek-speaking Jew went to LXX Leviticus ch. 3, wanting some guidelines for carrying out the Hebrew sacrifice of deliverance, she would be somewhat puzzled. The Hebrew ritual is an alimentary sacrifice; in Greek it is called a *θυσία σωτηρίου* and here the problem begins. Alexandrian Jews would have understood a *σωτήριον* to be a civic sacrifice of release, usually performed by dignitaries according to a set calendar (Daniel 1966: 279 n. 23). Knowing what a *σωτήριον* is, the reader would have found Leviticus ch. 3 to deal instead with the workings of a regular Greek *θυσία* in which the deity receives a burnt offering of the choice parts and the rest of the animal is eaten afterwards by the wider gathering. She may have wondered why the ritual was not correctly called a *θυσία* and not the strange hybrid. The reason is because the Hebrew ritual is named a *zēbah šēlāmim* for which the translator supplied a corresponding pair of words in Greek. Next, she would have discovered that the sacred portion set aside for the Deity is not called by the usual Greek term *γέρας*, *ἄργματα*, or *θυελαί*, but instead by *κάρπωμα*, suggesting an altogether different procedure. Again the reason is that the Hebrew *ʾiššē* and *κάρπωμα* had become a tried and tested pairing by then. We can only conclude that the translator intended not to create a culturally or technically accurate portrayal of a ritual, as much as to provide a conduit to the language units of the source text through etymologizing or through existing translational precedent. Here we may call upon Boyd-Taylor's distinction between field-specific vocabulary and translation-specific vocabulary (2004b: 154). The inescapable impression left by these two examples (and they are by no means isolated), is that the translator satisfied cultural expectations other than the one suggested, i.e. that of a curious Jewish-Greek reader wanting to live by the Septuagint as Scripture. This then raises the question about meaning.

Anneli Aejmelaeus set out the problem as follows: an ideal of any translation is that the meaning of the source text is also the meaning of the target text. In the case of the LXX the two differ and so the only meaning that we can determine is the meaning of the target text. In many cases the Greek product is not what the Hebrew means and therefore 'the Greek cannot be interpreted in accordance with the Hebrew' (2007: 66–7). That is to say, the meaning of the Greek cannot be interpreted according to the meaning of the Hebrew, or the function of item *x* in the Hebrew cannot determine the function of item *y* in Greek.

To take this a step further and ask on what level the Septuagint was intended to be a communicator of meaning, two matters need to be clarified. The first is the fact that meaning cannot be determined by the Hebrew (as if *πρό τοῦ* means everything that *terem* means, or that *ἀπαγγέλλω* means everything *higgid* does). The second is the fact that that *πρό τοῦ* in anomalous usage can only be explained by the presence of *terem* in the source text, or the Greek relative pleonasm by the presence of corresponding Hebrew items. Therefore meaning must be seen in terms of the connection that exists between source text and target text, as the above examples made clear. It is not enough to say that translators failed to recognize the meaning of this or that syntactical feature or lexical item since they rendered it so out of habit. They would not have habitually rendered something incorrectly if their goal was to convey the meaning of their source, and knowing this, deliberately avoided employing field-specific vocabulary, for instance.

Directly related to that is the degree of prestige accorded by Alexandrian Jewish culture to the Hebrew Pentateuch, whatever form that may have taken (cf. Karrer and Kraus 2008: 12–22). Brock has convincingly argued that such prestige accounts for a translational convention that requires the reader to be brought to the source text, or as Boyd-Taylor puts it, one in which a translation ‘mediates recourse’ to its parent (Brock 1972: 17; Boyd-Taylor 2004b: 150).

THE QUESTION OF AUDIENCE

This allows us to venture a guess as to precisely who the translation’s intended recipients were. Though Hebrew would have had far greater prestige in Palestine, whose population probably was bilingual, and while Alexandrian Jews would have had hardly any knowledge of Hebrew, the fact remains that the language of the Pentateuch is noticeably dependent on the shape of its original. Translations of this nature, though somewhat distant from extremely literal products, nevertheless bear the mark of community expectations characterized by a high regard for the original. Perhaps, then, the LXX Pentateuch was intended for a learned audience of the middle class, perhaps a bilingual one, whose intellectual interests were served by Alexandrian Jewish education, or what Rösel calls *Schulwese*, *muséion*, and library (1994: 258, cf. also Rabin 1968: 21 and Fernández Marcos 2009). For some time now Brock has mooted the educational realm as the context in which Graeco-Roman bilingual activity took place, particularly the literal kind in which readers are brought to a parent text. This has been taken up by Pietersma in a more theoretical way as a heuristic model for the linguistic make-up of the Septuagint. The Septuagint may have functioned in an advanced Hellenistic educational setting, in the same role that Homer played for advanced Greek students (Brock 1972; Pietersma 2002: 343–8).

KNOWLEDGE OF HEBREW

With all of the above in mind, some attention can now be given to what we may infer about the Pentateuch translators' knowledge of Hebrew, as a way to form an idea of how Hebrew grammar and syntax was understood at the time. Let us take as our starting point the cautionary approach that has become a working model in LXX scholarship: using the Greek as a basis upon which to conclude anything at all about the Hebrew is precarious at best unless one knows what the inner-translational factors are at work in any given book (Tov 1997:40; Soisalon-Soininen 1987: 41; Aejmelaeus 2007: 72). Also essential is Barr's dictum that what appears at first glance to be free may in actual fact be a careful practice of accounting more creatively for Hebrew items, one for one (1979: 280).

The translators' understanding of Hebrew syntax has received well-deserved attention in the last few decades. Without a doubt they understood Hebrew syntax but did not always consider it necessary to be too pedantic about how to represent it. Quantitative representation with varying degrees of literalism seemed a more worthy goal. In addition to the countless examples cited by Huber, Soisalon-Soininen, Aejmelaeus, and others, one or two can be highlighted here. In Genesis the Hebrew copula expressing attendant circumstance followed by *wāw* and a main verb is fairly rigidly rendered by ἐγένετο followed by a finite verb. But in five instances ἐγένετο is omitted, resulting in good Greek (Hiebert 2006: 87–8). In Lev. 4:2, Hebrew partitive *min* is found in a predicative position to imply the indefinite 'any one of'. The translator responds with ἀπό which, though sharing the Hebrew preposition's partitive force, is not ordinarily found introducing the predicate, and more importantly, cannot express the indefinite (Joüon §133e; Huber 1916: 60; Soisalon-Soininen 1987: 166). It is therefore used purely mechanically in this instance. But in a complete about-turn he renders the *mē'āḥat* at the end of the verse idiomatically by the Greek indefinite εἷς τις 'any one'. He, like the Genesis translator, opts against a consistent or predictable way of representing Hebrew syntax. Instead he offers two alternative ways of representing a Hebrew syntactic feature in the same verse, which is intended to be of greater value than the former. In his work on conditionals, Tjen also points out this dual characteristic of Pentateuchal attitudes towards Hebrew syntax—the amount of interference from the source language varies significantly (Tjen 2010: 2–3).

INFLUENCE OF THE LXX PENTATEUCH ON LATER LXX TRANSLATORS

After the Pentateuch, things change. Scholars are in agreement that later translational praxis resorted to increased literalism. As an example, the Pentateuch contains two-thirds of all cases in the LXX in which Hebrew coordinate clauses are rendered by the

adverbial participle. Its translators resisted employing the literalistic use of participles for Hebrew infinitive absolute + main verbs, and, as mentioned before, they prefer *γάρ* over *ὅτι* in cases of less direct causality. When these phenomena fall out of favour after the Pentateuch it reflects a loss of nerve and a shift towards greater accuracy in cultural terms. Lexical studies contribute to this picture in significant ways.

Much recent work has been done on the translators' lexical knowledge of Hebrew and how they responded in Greek (Lee 1983; 2010; Büchner 2004; Boyd-Taylor 2001; Tov 1999: 183–94). To a large extent we are dealing with unknowns and much work still remains. Brock raised the possibility that the translators understood certain Hebrew constructions as Egyptianisms, while Joosten and others have done significant work to show that translators' choice of pairings are the result of knowing later Hebrew or Aramaic semantic values (Joosten 2000: 126–9). From the Pentateuch itself, the following approaches to lexical meaning may be highlighted. Occasionally translators were uncertain about the meaning of some words and terms, just as modern translators are, and made educated guesses, or simply passed on their difficulties to the reader (Tov 1999: 204–6). Sometimes they resorted to stock equivalents without being too concerned whether or not the precise sense of the Hebrew was conveyed, e.g. *ὄσφύς* in Lev. 3:9 when *ὀσρά* would have been more anatomically correct (cf. Tov 1999: 90). Many times they provided renditions that were oriented to the target audience. In Gen. 42:21, for example, the plural adjective *ʾššēmîm* 'guilty' gave rise to *ἐν ἁμαρτία*, an expression found also in Polybius, *Hist.* 8.8 *ἐν ἁμαρτία γεγονέναι*, denoting an action that is blameworthy or deserving of censure, as opposed to one that is *ἐν ἐπαίνῳ* i.e. praiseworthy.

But the question that might yield the most useful results for our present purpose is the extent to which the Pentateuch's lexical stock was found useful by later translators. There is no reason to doubt Rabin's notion that the Greek Pentateuch became a sub-language for biblical translation and provided verbal linkage for those that followed it, and this was taken a step further in Tov's detailed chapter on the impact of the translated Pentateuch (Rabin 1968: 22; Tov 1999: 183–94). But it is worth pointing out a number of cases in which later translators are seen to prefer finding their own equivalents for important Hebrew concepts. As background to this one might recall some uncertainty expressed over the evidence for the assumption that the Pentateuch ever served as a sort of lexicon, or that translators would have used word lists (Barr 1979: 310 n. 2, also Tov 1984: 54 n. 1). The Hebrew verb *hōdâ* 'confess; thank; praise' occurs only twice in the Pentateuch, i.e. at Gen. 29:35 and 49:8. It is rendered by *ἐξομολογέω* 'confess' in the first instance, probably based on a lexical meaning found in Late Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic (Tov 1999: 115–21), and by *αἰνέω* 'praise' in the second; and perhaps the latter rendering would have been a better fit at 29:35. Since the translator did not go back and correct what had already been done, it stayed. What were later translators to follow? By all accounts, *ἐξομολογέω* won the day, and is employed without care in contexts where *αἰνέω* would have been more suitable, particularly in the Psalms. But some translators broke the mould and decided for *αἰνέω*, most notably in LXX Nehemiah and Isaiah.

Sacrificial and allied terminology stands out in this regard and is worthy of special notice. In the Pentateuch *kippēr* ('cleanse; appease') is matched virtually without exception by *ἐξιλάσκομαι*, a verb meaning to appease or pacify, and with reference to people or deities, rather than abstracts or objects. It does not share with the Hebrew verb the meaning 'to cleanse', and therefore must have caused some unease for translators depending on the Pentateuch (cf. Büchner 2010). We notice that later translators were indeed divided over whether or not to follow the Pentateuch's example in this case. At Dan. 9:24 the abstract 'sin' is the direct object of the Hebrew verb (NRSV 'to atone for iniquity'). Because the book of Daniel was translated twice, it has the potential to be a source for divergent attitudes towards the meaning of words. And, as expected, the OG at that verse renders the sense of the Hebrew by means of *ἀπαλείφω* i.e. 'wipe off, expunge'. Daniel-'Theodotion', on the other hand, resorts to the pattern found in the Pentateuch and employs *ἐξιλάσκομαι* which is jarring to a Greek ear. This example is representative of the ancient scholarly divide. On the side of the OG are the translators of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Proverbs who try to convey the contextual meaning of the Hebrew verb when it means to cleanse, as follows: Isa. 6:7 by means of *περικαθαρίζω*, Isa. 22:4 by *ἀφήμι*, Isa. 28:18 by *ἀφαιρέω*, and Isa. 47:11 by *καθαρὰ γενέσθαι*; Jer. 18:23 by *ἀθώω*; Prov. 15:27 by *ἀποκαθαίρω*. In Prov. 16:14 *ἐξιλάσκομαι* occurs but it is because the Hebrew there means 'appease'! On the side of Daniel-'Theodotion' we find Psalms, I Reigns, Ezekiel, and Chronicles in which every single occurrence of *kippēr* is rendered by the compound verb *ἐξιλάσκομαι* according to the pattern set by the Pentateuch (although Psalms prefers the simplex verb). A full treatment is found in Büchner 2010.

A similar set of attitudes is to be seen in the sacrifice of release, the *σωτήριον*, mentioned briefly above (section 'Exegesis?'). In the Pentateuch it is the default representation of Hebrew *šēlāmīm*. The translators of Reigns and Proverbs preferred the more etymologically 'accurate' term *εἰρηνικός*. Curiously, this choice cannot be classed as a semantic improvement, since it is felt that the original rendition probably shows a better understanding of the obscure Hebrew term. Over against them, the translators of Joshua, Chronicles, and Ezekiel followed Pentateuchal convention.

A last case to mention is *āšēm* 'offend; be guilty' and its rendition into Greek. The verbal form evokes the reaching of a state of obligation resulting from a realization of guilt. Jenni and Westermann speak of 'das Schuldpflichtigwerden', for the verb and for the noun *āšām* ('offence; guilt') 'das Schuldverpflichtetsein' (ThWAT, 254; italics original). The Leviticus translator was the one who first selected for it the equivalents *πλημμελέω* and *πλημμελεία*, which mean 'to err, do wrong, offend' and 'error, mistake', respectively. Admittedly, there is isolated evidence for involuntary meanings such as 'be in error, be mistaken' in performing a certain act, or of 'going wrong'. But the sense implying voluntary wrongdoing is far more frequently attested for this word (Büchner 2013: 534–7). What we have here is therefore a case of predictable matching over semantic equivalence. As in the previous examples, *πλημμελέω* ceased over time to be regarded as a suitable bearer of semantic and theological information for the LXX's receptor communities. The Greek verb and its cognate noun are virtually absent

outside the LXX Pentateuch. Later translators and interpreters found other more suitable matches such as *ἀδικέω*, *ἀμαρτίαν ἔχειν*, or the adjective *ἔνοχος*. Philo uses *πλημμελέω* only in the normal sense of doing wrong and injuring, and the verb and its noun are absent from the NT.

Thus one observes a number of tendencies and counter-tendencies at work in translators who had access to the lexical heritage of the Greek Pentateuch. If or when they decided not to emulate it, they oscillated between resorting to greater literalistic ‘correctness’ and replacing Pentateuchalisms with more meaningful options. How long, then, was the reach of Pentateuchal approaches to translation? The short answer is that the Pentateuch did provide the foundation for later praxis, but also provided later translators with something to assail and correct, as often happens when creativity runs up against conservatism. As Barr and others have shown, early strata of the LXX exhibit little striving for constancy in word-equivalence while later strata exhibit a greater concern for accuracy. The latter built on what were initially the practical considerations of the Pentateuch translators and became more deliberately literalistic, some going further even than Aquila (Barr 1979: 310–12). Soisalon-Soininen characterizes this latter tendency as a principal decision to pay more attention to close rendering of every element of the Urtext. The very literal translator of Judges regarded this as natural and so employed it consistently (1987: 57, 103).

Although no evidence exists that the Pentateuch was subject to a process of revision, partial or systematic, we are given some indication that the kind of ‘corrections’ just mentioned were beginning to be made at early stages of its reception history. Fragments of Leviticus in Greek were found at Qumran in which a number of readings from ch. 26 appear to be more creative and stylistic in nature. If the argument holds that these are original, then the more literal readings found in the Codices are evidence of changes in the direction of literalism (Himbaza 2016: 22–3; Miller 2007: 18; Metso and Ulrich 2003: 257–61).

CONCLUSION

The Pentateuch’s translation would have been carried out using simple methods predated on Alexandrian models. The translators might well have taken the approach to produce a work that rivalled contemporary documents in elevated language and literary style, but they suspended that approach to conform to expectations held by their audience of how a sacred text ought to be translated. At the same time, they did not produce an overly literal text since their spoken language was of greater prestige to them than Hebrew. It was only some time later that increased awareness of the need for an ‘official’ Torah would have gone hand in hand with new expectations about accuracy in translation, in other words increasing literalism. This is all the more likely since in third-century BCE Alexandria the concept of a single official Torah would have been improbable (Karrer and Kraus 2008: 22; Metso and Ulrich 2003: 258).

SUGGESTED READING

On lexical issues in the LXX Pentateuch, see the introductory chapters of Wevers's *Notes* on each book of the Pentateuch (1990–7), as well as those of the individual volumes in the *La Bible d'Alexandrie* series. For further discussion of the relationship between the LXX Pentateuch and early rabbinic exegesis, see Büchner 1997a and 1997b. A detailed case is made by Lee (2018) for the high literary quality of Pentateuchal Greek, and in this work is found valuable references to other important scholarship, as well as a discussion about collaboration between the translators (173–209). Most recently, Theo van der Louw has argued for a reassessment of the supposition that Genesis and Exodus were the work of different translators (2019).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aejmelaeus, Anneli (2007). *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators: Collected Essays*. CBET 50. Leuven: Peeters.
- Barr, James (1968). 'Common Sense and Biblical Language'. *Bib* 49: 377–87.
- Barr, James (1979). *The Typology of Literalism*. MSU 15. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Boyd-Taylor, Cameron (2001). 'The Evidentiary Value of Septuagintal Usage for Greek Lexicography: Alice's Reply to Humpty-Dumpty'. *BIOSCS* 34: 47–80.
- Boyd-Taylor, Cameron (2004a). 'Lexicography and Interlanguage, Gaining our Bearings'. *BIOSCS* 37: 55–72.
- Boyd-Taylor, Cameron (2004b). 'Linguistic Register and Septuagint Lexicography', in B. A. Taylor, J. A. L. Lee, P. R. Burton, and R. E. Whitaker, eds., *Biblical Greek Language and Lexicography: Essays in Honor of Frederick W. Danker*. Grand Rapids, MI and Cambridge: Eerdmans, pp. 149–66.
- Boyd-Taylor, Cameron (2006). 'In a Mirror, Dimly: Reading the Septuagint as a Document of its Times', in W. Kraus and G. Wooden, eds., *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures*. SCS 53. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, pp. 15–32.
- Boyd-Taylor, Cameron (2008). 'Who's Afraid of Verlegenheitsübersetzungen?', in H. Ausloos, J. Cook, F. García Martínez, B. Lemmelijn, and M. Vervenne, eds., *Translating a Translation: The LXX and its Modern Translations in the Context of Early Judaism*. BETL 213. Leuven and Dudley, MA: Peeters, pp. 197–210.
- Brock, Sebastian P. (1972). 'The Phenomenon of the Septuagint', in M. A. Beek, ed., *The Witness of Tradition: Papers Read at the Joint British–Dutch Old Testament Conference held at Woudschoten, 1970*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 11–36.
- Brock, Sebastian P. (1979). 'Aspects of Translation Technique in Antiquity'. *GRBS* 20: 69–87.
- Brock, Sebastian P. (1992). 'To Revise or Not to Revise: Attitudes to Jewish Biblical Translation', in G. J. Brooke and B. Lindars, eds., *Septuagint, Scrolls and Cognate Writings: Papers Presented to the International Symposium on the Septuagint and Its Relations to the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Writings, Manchester 1990*. SCS 33. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, pp. 301–38.
- Büchner, Dirk (1997a). 'Jewish Commentaries and the Septuagint'. *JJS* 48: 250–61.
- Büchner, Dirk (1997b). 'On the Relationship between Mekhilta deRabbi Ishmael and Septuagint Exodus 12–23', *IX Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Cambridge, 1995*, Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, pp. 403–20.

- Büchner, Dirk (2004). Review of Lust, J., Eynikel, E., and Hauspie, K., *A Greek–English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, BIOSCS 37: 139–46.
- Büchner, Dirk (2008). ‘The *thysia soteriou* of the Septuagint and the Greek Cult: Representation and Accommodation’, in H. Ausloos, B. Lemmelijn, and M. Vervenne, eds., *Florilegium Lovaniense: Studies in Septuagint and Textual Criticism in Honour of Florentino García Martínez*. BETL 224. Leuven, Paris, and Dudley, MA: Peeters.
- Büchner, Dirk (2010). ‘*Ἐξιλιάσσοθαι*: Appeasing God in the Septuagint Pentateuch.’ *JBL* 129: 237–60.
- Büchner, Dirk (2013). ‘Writing a Commentary on the Septuagint’, in M. K. H. Peters, ed., *XIV Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Helsinki, 2010*. SCS 59. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, pp. 525–38.
- Büchner, Dirk, ed. (2017). *The SBL Commentary on the Septuagint: An Introduction*. SCS 67. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature.
- Daniel, Suzanne (1966). *Recherches sur le vocabulaire du culte dans la Septante*. Paris: Klincksieck.
- Dogniez, Cécile, and Marguerite Harl (2001). *Le Pentateuque d’ Alexandrie: Text grec et traduction*. Paris: Cerf.
- Evans, Trevor V. (2001). *Verbal Syntax in the Greek Pentateuch: Natural Greek Usage and Hebrew Interference*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Fernández Marcos, Natalio (2009). ‘The Greek Pentateuch and the Scholarly Milieu of Alexandria.’ *Semitica et Classica* 2: 81–9.
- Gallagher, Edmon L. (2012). *Hebrew Scripture in Patristic Biblical Theory: Canon, Language, Text*. SVC 114. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill.
- Gooding, David W. (1959). *The Account of the Tabernacle: Translation and Textual Problems of the Greek Exodus*. Texts and Studies. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hiebert, Robert J. V. (2006). ‘The Hermeneutics of Translation in the Septuagint of Genesis’, in W. Kraus and G. Wooden, eds., *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures*. SCS 53. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, pp. 85–104.
- Himbaza, Innocent (2016). ‘Quelle est la Septante du Lévitique?’ *JSCS* 49: 22–33.
- Huber, Karl (1916). *Untersuchungen über den Sprachcharakter des griechischen Leviticus*. Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann.
- Jobs, Karen H., and Moisés Silva (2000). *Invitation to the Septuagint*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans.
- Joosten, Jan (2000). ‘The Knowledge and Use of Hebrew in the Hellenistic Period: Qumran and the Septuagint’, in T. Muraoka and J. F. Elwolde, eds., *Diggers at the Well: Proceedings of a Third International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira*. STDJ 36. Leiden, Boston, MA, and Cologne: Brill, pp. 115–30.
- Karrer, Martin, and Wolfgang Kraus (2008). ‘Umfang und Text der Septuaginta’, in M. Karrer and W. Kraus, eds., *Die Septuaginta: Texte, Kontexte, Lebenswelten. Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D), Wuppertal 20.–23. Juli 2006*. WUNT 252. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 8–63.
- Kreuzer, Siegfried (2004). ‘Entstehung und Publikation der Septuaginta im Horizont frühptolemäischer Bildungs- und Kulturpolitik’, in S. Kreuzer and J. P. Lesch, eds., *Im Brennpunkt: Die Septuaginta. Studien zur Entstehung und Bedeutung der Griechischen Bibel*. Vol. 2. BWANT 161. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, pp. 61–76.
- Lee, John A. L. (1983). *A Lexical Study of the Septuagint Version of the Pentateuch*. Chico, CA: Scholars Press. Reprint SBL, 2006.

- Lee, John A. L. (2010). Review of Muraoka, T., *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, BIOSCS 43: 115–25.
- Lee, John A. L. (2018). *The Greek of the Pentateuch: Grinfield Lectures on the Septuagint 2011–2012*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lemmelijn, Bénédicte (2007). ‘Free and Yet Faithful: On the Translation Technique of LXX Exod 7:14–11:10’. *JNSL* 33: 132.
- Metso, Sarianna, and Eugene Ulrich (2003). ‘The Old Greek Translation of Leviticus’, in R. Rendtorff and R. A. Kugler, eds., *The Book of Leviticus: Composition and Redaction*. SVT 93. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, pp. 247–68.
- Milgrom, Jacob (1991). *Leviticus 1–16: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. Anchor Bible. New York, NY, and London: Doubleday.
- Miller, J. B. Faulkenberry (2007). ‘4QLXXLev^a and Proto-Septuagint Studies: Reassessing Qumran Evidence for the *Urtext* Theory’, in M. T. Davis and B. A. Strawn, eds., *Qumran Studies: New Approaches, New Questions*. Grand Rapids, MI and Cambridge: Eerdmans, pp. 1–28.
- Muraoka, T. (2009). *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*. Louvain: Peeters Press.
- Perkins, Larry (2013). ‘The Greek Translator of Exodus: Interpres (Translator) and Expositor (Interpreter). His Treatment of Theophanies’. *JSJ* 44: 16–56.
- Perkins, Larry (2017). “‘Drawn from the Water’”: A Commentary on the Old Greek Text of Exodus 2.1–10’, in D. Büchner, ed., *The SBL Commentary on the Septuagint: An Introduction*. SCS 67. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, pp. 69–94.
- Pietersma, Albert (2002). ‘A New Paradigm for Addressing Old Questions: The Relevance of the Interlinear Model for the Study of the Septuagint’, in J. Cook, ed., *Bible and Computer: The Stellenbosch ACBI-6 Conference. Proceedings of the Association Internationale Bible et Informatique “From Alpha to Byte”*. University of Stellenbosch 17–21 July 2000. Leiden: Brill, pp. 337–64.
- Pietersma, Albert (2006). ‘Exegesis in the Septuagint: Possibilities and Limits’, in W. Kraus and G. Wooden, eds., *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures*. SCS 53. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, pp. 33–46.
- Pietersma, Albert, and Benjamin G. Wright (2006). ‘To the Reader of NETS’, in A. Pietersma and B. G. Wright, eds., *A New English Translation of the Septuagint and the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included under that Title*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, pp. xiii–xx.
- Rabin, Chaim (1968). ‘The Translation Process and the Character of the Septuagint’. *Textus* 6: 1–26.
- Rösel, Martin (1994). *Übersetzung als Vollendung der Auslegung: Studien zur Genesis-Septuaginta*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Seeligman, Isac L. (1990). ‘Problems and Perspectives in Modern Septuagint Research’. *Textus* 15: 169–232.
- Soisalon-Soininen, Ilmari (1987). *Studien zur Septuaginta-Syntax: Zu seinem 70. Geburtstag am 4. Juni 1987*, eds. A. Aejmelaeus and R. Sollamo. AASF series B, 237. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia.
- Thackeray, Henry St. J. (1909). *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek According to the Septuagint*, Vol. 1: *Introduction, Orthography and Accidence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tjen, Anwar (2010). *On Conditionals in the Greek Pentateuch: A Study of Translation Syntax*. Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies 515. London: T. & T. Clark.

- Tov, Emanuel (1984). 'Did the Septuagint Translators Always Understand Their Hebrew Text?', in A. Pietersma and C. Cox, eds., *De Septuaginta: Studies in Honour of John William Wevers on His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*. Mississauga, ON: Benben, pp. 53–70.
- Tov, Emanuel (1997). *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research*. Jerusalem Biblical Studies 8. Jerusalem: Simor.
- Tov, Emanuel (1999). *The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint*. VTSup 72. Leiden: Brill.
- Van der Louw, Theo A. W. (2007). *Transformations in the Septuagint: Towards an Interaction of Septuagint Studies and Translation Studies*. CBET 47. Leuven: Peeters.
- Van der Louw, Theo A. W. (2019). 'The Unity of LXX Genesis and Exodus', *Vetus Testamentum* 70(2): 270–84.
- Wevers, John W. (1990). *Notes on the Greek Text of Exodus*. SCS 30. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.
- Wevers, John W. (1993). *Notes on the Greek Text of Genesis*. SCS 35. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.
- Wevers, John W. (1995). *Notes on the Greek Text of Deuteronomy*. SCS 39. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.
- Wevers, John W. (1997). *Notes on the Greek Text of Leviticus*. SCS 44. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.
- Wevers, John W. (1998). *Notes on the Greek Text of Numbers*. SCS 46. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.
- Wright, Benjamin G. (2006). 'Translation as Scripture: The Septuagint in Aristeas and Philo', in Wolfgang Kraus and R. Glenn Wooden, eds., *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures*. SBLSCS 53. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, pp. 47–61.

CHAPTER 13

JOSHUA AND JUDGES

NATALIO FERNÁNDEZ MARCOS

JOSHUA (*IESOUS*)

Evolution of Research on LXX Joshua

THE Greek text of Joshua is relatively well preserved. It has been transmitted by the great uncials Vaticanus (B) from the fourth century, Alexandrinus (A) from the fifth century, and in fragments of Sinaiticus (S) from the fourth century. These fragments of Sinaiticus were discovered in Saint Catherine's monastery on Mount Sinai in 1975, and have only been accessible online to researchers since 2009 (www.codexsinaiticus.org). They contain the following passages: Josh. 12:2–20, 23, 24; 13:1–4, 6–22, 24–32; and 14:1–4. The text of these fragments agrees widely with B in the form of the proper names and in the word order; it agrees occasionally with A and N (N = V in Rahlfs's *Verzeichnis*, Vat. gr. 2106; Jellicoe 1968: 197–9), and at times it also preserves its own singular readings.

More fragments can be found in Codex Washingtonianus (W) from the fifth/sixth century (Sanders 1917). In addition there are two papyrus fragments, Oxyrhynchus 1168 (= Rahlfs 946) from the fourth century, containing Josh. 4:23–4; 5:1, and the Oslo Schøyen Coll., MS 2648 (= Rahlfs 816) from the second century, covering Josh. 9:27–11:3 (with lacunae).

Although the collations of almost all the manuscripts have been registered in the *Kollationshefte* of the Septuaginta-Unternehmen in Göttingen, there is not yet a critical edition of Joshua. One has to rely on the larger Cambridge edition (Brooke–McLean 1917), a diplomatic edition of Vaticanus with a large apparatus of other manuscripts, uncials and minuscules, and of the daughter versions. Margolis published in Paris (1931–8) four volumes of an eclectic edition with a wide apparatus in which he distinguished four groups of manuscripts or recensions plus one of mixed manuscripts;

these recensions are: 1) the Egyptian, 2) the Syrian, Lucianic, or Antiochian, 3) the Palestinian, resulting from Origen's text-critical work, and 4) the Constantinopolitan. Margolis supposed that the *Vorlage* of the Septuagint was a Hebrew text very close to the Masoretic. But this view has been seriously criticized by Orlinsky (1969) and Greenspoon (1983). Moreover, Margolis's view of the Constantinopolitan text as a post-Hexaplaric recension has been rejected by Pretzl (1928) and Bieberstein (1994). The fifth volume of Margolis's edition was discovered by Tov and edited in Philadelphia (Margolis 1992). Rahlfs's manual edition (1935) is an eclectic text reconstructed mainly on the base of the three earliest uncials, B, S, and A.

In the last decade no fewer than five dissertations have been devoted to the Greek text of Joshua, focusing especially on the text history, translation technique, or its relation with the Qumran scrolls. However, the main problem, that is, the relationship between the Septuagint and the MT, remains unresolved. The Greek text is 4–5 per cent shorter than MT. The quantitative differences are concentrated in Josh. 2:5–8; 10:17–18, and at the end of the book in chapter 20. Occasionally LXX has material not found in MT, specifically in chapters 21 and 24. The displacement in LXX of Josh. 8:30–5, concerning the construction of the altar on Mount Ebal, to follow after Josh. 9:2 has important consequences. In addition there are other qualitative differences of meaning and in the transmission of the proper names.

Faced with this evidence, scholars disagree over its interpretation. There are effectively two schools of thought: either that the *Vorlage* of the translators was substantially different from MT, or alternatively, that the *Vorlage* was essentially identical to MT. Mazor (1994) takes a middle position: he thinks that LXX and MT represent two separate recensions of the book of Joshua, and that the difference in scope between the two versions cannot be explained genetically: LXX is not an abbreviation of the longer Hebrew *Vorlage* reflected in MT, nor is MT an expansion of a briefer version reflected in LXX. LXX and MT share a common source from which both eventually diverged and developed independently.

The publication of the Hebrew fragments of Qumran, especially 4QJosh^a (Ulrich et al. 1995) attests to a version of Joshua which differed from MT along the same lines as LXX, i.e. in length, order, and details of content. These fragments add further weight to the opinion that LXX reflects a Hebrew *Vorlage* of a non-Masoretic type. But let us examine more closely how different scholars have interpreted all this evidence.

Among the representatives of the first school the following names should be included: Holmes (1914) arrives at the conclusion that the translator was faithful to his source, from which it follows that the Hebrew text he used was different from MT. In this group can be included Orlinsky (1969), Auld (2005), Greenspoon (1983), Tov (1986), and Rofé (1982).

Among the representatives of the second school, which maintains that the *Vorlage* was essentially identical to MT, and the differences can be attributed to the competence and creativity of the Greek translator, are Margolis (1931–5; 1992), who thinks that the majority of the variants from MT can be explained as the result either of inner-Greek corruptions or problems of translation; Bieberstein (1994), den Hertog (1995), Moatti-Fine (1996), Sipilä (1999), Rösel (2001), and van der Meer (2004: 32–91).

Thus scholarship is divided. One group of contemporary scholars locates many if not most of these differences, especially the major ones, in the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Septuagint that differed from MT in these respects. But the other group of contemporary scholars would allow a far greater role for interpretive activity on the part of the Greek translator. In his recent study van der Meer recognizes that the Qumran Joshua scrolls do not help to formulate a definitive answer to the question of the differences between LXX and MT (2004: 91). He defends the priority of MT and states that these ancient witnesses (LXX and 4QJosh^a) do not attest to the process of formation preceding the edition of the book of Joshua as preserved in MT, 'but to the process of interpretation, harmonisation and reformulation of that version' (2004: 522); and he continues: 'By far the majority of the MT-LXX variants can be ascribed to literary initiatives introduced by the Greek translator ... it has become clear that textual and literary history do not overlap' (2004: 534-5).

However, representatives of the first school accept the priority of the *Vorlage* of the LXX as the older of the two. García Martínez maintains that this is the generally accepted opinion and speaks of three editions of the book of Joshua: 4QJosh^a, LXX, and MT. He concludes, 'We have seen in the collection the simultaneous and harmonious coexistence of three editions of the book of Joshua, and one or two rewritings of this book in several copies' (2012: 159).

Present State of the Question

The book of Joshua in the Hebrew Bible forms part of the Former Prophets, while in Greek Joshua is located among the Historical Books. In both cases it follows the Pentateuch, and the Greek translation is probably very close chronologically and geographically to that of the Pentateuch. The translation could be considered an extension of the Pentateuch's version of the Torah, made in Alexandria at the end of the third century or the beginning of the second century BCE. There is no allusion to the crisis of the Jewish people under Antiochus IV Epiphanes nor to the Maccabean revolt. We find some Hellenistic forms of proper names in ἱτίς, such as Γαλααδίτις (Josh. 13:11; 17:1), Βασανίτις (13:11, 12, 30, 31; 17:1; 20:8; 21:27; and 22:7), Μαβδαρίτις (5:6; 18:12). The free use of the geographical names suggests that the translator carried out his work outside Palestine. Therefore it is highly probable that the book of *Iesus* was translated in an Egyptian context as a continuation of the Pentateuch. The translator agrees with the Pentateuch in phraseology, style, and theology, but at the same time he is an innovator and likes variation. In all probability he uses *θυσιαστήριον* for a 'licit' altar to distinguish it from *βωμός*, the forbidden or idolatrous altar. He uses three Greek words (*δοῦλος*, *θεράπων*, *παῖς*) for the Hebrew *'ebed*; for *'amad* the translator uses five different equivalences: *ἀνθίστημι* (Josh. 23:9), *ἵστημι* (3:8, 13, 16, 17; 4:10; 5:13, 15; 10:13, 19), *καθίστημι* (20:9), *παραπορεύομαι* (9:2d), and *ὑπολείπομαι* (10:8). For *lēb* he uses in 14:7-8 two idiomatic equivalents: *νοῦς* and *διάνοια*. His command of the Greek language often leads him to alter translation equivalents, providing very free and idiomatic expressions. For the hiphil of *nākāh*, 'strike, smite', we find no fewer than thirteen equivalents: *ἀναιρέω*, *ἀποκτείνω*, *ἐκκόπτω*,

ἐκπολεμέω, ἐκπολιορκέω, ἐξολεθρεύω, κατακόπτω, κόπτω, μάχομαι, παίω, πατάσσω, συντρίβω, and φονεύω. For ᾠabar, ‘pass on, cross’, he uses sixteen different equivalents: ἀπέρχομαι, διαβαίνω, διεκβάλλω, διέρχομαι, εἰσέρχομαι, ἐκπεριπορεύομαι, ἐκπορεύομαι, ἴστημι, παραβαίνω, παραπορεύομαι, παρέρχομαι, περιέρχομαι, πορεύομαι, προάγω, προπορεύομαι, and χωροβατέω. His vocabulary is very rich and the *hapax legomena* such as καταμερισμός (Josh. 13:14), σχοιτισμός (17:5), and ἐμβατεύω (19:49) are not rare. Other possible neologisms can be detected as καταχαλάω (2:15), καταπελματόω (9:5), χωματίζω (11:13), περισπόρια (21:2), and κληρωτί (21:4), as well as technical words belonging to the military field as οὐραγέω (6:9), ἀλαλάζω (6:19), ἐκπολιορκέω (7:3).

The translation technique can be considered relatively free, close to the style of LXX Exodus. In word order it follows MT literally, dividing the sentences into short segments and maintaining the parataxis joined with frequent καί instead of the hypotaxis typical of the Greek language. Other Hebraisms characteristic of translation Greek can also be detected (Greenspoon 1992: 175). However, there are some passages where the translator has taken into account the whole chapter (2:2,12+18; 6:3–8, 12–14; 12:2; 24:5–13). Moreover, the book of Joshua has numerous proper names, especially place names. These have been very rarely adapted to Greek declension. Most of them remain transliterated in such a way that their function in the context must be guessed by the reader. This circumstance has caused much confusion in the transmission of the proper names among the different recensions. Very often a Hebrew word is translated twice in order better to reflect the ambiguity or twofold meaning possibilities of the Hebrew. These doublets occur in 1:8; 2:16; 3:5, 15; 4:5, 6; 5:1, 2, 6, 8, 10, 15; 6:5, 7; 7:24; 8:14, 24, etc.

Substantial differences of meaning occur in chapter 5, where it is stated (5:4) that there were uncircumcised males among the Israelites who left Egypt (καὶ ὅσοι ποτὲ ἀπερίτμητοι ἦσαν τῶν ἐξεληλυθόντων ἐξ Αἰγύπτου), in the face of the MT affirmation to the contrary (5:5). According to the LXX the number of years the Israelites remained in the wilderness was forty-two, while in the MT we find forty years (5:6). In chapter 6 LXX is a tenth shorter than the MT, and in chapter 20, three verses from the MT are lacking in the LXX. On occasion, the LXX has material not found in the MT, especially in chapters 21 and 24. LXX Joshua concludes with two verses (24:33a–b) that form a distinctive link from MT to the following book of Judges.

As we have seen above (section ‘Evolution of Research on LXX Joshua’), many contemporary scholars locate several if not most of these differences, especially the major ones, in a Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX that differed from the MT in these respects. But many other scholars would attribute these differences not to a different *Vorlage*, but to interpretive activity on the part of the translator.

Directions for Future Research

At the moment the most urgent task is the production of the critical edition in the Göttingen series, by carrying out as soon as possible the stratification of the Greek evidence according to the principles of textual criticism. Only on the base of a sound

critical edition can we extend our research to other Septuagint fields. The language of the Greek Joshua has to be studied closely in connection with other books of the LXX and against the background of the evolution of the history of the Greek language. Given the early chronology of the translation, comparison with the Ptolemaic papyri could shed light on the innovative style and rich vocabulary of the book.

Other questions should be clarified by means of systematic studies. Is Codex Vaticanus (B) the closest approximation to the Old Greek (OG) version as it left the hands of the translator, or has its text undergone the Kaige revision as in the book of Judges? Margolis's classification of the recensions or groups of manuscripts in Joshua has been refined by Orlinsky (1969), Pretzl (1928), Greenspoon (1983), den Hertog (1995), and van der Meer (2004). But it has still to be corrected in the light of all the evidence and the Göttingen collations, once the editor has at his or her disposal the witnesses in their entirety and can trace back scientifically the history of the text.

There is a critical edition of the Antiochian (or Lucianic) text in the Historical books (1–4 Kings and 1–2 Chronicles) carried out by the Madrid team (ed. Fernández Marcos and Busto Saiz). On the other hand, it seems that there is a consensus, following the conclusions of Wevers (1991), that the Lucianic recension cannot be identified in the Pentateuch. The Antiochian or Lucianic text has been also detected in Judges. Is it also present in the book of Joshua and, if so, in which group of manuscripts?

Given the different schools of thought among scholars concerning the relationship between the MT and the LXX of Joshua, it is to be hoped that the discussion will continue in the near future, and that this debate will also extend to the Qumran fragments 4QJosh^a, 4QJosh^b, and the six different manuscripts (five from Qumran and one from Masada), along with the rewritten texts of Joshua or para-biblical Joshua. And it is possible that the question of the relationship between textual and literary criticism will continue to provide food for thought, especially at the end of the book and in its connection with the book of Judges.

JUDGES

Research to Date

Despite the fact that the full collations of the manuscripts of the Greek book of Judges have already been completed in the Göttingen Septuaginta-Unternehmen series, there is still no critical edition of the book. Rahlfs's compact edition (Stuttgart 1935 and successive reprints up to Hanhart's *Editio altera*, Stuttgart 2006) printed the A text (based on Codex Alexandrinus and two groups of manuscripts or recensions: O, Origenian or Hexaplaric, and L, Lucianic or Antiochene) and the B text (based on Codex Vaticanus) in the upper and lower part of the page respectively, apparently considering them two different translations, following de Lagarde (1891: 14–71). Before Rahlfs, stress was

placed on the divergences between both textual traditions. However, nowadays the emphasis is on the large amount of common material: many passages of A and B are very similar. Probably A is closer to the Old Greek but it also contains cases of Kaige revision and Hexaplaric contamination. From the point of view of vocabulary, Lee has suggested that the text witnessed to by MS A is older than that witnessed to by B. It must be emphasized that since 2009 the new fragments of Judges in Codex Sinaiticus (Judg. 2:20; 4:6; and 4:7–11:2), discovered in 1975 in the Monastery of Saint Catherine on Mount Sinai, are available online. In spite of its peculiar readings, it can be said that in Judges Codex Sinaiticus is a faithful member of the group of Codex Vaticanus.

A series of studies by Pretzl (1926), Billen (1927), Soisalon-Soininen (1951), Schreiner (1957), Bodine (1980a), Targarona (1981), and Lindars (1987) have sufficiently demonstrated that although the textual history of the book is extremely complicated, it can be traced back to a single translation. In all probability the critical edition of Greek Judges will appear as just one main text, which will not be identical to either the A or B texts, but will be the result of a stratification and eclectic reconstruction of the evidence as a whole. For the moment, relying on those studies and on the edition of Brooke–McLean with a wider critical apparatus, it is possible to establish the following textual groups with a certain degree of consensus among scholars:

$L = K Z 54 59 75 (82) 314 (= L_1) + (44) 106 134 344 (= L_2)$

$O = (A) G 15 19 (58) 108 376 426 Syh$

$M = M N 29 (55) 121$

$B = B S 52 53 56 57 (72) 85 120 129 130 407 509$

(The sigla of the minuscule manuscripts have been converted from the letters of Brooke–McLean's edition to the numbers used by the Göttingen edition. For the equivalences see the conversion tables published by Jellicoe 1968: 362–9.)

Fragments of MS G are extant in Judges chapters 9–10 and 15–21; fragments of MS K in chapters 10, 11, and 18; and fragments of MS Z in chapters 16–21.

It is uncertain to what extent those groups are related to the recensions mentioned by Jerome in his Preface to the books of Chronicles. As is well known the Hesychian recension has still not been identified. The Lucianic recension cannot be identified in the Pentateuch, at least with the characteristics that this recension has in the Historical and Prophetic books. However, in Judges the Hexaplaric recension has been identified in some manuscripts with the help of the Syro-Hexapla which preserves the Aristarchian signs (see Rørdam 1861), and likewise the Antiochian or Lucianic recension through the agreement of some manuscripts with Theodoret's biblical quotations (Fernández Marcos 1978).

In Judges it is very difficult to restore the Old Greek. The textual history has been exposed first to the Kaige revision, and secondly to strong influence from the Origenian or Hexaplaric recension. It can be said that no group of manuscripts is free from the influence of the latter. Nevertheless, with a detailed study of the textual history in each case it is possible to arrive at a certain degree of plausibility in the restoration of the Old

Greek. Today it is generally accepted that the Old Greek in Judges is found in the Lucianic or Antiochian text (L_1). This group, especially when it is supported by the Old Latin, can preserve very ancient readings, and shows less influence of the Kaige revision and less Hexaplaric contamination (Soisalon-Soininen 1951: 112–14; Bodine 1980a: 134–6, and Lindars 1987: 173). The agreements between the Antiochian text and Josephus (Harlé 1995) and the Old Latin (Billen 1942b) take us back to the Old Greek before it was contaminated by Hexaplaric readings. Moreover, in some places, the Old Latin may preserve the Old Greek better than any Greek manuscript. But even with this Antiochian group one must be cautious, because it has undergone inner-Greek revision, with stylistic changes, including Atticism, explanatory additions, and doublets, as well as the interchange of synonyms.

In spite of the literalism of the translation of Judges, this group very often adds a subject, a complement, or a small sentence as required by the target language, differing in its grammatical structure from the Hebrew (8:16, 18, 19, 29, 35 and *passim* in Brooke–McLean's edition). These features limit its value as witness of the Old Greek. Traditionally this group has been identified by scholars with the Lucianic or Antiochian recension. In fact, when it is taken on its own, and especially in the readings shared with L_2 , it has some of the characteristics known as Lucianic in other books of the Septuagint (Targarona 1981), and is the nearest to Theodoret's text in its peculiar readings (Fernández Marcos 1978: 38–9). But the final decision on the Lucianic or Antiochian character of this group can only be taken when all the Greek evidence has been stratified in the critical edition prepared by Göttingen.

O represents the Hexaplaric recension, as can be seen by its frequent agreement with the Syro-Hexapla, provided with asterisks for the omissions of the Old Greek and obeluses for the additions. Although MS A is strongly influenced by the Origenian recension it is the group as a whole, not this single manuscript, which is the best representative of this recension. *M* can be characterized as a mixed text that has been affected by the Kaige revision but that, occasionally, may preserve some ancient readings.

Finally, it is clear that *B* transmits a revised text very close to the Masoretic Hebrew. As far as this group is concerned, the Greek translation of Judges looks very literal. But, as previously mentioned, the original version, represented in many cases by the reading of L_1 , was not so literal. Bodine (1980a) concludes that group *B* exhibits many Kaige features, meaning that it has been submitted to a conscious revision of the Old Greek towards closer conformity with the Hebrew, a process that reached its climax in the extreme literalism of Aquila in the second century CE. Although features of Kaige occur in both A-text and B-text, only *B* has ἐγὼ ἐίμι plus finite verb for the translation of the Hebrew 'ānôkî plus finite verb (5:3; 6:18; 11:27, 35).

The Old Greek of Judges, with the exception of the Song of Deborah, is a quite literal version of a text very similar to, although not identical with, the Masoretic Hebrew. However, the original Greek version was not as literal as it has been supposed by previous studies based on *B*, a text which had been corrected towards the Hebrew. A series of small additions, different hyperbaton and stylistic improvements, subordination instead of coordination, etc. were incorporated to the original translation often reproducing the

grammatical and syntactical needs of the target language. Other Greek variants, such as doublets, the confusion with similar Hebrew consonants, different vocalization of the same consonantal text, or inner-Greek corruptions, can be explained, usually without recourse to a different *Vorlage*.

For the A-text and B-text, the edition of Rahlfs–Hanhart is the best reference. For the whole evidence and text history, especially with regard to the Antiochian and Hexaplaric recensions, the best edition available is that of Brooke–McLean with its rich apparatus.

Present State of Research

In the analysis of the translation profile one has to distinguish between the A-text and the Antiochian recension on one side, and the B-text on the other. In general, the Hebrew text of Judges, with the exception of the archaic poetry of chapter 5, has been transmitted with accuracy. Only in 16:13–14 and 19:30 can the Hebrew haplography by homoioteleuton be detected by means of the Greek text (cf. the BHQ edition of Judges, Fernández Marcos 2011).

One can speak of a word-for-word model of translation which reproduces in Greek the Hebrew idioms: for instance the use of the infinitive absolute to reinforce the action, the Hebrew use of the particles and prepositions, the frequent repetition of the personal pronoun, the use of parataxis instead of subordination, the constant use of *προστίθημι* plus finite verb to reproduce the Hebrew idiom employing the Hiphil of *yāsap* plus infinitive, and the use of *ἀνήρ* as collective and distributive. The Greek translator decided that his translation should reflect its *Vorlage* as closely as possible. He has left many signals as to the nature of the Hebrew original within the translation. However, this literalism is better applied to the B-text, representative of the Kaige revision, than to the A-text and the Antiochian. As can be shown in some theological modifications (see below) and other creative changes, especially in the Samson cycle, the original translator can be perceived as a creative scribe who did not feel himself too tied to the source language. Moreover, the literalism of the translation Greek should not be attributed to a lack of competence on the part of the translator, since the Greek vocabulary is very rich and with a notable degree of *hapax legomena*.

In any event, it is difficult to give a general description of the translation technique of Judges. It is necessary to distinguish the different text types. The text of *L*, when supported by the Old Latin and Josephus, may represent the Old Greek, but actually, in its developed form, it has incorporated the major part of double translations (thirty-nine in total), some of them coming from the Hexaplaric recension, fourteen shared by the A-text and one by the B-text. These doublets are particularly frequent in the Song of Deborah (fourteen in chapter 5), a sign of difficulty in interpreting an obscure Hebrew text. Another characteristic of the Greek text of Judges is the great number of transliterations apart from the transliterations of several proper names. These occur not only in *hapax legomena* or particularly obscure words, but can be considered an intentional device of the translation technique: *Βααλίμ* is transliterated in both text types, A and B,

in 2:11; 3:7; 8:33; *μοσφαθάιμι* in 5:16A; *ἀμαδαρώθ* in 5:22A; *βαρκορνίμ* in 8:7A (*ἀβαρκηνίμ* in 8:7B); *ἐφούδ* in 8:27A (*ἐφώθ* in 8:27B); *θεραφίν* in both text types, A and B, in 17:5; 18:14, 17, 18, 20.

Several times the toponyms composed of two terms in Hebrew are transliterated in the B-text, while the Hexaplaric recension and *L* translate the first part of the composed name, as can be seen in 9:6, 37; 11:33; 16:4; and 20:33. The three text types agree in the translation of 15:17: *Ἀναίρεσις σιαγόνος* for the place *ramāt lehī*, but more often the translations diverge: 1:17A: *Ἐξολέθρευσις* (B: *Ἀνάθεμα*); 2:5A: *Κλαυθμών* (B: *Κλαυθμώνες*); 4:11A: *ἀναπαυομένων* (B: *πλεονεκτούντων*); 15:19: *Πηγγή ἐπικλήτος* (B: *Πηγγή τοῦ ἐπικαλουμένου*).

As for the vocabulary, the B-text follows the specific options of the Kaige revision but the three types of text share many common words, a fact which can only be explained if all the texts descend from a common ancestor, a genuine text produced in all probability at the beginning of the second century BCE in Egypt. Taking into account the three text types, one can detect around fifty *hapax legomena* of the LXX in the book of Judges, while only fifteen in the Song of Deborah (note that of the thirty *hapax legomena* in the Hebrew of Judges, fourteen appear also in the Song of Deborah!). For the concrete analysis of the *hapax legomena*, neologisms, and lexical innovations see Harlé 1999: 53–8.

Finally one should take into account some inner-Greek corruptions which have contaminated the whole or part of the text tradition: 2:15A: *ἐπόρνευον* ‘would prostitute themselves’ for *ἐπορεύοντο* ‘would go’ (see B: *ἐξεπορεύοντο*); 5:15B: *ἐξικνούμενοι*, ‘reaching’ for *ἐξιχνεύόμενοι*, ‘searching out’ (see A: *ἀκριβασμοί*); 6:34B: *ἐφοβήθη*, ‘was seized by fear’ for *ἐβόησεν*, ‘called out’ (A); 9:7B: *ἔκλαυσεν*, ‘he wept’ for *ἐκάλεσεν*, ‘he called out’ (A).

For the definition of the time and place of the translation it is once again necessary to separate the original translation from the subsequent revisions. In the case of Judges, the Old Greek to be restored will consist of an eclectic text basically reconstructed from the A-text and *L*. The B-text is representative of the Kaige revision carried out in all probability at the end of the first century BCE.

With regard to the original translation we have no external indication of time and place: both have to be inferred through a series of internal and external criteria. From the point of view of the language, Lee (1983) had already realized that the vocabulary of the A-text was more ancient than that of the B-text. Compared with the Greek of other books of the Septuagint, Barthélemy (1963) concluded that the translation of Judges belonged to the same period of the Old Greek of Kings, and Munnich, in his dissertation on the lexicography of Psalms (1982), was of the opinion that Judges followed the translation of Psalms. In my own study I concluded, from the analysis of the Samson cycle in Greek, that the subtle changes introduced by the translator probably reflect the concerns of the times and the anxieties of the Jewish population throughout the Seleucid persecution (Fernández Marcos 2005a). Consequently, it is plausible, in my opinion, to set the original translation of Judges in the first part of the second century BCE in Alexandria. However, the revision of the B-text following the Kaige tradition should be placed in Palestine from 50 BCE to 50 CE. But it should be emphasized that we are speaking of plausible probabilities rather than of certainties.

One can also discern some indications that the Hebrew text was updated to the geographical, socio-religious, and political circumstances of the time of the translator. A few examples will suffice. In Judg. 1:27 both texts, A and B, transliterate the name of Beth-shean as *Βαιθσάν* and introduce the explanatory gloss *ἣ ἐστὶν Σκυθῶν πόλις*, that is the name given to the city in the Hellenistic–Roman period; in 5:3 both texts, A and B, translate the Hebrew *roznîm*, ‘princes’, by *σατράπαι*, the title for the governors of a Persian province. It is worth stressing that in Judg. 1:16 the reading ‘and settled with the Amalekites’ has only been preserved by the Old Latin, *cum eo Amalec*; *MT* followed by all the extant versions read ‘*et hā ‘ām* ‘with the people’, a theological correction in *MT* in order to eliminate the name of Israel’s enemy, Amalek, from a sentence which associated it with the name Judah.

There is another indicator that the translation of the A-text and *L* is prior to that of the B-text. In 2:13; 3:7; and 10:6, 10 *AL* make the name of Baal feminine (*τῆ Βάαλ, ταῖς Βααλίμ*), probably following a tradition of reading it in the feminine, with the deliberate aim of denigration, alluding probably to the Hebrew substitution of *bōšet*, ‘shame’, which is feminine in Hebrew. The B-text reads the masculine in all these cases (*τῷ Βάαλ, τοῖς Βααλίμ*). In 18:30 the A-text and *L* preserve the old reading *Μωνσῆ*, which has been corrected in the B-text to *Μανασσή* according to the suspended *nûn* introduced in *MT*, an intentional deformation of Moses’s name in order to avoid the association of the name of Moses with an idolatrous priest of the Danites, and because Manasseh was an unfaithful king of Judah.

Apart from the history of composition of the book of Judges in Hebrew, the Greek translator was working with the final redaction of the book, which presents a structured and unified text, a complete literary work, pivoting on some recurrent issues: a) the formulaic language: ‘The Israelites did what was evil in the sight of the Lord’ (2:11; 3:7, 12; 6:1) or ‘The Israelites again did what was evil in the sight of the Lord’ (4:1; 10:6; 13:1); b) the interventions of the Lord through a judge who saves Israel (2:16, 18; 3:9, 15; 5:12), and c) the frequent declaration that God rejects the people with the formula ‘I will deliver you no more’ (2:3, 21 and 10:13).

In the last chapters a new formula arises which describes the present situation of Israel in the times of the Judges as a preparation and introduction to the books of Kings with the following reflection: ‘In those days there was no king in Israel’ (18:1, 19:1, and 21:25).

The Greek texts follow the structure of the Masoretic Hebrew very closely. However, a series of subtle changes in the translation give a strong sense of the theological profile of the translator. In the narrative of Gideon (Judg. 6:11–24) the Masoretic Text speaks sometimes of ‘the angel of the Lord/God’ (vv. 11, 12, 20–2) and sometimes of ‘the Lord’ (vv. 14, 16, 23), while the LXX always has, except in v. 23, ‘the angel of the Lord’, stressing God’s transcendence more than the Hebrew does. In Jotham’s parable in 9:13 the vine refuses to reign over the trees with the following rhetorical question: ‘Shall I stop producing my wine *that cheers gods and mortals* . . .?’ The B-text reads literally according to the Hebrew: . . . *τὸν εὐφραίνοντα θεὸν καὶ ἀνθρώπους*. But the genuine text of *L* omits *θεόν* and reads simply *καὶ τῆν εὐφροσύνην τῶν ἀνθρώπων*, while the A-text resorts to the

following paraphrasis, τὴν εὐφροσύνην τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ‘the cheer of humans that comes from God’. The intention in the last two translations is to avoid any trace of anthropomorphism in the biblical text or the idea that the wine can make God merry.

Throughout the Samson cycle the Hebrew has been faithfully translated as far as the structure and possibilities of the Greek language allow. However, in chapter 16 the translator becomes a narrator or creative scribe and transforms the entertainment scene of the Masoretic Text into a scene of mockery. Samson the hero is depicted as the victim and toy of the Philistines (Fernández Marcos 2005a).

The study of the theology of the LXX is certainly still in its infancy, but focusing on a series of apparently small changes, one is able to discover the theological attitude of the first translation and at the same time the first interpretation of the Hebrew Bible.

Directions for Future Research in LXX Judges

As in Joshua, the first desideratum is the production of the critical edition of the book for the Göttingen series. Only such an edition can stratify all the evidence, restore the genuine text, and trace a text history of the book which will be very different from the image transmitted by Rahlfs’s compact edition with its double text.

Given the complexity of the text transmission, further studies are needed on the history of the text, the first revisions, concretely the Kaige and Proto-Lucianic revisions (the latter identified by the agreements of the Antiochian text with the Old Latin and Josephus’s quotations), the Christian recensions of Origen and Lucian of Antioch, the new translations of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion preserved in the Hexaplaric material.

The translation technique of the book needs to be revised in the light of the genuine text, since most of the studies published so far have been based on the B-text, which represents a revised and later stage of the text, not the original translation.

Finally, the language of the book is another field of study that promises important results. The book is full of *hapax legomena* and neologisms. It is necessary to place this vocabulary within the framework of the whole Septuagint and in the history of the Greek language. I do not believe that the Greek text of Judges can be used as witness of a literary edition differing from that of the MT.

SUGGESTED READING

Modern translations of LXX Judges include that of Satterthwaite (2007) for the NETS translation, and Kreuzer’s for *Septuaginta Deutsch* (2009). Satterthwaite (1991) examines the question of the pluses in Judges chapters 20–1, and provides an overview of the main features of the book (2015).

Auner (1988) provides a discussion of illustrations of LXX Judges, and Stichel (1978) compares the inscription on the Samson mosaic from Mopsuestia with the text of Judg. 16:1–4.

Kreuzer (2010) covers Joshua in his broader discussion of the treatment of narrative books of the LXX. Michaël van der Meer (2015) provides a survey of the book in its Greek form.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Auld, A. Graeme (2005). *Joshua: Jesus Son of Naue in Codex Vaticanus*. Septuagint Commentary Series 1. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill.
- Auner, T. (1988). 'Septuagint Illustrations of the Book of Judges in Manuscripts of the Court School of Saint Louis'. *Byzantinische Forschungen* 13: 297–317, pls. XXV–XLI.
- Barthélemy, Dominique (1963). *Les Devanciers d'Aquila*. VTS 10. Leiden: Brill.
- Bieberstein, Klaus (1994). *Lukian und Theodotion im Josuabuch: Mit einem Beitrag zu den Josuarollen von Hirbet Qumran*. Biblische Notizen, Beiheft 7. Munich: M. Gorg.
- Billen, Albert V. (1927). *The Old Latin Texts of the Heptateuch*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Billen, A. V. (1942a). 'The Hexaplaric Element in the LXX Version of Judges'. *JTS* 43: 12–19.
- Billen, A. V. (1942b). 'The Old Latin Version of Judges'. *JTS* 43: 140–9.
- Bodine, Walter R. (1980a). *The Greek Text of Judges: Recensional Developments*. HSM 23. Chico, CA: Scholars Press.
- Bodine, Walter R. (1980b). 'Kaige and Other Recensional Developments in the Greek Text of Judges'. *BIOSCS* 13: 49–50.
- Brooke, Alan E., and Norman McLean (1917). *The Old Testament in Greek*, Vol. I, pt. 4: *Joshua, Judges and Ruth*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Chesman, Edward A. (1967). *Studies in the Septuagint Text of the Book of Joshua*. New York, NY: Hebrew Union College–Jewish Institute of Religion.
- De Troyer, Kristin (2011). 'From Leviticus to Joshua: The Old Greek Text in Light of Two Septuagint Manuscripts from the Schøyen Collection'. *Journal of Ancient Judaism* 2: 29–78.
- Fernández Marcos, Natalio (1978). 'Theodore's Biblical Text in the Octateuch'. *BIOSCS* 11: 27–43.
- Fernández Marcos, N. (1987). 'The Use of the Septuagint in the Criticism of the Hebrew Bible'. *Sefarad* 47: 59–72.
- Fernández Marcos, N. (2003). 'The Hebrew and Greek Texts of Judges', in A. Schenker, ed., *The Earliest Text of the Hebrew Bible: The Relationship between the Masoretic Text and the Hebrew Base of the Septuagint Reconsidered*. XI Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Basel, Switzerland, 2001. SCS 52. Atlanta, GA: Leiden: Brill, pp. 1–16.
- Fernández Marcos, N. (2005a). 'Héros et victime: Samson dans la LXX', in J. Joosten and P. Le Moigne, eds., *L'apport de la Septante aux études sur l'antiquité*. Paris: Cerf, pp. 119–33.
- Fernández Marcos, N. (2005b). 'L'Histoire textuelle: Les Livres historiques (Juges)', in A. Schenker and P. Hugo, eds., *L'Enfance de la bible hébraïque: Histoire du texte de l'Ancien Testament*. Geneva: Labor et fides, pp. 148–69.
- Fernández Marcos, N. (2010). 'Jephthah's Daughter in the Old Greek (Judges 11:29–40)', in W. Kraus and M. Karrer, eds., *Die Septuaginta: Texte, Theologien, Einflüsse*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 478–88.
- Fernández Marcos, N. (2011). *Judges*. Biblia Hebraica Quinta. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft.
- Fernández Marcos, N. (2012). 'The B-Text of Judges: Kaige-Revision and Beyond', in H. Ausloos, B. Lemmelijn, and J. Treballe Barrera, eds., *After Qumran: Old and Modern*

- Editions of the Biblical Texts—The Historical Books*. Leuven, Paris, and Walpole, MA: Peeters, pp. 161–9.
- Fernández Marcos, N. (2016). ‘Kritai/Iudices/Das Buch der Richter’, in S. Kreuzer, ed., *Einleitung in die Septuaginta. LXX. H. Band 1*, Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlaghaus, pp. 188–98.
- Fernández Marcos, Natalio, and José Ramon Busto Saiz (1989/1992/1996). *El texto antioqueno de la Biblia griega: I, 1–2 Samuel; II, 1–2 Reyes; III, 1–2 Crónicas*. Madrid: CSIC.
- García Martínez, Florentino (2012). ‘Light on the Joshua Books from the Dead Sea Scrolls’, in H. Ausloos, B. Lemmelijn, and J. Trebelle Barrera, eds., *After Qumran: Old and Modern Editions of the Biblical Texts—The Historical Books*. Leuven, Paris, and Walpole, MA: Peeters, pp. 145–59.
- Greenspoon, Leonard J. (1983). *Textual Studies in the Book of Joshua*. HSM 28. Chico, CA: Scholars Press.
- Greenspoon, Leonard J. (1992). ‘The Qumran Fragments of Joshua: Which Puzzle Are They Part of and Where Do They Fit?’, in G. J. Brooke and B. Lindars, eds., *Septuagint, Scrolls, and Cognate Writings*. SBL-SCS 33. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, pp. 159–94.
- Harlé, Paul (1995). ‘Flavius Josèphe et la Septante des Juges’, in G. Dorival and O. Munnich, eds., *Selon les Septante: Hommage à Marguerite Harlé*. Paris: Cerf, pp. 129–32.
- Harlé, Paul (1999). *La Bible d’Alexandrie*, Vol. 7: *Les Juges*. Paris: Cerf.
- Hertog, C. den (1995). ‘Anmerkungen zu Margolis’ “The Book of Joshua in Greek”’. *BIOSCS* 28: 51–6.
- Hertog, C. den (2011). ‘Jesus: Josue/Das Buch Josua’, in M. Karrer and W. Kraus, eds., *Septuaginta Deutsch: Erläuterungen und Kommentare*, Vol. 1: *Genesis bis Makkabäer*. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, pp. 606–14.
- Hertog, C. den (2016). ‘Jesus/Josue/Das Buch Josua’, in S. Kreuzer, ed., *Einleitung in die Septuaginta. LXX.H. Band 1*. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlaghaus, pp. 177–87.
- Holmes, Samuel (1914). *Joshua: The Hebrew and Greek Texts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jellicoe, Sidney (1968). *The Septuagint and Modern Study*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Kreuzer, Siegfried (2010). ‘Übersetzung—Revision—Überlieferung: Probleme und Aufgaben in den Geschichtsbüchern’, in M. Karrer, W. Kraus, and M. Meiser, eds., *Die Septuaginta: Texte, Theologien, Einflüsse*. WUNT 252. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 101–16.
- Kreuzer, Siegfried, et al. (2009). ‘Richter’, in W. Kraus and M. Karrer, eds., *Septuaginta Deutsch: Das griechische Alte Testament in deutscher Übersetzung*. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, pp. 294–9.
- Lagarde, Paul A. de (1891). *Septuaginta Studien, Teil I*. Göttingen: Dietrich.
- Lee, John A. L. (1983). *A Lexical Study of the Septuagint Version of the Pentateuch*. SCS 14. Chico, CA: Scholars Press.
- Lindars, Barnabas (1971). ‘Some Septuagint Readings in Judges’. *JTS* 22: 1–14.
- Lindars, Barnabas (1987). ‘A Commentary on the Greek Judges?’, in Claude E. Cox, ed., *VI Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Jerusalem 1986*. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, pp. 167–200.
- Margolis, Max L. (1931–8; 1992). *The Book of Joshua in Greek: According to the Critically Restored Text with an Apparatus Containing the Variants of the Principal Recensions and of the Individual Witnesses*, Parts I–IV, Paris: Geuthner, 1931–8; Part V, with Preface by E. Tov, Philadelphia, PA: Annenberg Research Institute, 1992.
- Mazor, Lea (1994). ‘The Septuagint Translation of the Book of Joshua’. Abstract of the diss. submitted to the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, *BIOSCS* 27: 29–38.

- Moatti-Fine, Jacqueline (1996). *Jésus*. La Bible d'Alexandrie 6. Paris: Cerf.
- Munnich, Olivier (1982). *Étude lexicographique du Psautier des Septante*. Doctoral diss., L'Université de Paris-IV.
- Noort, Edward (1998). *Das Buch Josua: Forschungsgeschichte und Problemfelder*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.
- Orlinsky, Harry M. (1969). 'The Hebrew Vorlage of the Septuagint of the Book of Joshua', in G. W. Anderson et al., eds., *Congress Volume, Rome 1968: International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament*. VTS 17. Leiden: Brill, pp. 187–95.
- Pretzl, Otto (1926). 'Septuaginta Probleme im Buch der Richter'. *Bib* 7: 233–69 and 353–83.
- Pretzl, Otto (1928). 'Die griechischen Handschriftengruppen im Buche Joshua untersucht nach ihrer Eigenart und ihrem Verhältnis zueinander'. *Biblica* 9: 377–427.
- Rahlfs, Alfred, and Robert Hanhart, eds. (1935). *Septuaginta: Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes edidit Alfred Rahlfs. Editio altera quam recognovit et emendavit Robert Hanhart*. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2006 (1st edn. Stuttgart 1935).
- Robert, Ulysse (1900). *Heptateuchi partis posterioris versio latina antiquissima e codice Lugdunensi: Version latine du Deutéronome, de Josué et de Juges*. Lyon: A. Rey.
- Rofé, Alexander (1982). 'The End of the Book of Joshua according to the Septuagint'. *Henoch* 4: 17–36.
- Rørdam, T. Skat (1861). *Libri Judicum et Ruth secundum versionem syriaco-hexaplaem*. Haunia: Otto Schwartz.
- Rösel, Martin (2001). 'Die Septuaginta-Version des Josuabuches', in H.-J. Fabry and U. Offerhaus, eds., *Im Brennpunkt: Die Septuaginta. Studien zur Entstehung und Bedeutung der Griechischen Bibel*. BWANT 153. Stuttgart, Berlin, and Cologne: Kohlhammer, pp. 197–2011.
- Sanders, Henry A. (1917). *The Washington Manuscript of Deuteronomy and Joshua*. New York, NY: University of Michigan Studies.
- Sáenz-Badillos, Angel (1973). 'Tradición griega y texto hebreo del Canto de Débora (Jue 5)'. *Sefarad* 33: 245–57.
- Satterthwaite, Philip E. (1991). 'Some Septuagintal Pluses in Judges 20 and 21'. *BIOSCS* 24: 25–35.
- Satterthwaite, Philip E. (2007). *New English Translation of the Septuagint: Judges*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Satterthwaite, Philip E. (2015). 'Judges', in James K. Aitken, ed., *The T&T Clark Companion to the Septuagint*. London etc.: Bloomsbury, pp. 101–17.
- Schreiner, Joseph (1957). *Septuaginta-Massora des Buches der Richter*. AB 7. Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico.
- Schreiner, Joseph (1961). 'Zum B-text des griechischen Canticum Deborae'. *Bib* 42: 333–58.
- Sipilä, Seppo (1999). *Between Literalness and Freedom: Translation Technique in the Septuagint of Joshua and Judges Regarding the Clause Connections Introduced by w- and ky*. Helsinki and Göttingen: Finnish Exegetical Society 75.
- Soisalon-Soininen, Ilmari (1951). *Die Textformen der Septuaginta-Übersetzung des Richterbuches*. Helsinki: Finnische Literaturgesellschaft.
- Stichel, Rainer (1978). 'Die Inschriften des Samson-Mosaiks in Mopsuestia und ihre Beziehung zum biblischen Text'. *BZ* 71: 50–61, pls. 9–10.
- Targarona de Saenz-Badillos, J. (1981). 'Le Texte grec du livre de Juges présenté par les manuscrits (d)ptv', in P. Casseti, O. Keel, and A. Schenker, eds., *Mélanges Dominique Barthélemy: Études bibliques offertes à l'occasion de son 60e anniversaire*. OBO 38. Fribourg: Éditions Universitaires/Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 531–52.

- Tov, Emanuel (1978). 'The Textual History of the Song of Deborah in the A Text of the LXX.' *VT* 28: 224–33.
- Tov, Emanuel (1986). 'The Growth of the Book of Joshua in the Light of the Evidence of the LXX Translation', in S. Japhet, ed., *Studies in Bible 1986*. Scripta Hierosolymitana 31. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, pp. 321–39.
- Ulrich, Eugene (2012). 'The Old Latin, Mount Gerizim, and 4QJosh^a', in A. Piquer Otero and P. Torijano, eds., *Textual Criticism and Dead Sea Scrolls: Studies in Honour of Julio Trebolle Barrera*. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, pp. 361–75.
- Ulrich, Eugene, et al. (1995). *Qumran Cave 4. IX: Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Kings*. DJD 14. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Van der Meer, Michaël N. (2004). *Formation and Reformulation: The Redaction of the Book of Joshua in the Light of the Oldest Textual Witnesses*. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill.
- Van der Meer, Michaël N. (2015). 'Joshua', in James K. Aitken, ed., *The T&T Clark Companion to the Septuagint*. London etc.: Bloomsbury, pp. 86–101.
- Wevers, John W. (1985). 'The Use of Versions for Text Criticism: The Septuagint', in N. Fernández Marcos, ed., *La Septuaginta en la investigación contemporánea*. TECC 34. Madrid: CSIC, pp. 15–24.
- Wevers, John W. (1991). 'Theodoret's *Quaestiones* and the Byzantine Text.' *Henoah* 13: 29–64.

CHAPTER 14

THE BOOKS OF SAMUEL

ANNELI AEJMELAEUS

INTRODUCTION

WHOEVER wishes to do textual research on the books of Samuel must be prepared to face numerous challenges concerning both the Hebrew and the Greek text. The Hebrew text, on the one hand, is challenging because the final form that we have in the MT is not only heavily corrupted but also reveals signs of deliberate editing that must have continued at least until the turn of the era. The Greek text, on the other hand, was based on a Hebrew text widely different from the MT, which is promising from the text-critical point of view, but is also a source of complications in the textual history of the Greek text, mainly due to repeated approximations to the Hebrew text in its various stages. A third challenge comes from the translation. One needs to acquaint oneself with the characteristic translation approach of the translator, who had his personal style but was clearly not among the most talented of the Septuagint translators, showing many defects in his knowledge of Hebrew.

How to proceed methodologically when researching the Septuagint of Samuel must be thought out in relation to the textual evidence, both Hebrew and Greek. The textual histories of the Hebrew and the Greek text are so closely intertwined that it is not possible to do a separate study of the Septuagint without being involved in the study of the Hebrew text, and vice versa. Textual criticism of the Greek text and the establishment of the original text of the translation—as far as it is possible—happen to a great extent on the basis of the manuscript evidence but also benefit from all available information concerning the translation technique of the translator. This again is in a reciprocal relation with the *Vorlage* of the translation: the description of the mode of translation of a certain translator presupposes knowledge of the *Vorlage* on the one hand, but on the other it also produces such knowledge and is an essential prerequisite for the textual criticism of

the Hebrew text. Thus, a discussion of the Septuagint of Samuel necessarily includes a discussion of its Hebrew *Vorlage*.

A reliable overall picture of the Greek Samuel—be it from a text-critical or from a translation-technical viewpoint—can basically be built on the study of text material in which the manuscript witness is unanimous or nearly so. The patterns of translation that emerge further help to solve problem cases in which the witness is divided. Individual cases that show differences between the witnesses—between the Greek witnesses or between the Hebrew and the Greek texts—often function as key cases that reveal the various phenomena at work in the textual history of the book in question. Text-critical research in a broad sense focuses on changes of the text rather than on textual alternatives. The most important question to ask when solving problem cases is *what happened?* Decisive is not which reading is the most appropriate in the case in question but which explanation of the development of the text from one form to another is the most plausible (Aejmelaeus 2012a). For this reason, it is important to recognize the phenomena that were at work in the textual history of the text in question: the characteristic features of the translation, the text-historical development of the Greek text, and the changes that happened in the Hebrew text.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TRANSLATION IN THE BOOKS OF SAMUEL

In comparison with the Greek Torah, which takes a special position among the books of the Septuagint as the first part to be translated and thus a model for the later translators, the books of Samuel show both similarity and dissimilarity. The rugged overall style makes the language appear archaic, resulting partly from Hebrew interference, partly from the model set by the Greek Torah. The Greek Samuel, however, clearly does not reach the standard set by the first translators, which can be seen, for instance, in the much less varied use of particles and in a stricter adherence to the Hebrew sentence structure (Aejmelaeus 2007: 123–41). There is some distance in time from the translation of the Torah, probably even a whole century, which is reflected in features of the Koine that are known to have changed from the third to the second century BCE (Evans 2010); for instance, *ὑποζύγιον* in the meaning of *ὄνος*, fairly common in the Pentateuch, is replaced in Samuel by the latter in all cases but one. As for the date *ante quem*, the translator of Sirach seems to be dependent on the Septuagint of 1 Sam. 12:3 at Sir. 46:19 (more precisely, on the false translation ‘sandals’). Thus, a tentative dating of the translation to the middle of the second century BCE, or soon after, might be defensible. The relative dating of the books of the Septuagint still needs to be studied.

The Greek Torah must have been well known to the translator as the Scripture of his community. He employs most of the more frequent ‘biblical’ Greek vocabulary of the Torah, but the Hebrew–Greek equivalences are often different. He obviously did not use

the Torah as his dictionary (cf. Tov 1999: 183–94). There are several religious *termini*, existent in the Torah, that this translator is not familiar with (e.g. *hērem* ‘devoted to destruction’, 1 Sam. 15:3, 8; *’ēpōd* ‘priestly garment’, 1 Sam. 2:18, 28 etc.), replacing them by transliterations instead of translations. Had he known and studied the Torah in both Hebrew and Greek, he could have checked the equivalences used there. The working habits of the translator make one suspect that he was not a religious professional. His study of Samuel also seems to have been fairly superficial, which consequently raises doubts about the status of these books in his community.

Resorting to transliterations seems to be one way to solve problems typical of this translator. His defective knowledge of Hebrew, which is reflected here, at times also led him to guessing and translating according to the context when he encountered Hebrew words not familiar to him. To give a few examples, (1) at 1 Sam. 14:9 the translation *Ἀπόστητε ἐκεῖ ἕως ἂν ἀπαγγείλωμεν ὑμῖν* (‘Keep away there until we tell you’) is most suitable in the context, although the Hebrew says, ‘Stand still (*dommū*) until we reach (*ng^c* Hiphil) you’; similarly (2) 1 Sam. 14:8 *καὶ κατακυλισθησόμεθα πρὸς αὐτούς* (‘and we shall roll down to them’), for the Hebrew ‘we shall reveal ourselves (*glh* Niphal) to them’, and (3) 1 Sam. 14:11 *καὶ εἰσῆλθον ἀμφοτέροι εἰς Μεσσάβ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων* (‘and both of them went to Messab of the Philistines’), for the Hebrew ‘and both of them revealed themselves (*glh* Niphal) to the garrison (*maṣṣab*) of the Philistines’, show the translator’s difficulty with *glh* in the Niphal as well as revealing a transliteration; (4) at 1 Sam. 1:6 *κατὰ τὴν θλίψιν αὐτῆς καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀθυμίαν τῆς θλίψεως αὐτῆς· καὶ ἠθύμει διὰ τοῦτο* (‘according to her affliction and according to the despondency of her affliction, and she became despondent because of this’), for the Hebrew ‘and her rival would provoke her bitterly in order to irritate her’, one cannot speak of deliberate tendentious interpretation, but instead, the translator has totally missed the point, merely trying to give each word an equivalent. It is most important to take this feature of the translation into account when using the Greek text in textual criticism of the Hebrew. Not every difference of the Greek text needs to be back-translated; rather, there may be mistranslations or contextual interpretations that do not reflect a different Hebrew text.

The area in which the translator of Samuel shows his special skill and feeling for narrative style is the translation of verbal forms. Frequent use of the historical present, in alternation with the aorist in order to produce a dramatic effect, as a rendering of Hebrew narrative forms distinguishes this translation unit from all other translated books, as well as revealing the translator’s ambition to imitate Greek historiography (Wirth 2014: 117–23). For example, 1 Sam. 30:11 *Καὶ εὗρίσκουσιν ἄνδρα Αἰγύπτιον ἐν ἀγρῶ, καὶ λαμβάνουσιν αὐτὸν καὶ ἄγουσιν αὐτὸν πρὸς Δαυὶδ· καὶ διδῶσιν αὐτῷ ἄρτον καὶ ἔφαγεν, καὶ ἐπότισαν αὐτὸν ὕδωρ, καὶ διδῶσιν αὐτῷ κλάσμα παλάθης καὶ ἔφαγεν, καὶ κατέστη τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ* (‘And they find an Egyptian man in open country, and take him and lead him to David. And they give him food, and he ate, and they gave him water to drink. And they give him a morsel of fig cake, and he ate, and his spirit revived in him’). The book that comes closest is 1 Kings, whereas the so-called Kaige sections in Samuel–Kings show hardly any occurrences at all. In the Greek Pentateuch, the historical present is rare: only Exodus shows a number of cases. The translator also

shows sensitivity to the nuances of the Greek imperfect, translating even the Hebrew past iterative correctly, for example 1 Sam. 13:19 *καὶ τέκτων σιδήρου οὐχ εὕρισκετο* (*yimmāṣēʾ*) *ἐν πάσῃ γῆ Ἰσραὴλ* ('and there was no craftsman in iron to be found in all the land of Israel'). The present and the perfect appear in connections that display the viewpoint of the subject, e.g. 1 Sam. 14:3 *καὶ ὁ λαὸς οὐκ ᾔδει ὅτι πεπόρευται* (*hālak*) *Ἰωναθάν* ('and the people did not know that Jonathan has gone'). All of these forms tend to be changed into the aorist in the course of textual transmission and revision.

The books of Samuel are generally regarded as one translation unit and the work of one translator, who has been classified as one of the more literal ones in the Septuagint (Thackeray 1909: 13; Aejmelaeus 2007: 123–41). This does not, however, mean that there are no free translations at all in these books. The creativity of this translator is shown in his choice of words and forms rather than in reorganizing sentence structures. The translators of the original Old Greek, even the more literal ones, are mostly distinguishable from the extremely literalistic revisions of the so-called Kaige group (Barthélemy 1963), which is found in the latter half of 2 Samuel (beginning with chapter 10/11; De Troyer 2004: 236; Wirth 2016) and sporadically elsewhere. For instance, the translator is not particularly prone to following a strict concordance principle, but allows the context to influence his choice of equivalents, whereas the revisers aim to show more clearly features of the underlying Hebrew, highlighting connections between verses with the same Hebrew vocabulary. For instance, the Hebrew verb 'to regret' (*nḥm* Niphel) was originally rendered by *μεταμέλομαι* (1 Sam. 15:11, 35; 2 Sam. 24:16 L) or *μετανοέω* (1 Sam. 15:29 *bis*) but was corrected to *παρακαλέομαι* (1 Sam. 15:11; 2 Sam. 24:16), which not only gives a concordant rendering to the Niphel and Piel usages of the verb, but also results in a theological correction of the notion of God regretting (Aejmelaeus 2008). The following example shows how awkward this kind of schematic translation can be: 1 Sam. 15:11 *Μεταμεμέλημαι* (*παρακεκλημαι* AB O 93^{ms}-108^{ms}121* [vid] = Rahlfs) *ὅτι ἔχρισα* (*εβασιλευσα* B O L 121-509 244 460 = Rahlfs MT) *τὸν Σαουλ εἰς βασιλέα*, for the Hebrew 'I regret (*nīḥamtī*) that I have made (*himlaktī*) Saul king' (cf. Jonah 3:9, 10 in 8ḤevXIIgr).

The relationship of the Greek Samuel to other translated books has not yet received much attention in scholarship. The books of Kings (LXX 3 and 4 Kingdoms) share some features and thus seem to be more closely related than any other book. The distance from the Pentateuch was mentioned above. There is also a distance either in time or in religious affiliation to some of the later translators, in that the translator of Samuel does not use vocabulary derived from *νόμος*, such as *ἀνομία* or *παράνομος*, whereas it becomes most central in the translation of the Psalter. For instance, the most common word for 'sin, offence' in Samuel is *ἀδικία* (nine times for 'āwōn or 'wh Hiphil, twice for 'awlāh), *ἀνομία* occurring five times in the Kaige section (four times for 'āwōn, once for *beliya'al*), whereas the Psalter uses *ἀνομία* more often than any other word (eighty times for various Hebrew words); the Hebrew *beliya'al* is typically rendered by *λοιμός* in Samuel, elsewhere mostly by *παράνομος*, so also in three cases of the Kaige section. There is obviously more to be discovered in this area of research (for more on this see Aejmelaeus 2007: 123–41; Wirth 2016).

TEXT-HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENTS OF THE GREEK TEXT IN THE BOOKS OF SAMUEL

The earliest phase of the textual history of the Greek text of Samuel is no doubt beyond our reach since the earliest manuscripts are separated from the autographs by several centuries. Sporadic approximation to the current Hebrew text must have been going on even in this early period, as seems to be witnessed by doublets that have often permeated into the whole manuscript tradition, typical of Samuel (Driver 1913: lv–lvii). For instance, at 1 Sam. 21:14 (a) *καὶ προσποιήσατο ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ καὶ ἐτυμπάνιζεν ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις τῆς πόλεως* (b) *καὶ παρεφέρετο ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔπιπτεν ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας τῆς πύλης*; the MT reads just once ‘and acted insanely in their hands, and scribbled on the doors of the gate’; the latter alternative (b) in Greek seems intended as a correction of the former (a).

As mentioned above, Kaige-type revision is found in B and the majority of manuscripts (often with the exception of *L*) in the second half of 2 Samuel (Thackeray 1907; Barthélemy 1963). Similar corrections or approximations to the Hebrew text are sporadically found in the B text (including B 121-509 Aeth), followed by a few other manuscripts, in other parts of the books as well, as exemplified by the two cases in 1 Sam. 15:11 above. Unlike the later Christian recensions, the early Jewish revision did not shy away from omitting parts of the text that were not present in the current Hebrew text, sometimes due to deliberate omission; e.g. 1 Sam. 1:13 *καὶ εἰσήκουσεν αὐτῆς Κύριος* was omitted by A B O 121-509 56-246 55 245 707* (= Rahlfs). It is interesting to note that the details touched upon by this revision do not include erroneous renderings of the translator so much as exegetically or theologically relevant features.

The Hexaplaric recension that is based on Origen’s work and well known from other books of the Septuagint is poorly witnessed in Samuel. There is no group of manuscripts that would transmit a high concentration of Hexaplaric readings, but the variants originating with the Hexapla are scattered in several groups of manuscripts, not only O (247-376) but in particular *L* (19-82-93-108-127) as well as some other groups (Brock 1996). The Syrohexapla is only extant in fragments, and the preservation of the Aristarchian signs is very scanty. Nevertheless, Hexaplaric readings can be recognized on account of their connection with the Hebrew text; for instance, in 1 Sam. 3:6 the address ‘my son’ (= MT) added by A O 74-106-107-120-125-134-610 554 is clearly Hexaplaric; 25:39 *καὶ ἤκουσεν Δαυὶδ (+ [✕ 127] ὅτι ἀπεθάνεν [ναβαλ])* A O L 55 71 158) even preserves an asterisk.

The nature of the Lucianic or Antiochian text (= *L*) in Samuel has been intensely debated. In those passages where B represents the Kaige revision, *L* is often the witness closest to the Old Greek, but it would be incorrect to maintain that it equals the Old Greek. It is true that *L* is based on good old textual traditions, but the editors also reveal their knowledge of other textual lines (e.g. 1 Sam. 30:1 *ἐξελθόντος Δαυὶδ* appears as *ἐν τῷ παραγενέσθαι Δ.* in *L* 554^{ms} and *εἰσελθόντος Δ.* in A B 121-509 56-246 460 = Rahlfs; *L*

includes both rival readings later in v. 1 and v. 3), readings from different columns of the Hexapla, especially Symmachus (e.g. 16:14 the OG *καὶ ἐπνιγεν αὐτόν* was replaced in *L* by *σ' καὶ συνεῖχεν αὐτόν* but repeated as a doublet at the end of the verse), and even readings of Kaige/Theodotion (e.g. 15:11 above: the second case; at 25:10 *ἀναχωροῦντες* is replaced by *θ' οἱ ἀποδιδράσκοντες* in *L* 509 554^{ms}). The editorial polishing of the language includes a few atticizing forms (*εἶπον* for *εἶπα*, *ἐγένετο* for *ἐγενήθη*, *ὁ ἔλεος* for *τὸ ἔλεος*, etc.) as well as making explicit implicit subjects or objects, and the like, to enhance the readability of the text (Brock 1996; Fernández Marcos 2001). Thus, *L* consists of several layers that need to be differentiated before making conclusions about the originality of the text.

Traditionally, *B* is considered a strong candidate for the Old Greek in the non-Kaige sections, and so is *L* in the Kaige sections. Both of them certainly represent good, old textual lines, but none of them is free from common scribal errors or editorial 'improvements'. Thus, it is a grave error to reduce textual criticism of the Greek Samuel to choices between the two, leaving out of the discussion the rest of the over fifty manuscripts. In textual criticism, it is absolutely crucial to take into account all the existing evidence, in order to be able to see *what happened to the text* in the course of its history.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE SEPTUAGINT OF THE BOOKS OF SAMUEL TO THE HEBREW TEXT

The Qumran discoveries have confirmed what was suspected by many on the basis of the Septuagint translation, namely that there was a great deal of diversity in the Hebrew text of Samuel before its final standardization in the form of the MT. Numerous agreements between the Septuagint and the fragmentary manuscripts from Qumran (1QSam, 4QSam^a, 4QSam^b, 4QSam^c) show that the source of diversity is mainly not to be sought in the translation but in corruptions as well as deliberate editorial changes of the Hebrew text. The next question to be asked concerns the direction of change. The MT has the reputation of being corrupted: there are numerous *homoioteleuton* errors (e.g. 1 Sam. 10:1, 14:41–2) and errors by confusion of letters (e.g. 1 Sam. 25:9 *wynwhw καὶ ἀνεπήδησεν* [= *wyphz*], cf. 1 Sam. 20:34 *wyqwm* [4QSam^b *wyphz*] *καὶ ἀνεπήδησεν*), which are by definition secondary, but there are also editorial changes that reveal an ideological or theological motivation on the part of the MT (e.g. 1 Sam. 1:9, 14 omission of the expression '(stand) before the Lord' in connection with Hannah's prayer; 1 Sam. 25:22 David's oath that he does not keep is changed: in the MT, he no longer swears by himself but by his enemies).

The most extensive updates in the MT are found in the story of David and Goliath (Barthélemy–Gooding–Lust–Tov 1986). The Septuagint represents an older, short version of David's combat with Goliath and his subsequent marriage to Saul's younger daughter (1 Sam. chs. 17–18), whereas the MT expands (by 40 per cent) by adding features of an obviously popular version of the story that contains more details, for instance,

David's arrival at the battlefield and discussion with his brothers (1 Sam. 17:12–31) and Saul's offer of his elder daughter to David (1 Sam. 18:17–19). Another area with interesting changes is the story and the Song of Hannah (1 Sam. chs. 1–2), which is also fragmentarily preserved in 4QSam^a. The Septuagint and 4QSam^a agree on several details of the story against the MT (e.g. Hannah's Nazirite vow on behalf of the unborn child, 1 Sam. 1:11, 22–3), but in the Song of Hannah, 4QSam^a represents a secondary combination of readings of the Septuagint and the MT (Aejmelaeus 2010).

No doubt the *Vorlage* of the Septuagint (along with the fragmentary 4QSam^b) represents the earliest stage of the textual history of the books of Samuel. Its readings can, however, only be recovered through the Greek text of the Septuagint. In order to be successful, this procedure presupposes a thorough knowledge of the translation approach of the Samuel translator, an eye for the development of the text as well as consideration of the possibilities of the Hebrew diction.

SUGGESTED READING

For more detailed discussion on the state of research on the Greek version of Samuel, see Hugo 2010; Aejmelaeus 2011. Text-critical issues in 1 Samuel are covered by Brock 1996 and Aejmelaeus 2012b.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aejmelaeus, Anneli (2007). *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators: Collected Essays*. Rev. edn. CBET 50. Leuven: Peeters.
- Aejmelaeus, A. (2008). 'A Kingdom at Stake: Reconstructing the Old Greek—Deconstructing the *Textus Receptus*', in Anssi Voitila and Jutta Jokiranta, eds., *Scripture in Transition: Essays on Septuagint, Hebrew Bible, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of Raija Sollamo*. SJSJ 126. Leiden: Brill, pp. 353–66.
- Aejmelaeus, A. (2010). 'Hannah's Psalm in 4QSam^a', in Philippe Hugo and Adrian Schenker, eds., *Archaeology of the Books of Samuel*. VTS 132. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, pp. 23–37.
- Aejmelaeus, A. (2011). 'David's Three Choices: Textual and Literary Development in 2 Samuel 24', in H. von Weissenberg, J. Pakkala, and M. Marttila, eds., *Changes in Scripture: Rewriting and Interpreting Authoritative Traditions in the Second Temple Period*. BZAW 419. Berlin: de Gruyter, pp. 137–51.
- Aejmelaeus, A. (2012a). 'Corruption or Correction? Textual Development in the MT of 1 Samuel 1', in Pablo A. Torijano Morales and Andrés Piquer Otero, eds., *Textual Criticism and Dead Sea Scrolls: Studies in Honour of Julio Trebolle Barrera: Florilegium Complutense*. JSJSup 157. Leiden: Brill, pp. 1–17.
- Aejmelaeus, A. (2012b). 'How to Reach the Old Greek in 1 Samuel and What To Do with It', in M. Nissinen, ed., *Congress Volume Helsinki 2010*. VTSup 148. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, pp. 185–205.
- Barthélemy, Dominique (1963). *Les Devanciers d'Aquila*. VTSup 10. Leiden: Brill.
- Barthélemy, D., D. Gooding, J. Lust, and E. Tov (1986). *The Story of David and Goliath: Textual and Literary Criticism. Papers of a Joint Research Venture*. OBO 73. Fribourg and Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

- Brock, Sebastian P. (1996). *The Recensions of the Septuagint Version of 1 Samuel* (doctoral diss., Oxford 1966). Quaderni di Henoch 9 (with a foreword by N. Fernández Marcos). Torino: Silvio Zamorani, 1996.
- De Troyer, Kristin (2004). 'Der lukianische Text', in Siegfried Kreuzer and Jürgen P. Lesch, eds., *Im Brennpunkt: Die Septuaginta. Studien zur Entstehung und Bedeutung der Griechischen Bibel*, Vol. 2. BWANT 161. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, pp. 229–37.
- Driver, Samuel R. (1913). *Notes on the Hebrew Text and the Topography of the Book of Samuel*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Evans, Trevor V. (2010). 'The Potential of Linguistic Criteria for Dating Septuagint Books.' *BIOSCS* 43: 5–22.
- Fernández Marcos, Natalio (2001). *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Versions of the Bible*. Boston, MA and Leiden: Brill.
- Hugo, Philippe (2010). 'Text History of the Books of Samuel: An Assessment of the Recent Research', in Philippe Hugo and Adrian Schenker, eds., *Archaeology of the Books of Samuel: The Entangling of the Textual and Literary History*. VTSup 132. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, pp. 1–19.
- Thackeray, Henry St. John (1907). 'The Greek Translators of the Four Books of Kings.' *JTS* 8: 262–78.
- Thackeray, Henry St. John (1909). *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek According to the Septuagint*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tov, Emanuel (1999). *The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint*. VTSup 72. Atlanta, GA: SBL and Leiden: Brill.
- Wellhausen, Julius (1871). *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Wirth, Raimund (2014). 'Das Praesens Historicum in den griechischen Samuelbüchern', in K. De Troyer, T. M. Law, and M. Liljeström, eds., *In the Footsteps of Sherlock Holmes: Studies in the Biblical Texts in Honour of Anneli Aejmelaesus*. CBET 72. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 117–32.
- Wirth, Raimund (2016). *Die Septuaginta der Samuelbücher: Untersucht unter Einbeziehung ihrer Rezensionen*. DSI 7. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

CHAPTER 15

THE BOOKS OF KINGS

TUUKKA KAUKHANEN, ANDRÉS PIQUER OTERO,
TIMO TEKONIEMI, AND PABLO A. TORIJANO

INTRODUCTION

THE textual history of the books of Kings (3–4 Kingdoms) is by far the most complicated one in the Hebrew Bible and the Septuagint, only rivalled by that of the books of Samuel (see Chapter 14). The differences between 3–4 Kingdoms and the MT are a true conundrum that scholars have long tried to tackle. The differences include the following features: both large-scale transpositions (e.g. the verses 1 Kgs 22:41–50 are found in 3 Kgdms 16:28a–h; chapters 20 and 21 are transposed in LXX) and small-scale transpositions (verses 1 Kgs 11:23–25a are found after verse 14); the so-called ‘Miscellanies’ (Septuagint has in 1 Kgs/3 Kgdms 2:35a–k, 46a–l collections of various materials found in MT chapters 3–10); two largely different chronological outlooks; many ideologically differing readings (e.g. the nomistic MT expansions in 1 Kgs 8:1–11, the MT edition seems to have gone through slight anti-Samaritan revision); minuses/pluses of multiple verses (verses 14:1–20 are missing from 3 Kgdms, while 3 Kgdms has an Alternative Jeroboam story in 12:24a–z not found in MT); and finally, minuses/pluses of smaller textual units. In addition to these differences of the MT vis-à-vis the LXX, the Greek witnesses have their own challenges. Most important of these is the Hebraizing Kaige revision, the influence of which has now permeated most, if not all, Greek manuscript traditions.

When studying the Septuagint of Kings, the same methodological principles apply as in the books of Samuel: textual criticism of the Greek text, translation technique, and the Hebrew base text (*Vorlage*) of the Septuagint must all be studied together (see Chapter 14).

TRANSLATION PROFILE OF THE GREEK BOOKS OF KINGS

The books of Kings are generally regarded as a single translation unit, clearly akin to that of the books of Samuel. Thackeray (1909: 13) classified the non-Kaige section (1 Kgs/3 Kgdms 2:12–21:43) as ‘indifferent Greek’, and the Kaige section—which he regarded the work of a different translator—as a ‘literal or unintelligent version’. However, in the non-Kaige section it can be clearly seen that the original translation is not a slavishly literal rendering, and even the Kaige sections are not as painfully literal as the extreme formalism of Aquila. The Greek books of Samuel are dated to the mid-second century BCE (see Chapter 14) and it is plausible that the Greek Kings stem from the same approximate date, since the translation appears to have been known already by Jewish historians Demetrius the Chronographer and Eupolemus (third and second centuries BCE). The syntactic features of the Old Greek Kings also closely resemble those in Samuel. For instance, among the translated books of the Septuagint, the use of the historical present is almost completely limited to Samuel and Kings. Because of their similarities, it is likely that the same scribal circles were responsible for the translation of both Samuel and Kings.

The Old Greek translation is literal in its approach to the Hebrew original, often even following the Hebrew word order. The language itself is passable Koine Greek, although the influence of the underlying Semitic source text results in a constrained simplicity in the Greek syntax. The translator introduces a number of neologisms, e.g. ἀπελέκητος ‘unhewn (stone)’ seven times in 1 Kgs/3 Kgdms 6:1–10:12 and never elsewhere in the LXX (Law 2015: 151–2). Occasionally the translator abandons formal equivalence altogether and produces a good idiomatic translation, such as παντοκράτωρ ‘Almighty’ for *šebāōt* in the expression ‘Lord/God of Hosts’ (e.g. 1 Kgs/3 Kgdms 19:10, 14). The translator may depart from the Hebrew structure by using distinctively Greek forms, such as the genitive absolute: 1 Kgs/3 Kgdms 14:25 ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ τῷ πέμπτῳ βασιλεύοντος Ῥοβοάμ for ‘in the *fifth year of King* (*baššānā haḥāmišit lammelek*) Rehoboam’.

It has been suggested that, occasionally, the translator attempted to smooth out difficulties in the Hebrew text, including logical inconsistencies. For instance, in 3 Kgdms (MT 1 Kgs) 13:31 the Greek text reads ‘(when I die,) lay *me* beside his bones, *that my bones may be preserved with his bones*’ in contrast to MT’s ‘lay *my bones* beside his bones’. Turkanik (2008: 74) suggests that the translator modified the text motivated by the fact that when someone dies the whole body is instantly buried, not merely the bones, which may be buried a second time later. However, in most instances, including this one, such differences will likely go back to the *Vorlage* which the translator, for the most part, rendered faithfully.

The translator paid special attention to important cultic or nomistic terms; those are frequently rendered with fixed Greek terms, often similar to those used in the LXX Pentateuch translation. Such examples would include *ἡυqqā* ‘statute’: δικαίωμα or πρόσταγμα; *mišwā* ‘commandment’: ἐντολή; *mišpāt* ‘ordinance’: κρίμα or (less frequently) δικαίωμα; *mizbēah* ‘altar’: θυσιαστήριον.

Some renderings are erroneous or clumsy. For example, in 1 Kgs 16:28d (= 22:47 MT, 22:46 NRSV) the translator did not know the specific meaning of *haqqādēš* ‘cult prostitute’ and used *συμπλοκή* ‘combination’; hence ‘sexual intercourse’. As a last resort, the translator simply transcribed an unfamiliar word: 1 Kgs 16:28e (= 22:48 MT, 22:47 NRSV) *νασιβ* for *niššāb* (from *nšb* ‘to stand’) ‘deputy, official’.

TEXTUAL HISTORY OF THE GREEK BOOKS OF KINGS

The main challenge for evaluating the Greek textual witnesses in 1-4 Kingdoms comes from the Kaige revision (see Chapter 14). In the Kaige sections of Kings (1 Kgs 1:1–2:11 and 1 Kgs 22–2 Kgs), the B text (Codex Vaticanus) and the majority of the Greek manuscripts attest to a proto-rabbinic revision of the Old Greek text towards the MT, commonly called the Kaige recension (or revision; see also Chapter 30). It strove for a strict equivalence between the Greek and Hebrew morphological and syntactical features. Some Kaige features are used in a thoroughgoing manner. For instance, the Hebrew *minhā* ‘offering, present’ is translated by the Old Greek translator as *δῶρον* ‘gift’, while Kaige changes this to a transcription, *μαναα*. The reviser displays a tendency to render very literally by translating *bēʿenē* ‘before, in front of’ as *ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς*, literally ‘in the eyes of’; the Old Greek translator used *ἐνώπιον*, a more natural and idiomatic word. Similarly, the reviser’s effort to provide strict formal equivalence is shown in the change of the Old Greek translation *ἀρχιστράτηγος* for *šar haššābā* ‘general, chief of the army’ to the more literal *ἄρχων τῆς δυνάμεως*. It must be recognized, however, that while some of the Kaige features are quite striking, most of the time the reviser leaves the Old Greek translation as it is. Perhaps some stories or recurring expressions were deemed more important than others, and the revisers concentrated their efforts on those. It is likely that such revisional activity took place over a period of time, and revised texts were in circulation at various stages of the recensional development. This is indicated by the majority of the manuscripts not attesting a number of Kaige-type readings that can be found in B and a handful of other manuscripts. Such instances are found both in the non-Kaige section (e.g. small omissions in 1 Kgs 13:11) and in the Kaige sections (e.g. in 2 Kgs 22:20, after ‘the disaster that I will bring on this place’ the LXX has a plus ‘and on its inhabitants’; A and B omit it in accordance with the MT).

For the most part, Hebraizing Kaige readings can be distinguished from the later Hexaplaric readings. Those are readings from the LXX column of Origen’s Hexapla (see Chapter 38) that found their way especially into two manuscripts, A (codex Alexandrinus) and 247. They are often marked with O (for Origen). Some of the Hexaplaric readings are quite widely attested and a number of them are witnessed by L; e.g. the verse 2 Kgs 4:15 begins in the LXX ‘and he called her’, but A, 247, L, and many others add ‘he said: “Call her”’ before it, in accordance with the MT (Torijano 2017: 110).

The Antiochian text in Kings is attested by the manuscripts 19-82-93-108-127 and, partly, 700—a group often given the siglum *L* (for Lucian). In addition, the Antiochian patristic authors, especially Theodoret of Cyr, quote Kings according to the Antiochian text. The prevalent theory is that the Antiochian or ‘Lucianic’ reviser took an early text, close to the Old Greek, revised it stylistically, and added a number of Hexaplaric readings (see Chapter 37). Most noteworthy early studies on this theme in Kings are by Rahlfs (1904, 1911). At times, the underlying base text, the proto-Lucianic text, can be recognized underneath the revisional changes. It has often preserved the Old Greek reading when B and the majority of the manuscripts attest a Kaige reading. While it was earlier thought that the Antiochian text form was free of Kaige readings, recent studies have shown that, at times, the Antiochian text, too, attests a Kaige reading. Moreover, occasionally the Old Greek reading has been lost under two revisions: Kaige in B and the majority of manuscripts, Lucianic revision in the Antiochian text.

Because of the complicated textual history, no Greek manuscript or group of manuscripts is free from considerable revision. This situation makes the daughter versions of 3–4 Kingdoms an important textual witness. Among them, the Old Latin witnesses are text-critically the most interesting. They have preserved a number of proto-Lucianic readings, many of them Old Greek readings that have been lost in most of the Greek manuscripts. Three Latin witnesses are of special interest.

- (1) The fragmentary *Palimpsestus Vindobonensis* (La¹⁵) from the fifth century. The translation technique of this manuscript is very literal, and its Greek base text seems to have been very close to the Old Greek. Often its agreements with *L* point to old, even original, readings, since for the most part in Kings, the two witnesses appear to be independent of each other. Recent studies (Schenker 2004; Richelle 2015; Tekoniemi 2019) have suggested that La¹⁵ could in fact preserve some Old Greek readings that are lost in the entire Greek manuscript tradition. This seems to be the case especially in 2 Kgs 10:23–30, 13:14–21, and 17:1–18, where the Kaige revision has likely influenced even the Antiochian text.
- (2) Quotations by Lucifer of Cagliari (fourth century), too, have preserved some Old Greek elements against all the Greek witnesses. Kauhanen concludes that the good quality of Lucifer’s Greek exemplar is evident from the fact that he follows almost none of the Kaige or Hexaplaric readings. However, Lucifer may sporadically attest to some recensional Lucianic readings and he has at times modified the text to his own ideological ends, especially by shortening (Kauhanen 2018: 315–16).
- (3) Readings in the margins of some Spanish copies of the Vulgate (so-called ‘Marginal Latin’: La^M or La^{91–95}). The readings are edited (Moreno 1992), but a complete text-critical analysis remains to be done, and the text-critical value of these glosses is debated. According to Treballe (2017), when the glosses agree with *L*, they often preserve Old Greek readings; but, in addition, they contain some Hexaplaric and Kaige readings. It has been claimed that the Old Latin witnesses go back to a single Old Latin translation in the same way as the Greek

witnesses go back to a single Old Greek translation. However, the term ‘Old Latin’ was not adopted as a counterpart for ‘Old Greek’; it is meant to distinguish between the Vulgate and whatever Latin versions existed before that (see Chapter 42). Kauhanen (2016: 324) maintains that the differences between La¹¹⁵, La^M, and quotations by Lucifer of Cagliari are best explained by each of them going back to an independent Latin translation, not to a single Old Latin translation.

Among other secondary versions, the Armenian clearly stands out. In its oldest strata it preserves readings of proto-Lucianic readings that are near to the Old Greek. Occasionally, the Armenian version witnesses to the Old Greek reading even in places where the Antiochian manuscripts have lost it. For instance, the Hebrew mantic verb *šʾl* ‘to ask’ is mostly rendered in Old Greek with *ἐπερωτάω* ‘to ask, enquire’. The Armenian version translates it as *harcʿanel*. In 2 Kgs/4 Kgdms 1:6 the underlying Hebrew verb was probably originally *šʾl*, not *drš* ‘to seek’ as in the MT. The Armenian may have preserved the Old Greek rendering with its usual *harcʿanel*, going back to the Greek *ἐπερωτάω*. The MT reading has influenced all the Greek witnesses since they offer forms of *ζητέω* ‘to seek’ or *ἐκζητέω* ‘to seek intently’ (Piquer Otero and Torijano Morales 2014). A similar and equally complex situation may be found in the Georgian version: although its main manuscripts tend to present a late Hexaplaric-type text, some of the early manuscripts have preserved, at least in some sections, a text-type related to the Greek Antiochian text. As with the Armenian version, the early Georgian text may have preserved Old Greek readings now lost in the Greek *L*-text; e.g. like Armenian, the best Georgian witnesses attest to the Old Greek rendering *ἐπερωτάω* for *šʾl*.

Yet another important and text-historically fascinating version is the one in the Sahidic dialect of Coptic. Its main text type follows a Greek text akin to B and frequently presents Kaige readings. However, there is a considerable amount of variation within the Sahidic textual tradition, including both Hexaplaric material and potential Old Greek readings (Piquer Otero forthcoming; see also Chapter 45). For example, in 1 Kgs/3 Kgdms 22:17 manuscript B and the majority read *ποιμνιον* ‘flock’, the Antiochian text *πρόβατα* ‘sheep’, and the Sahidic version combines the readings into ‘a flock of sheep’. Occasionally, the Sahidic version has a remarkable agreement with another secondary version, such as an Old Latin version. Some of such agreements may go back to an Old Greek reading lost in all the Greek witnesses; e.g. in 1 Kgs/3 Kgdms 1:52 the Greek witnesses read ‘if one of his hairs shall fall’ but the usual element of an oath formula, ‘as the Lord lives’, can be found in some Sahidic and Old Latin witnesses (Piquer Otero 2008).

THE HEBREW AND GREEK BOOKS OF KINGS

As indicated in the introduction, at times the differences between the LXX and the MT of Kings are considerable. Possibly the most perplexing of the textual phenomena are the so-called ‘Miscellanies’ found in the Septuagint in 1 Kgs 2:35a–k, 46a–l. These verses

recount many of the deeds of Solomon during his earlier reign, but they have no other connecting narrative theme: they are indeed miscellaneous notices concerning Solomon, his wisdom, and his reign. While most of the information in the ‘Miscellanies’ can be found in various locations in the MT in chapters 3–10, some can be found only here in the LXX. In turn, some of the information found in MT (e.g. the entire verse 5:5) cannot be found at all in the LXX. Scholarly views on the origin of the ‘Miscellanies’ differ radically: some consider them secondary additions or collections made on the basis of MT (Tov 2008, Van Keulen 2005), while others argue that the MT has in fact relocated the texts to various locations (Schenker 2000, Trebolle 2007 and 2020).

Another discussion significantly dividing scholarly opinions pertains to the different chronological outlooks of the LXX and the MT. The regnal periods and ascension years of kings differ especially concerning the Omride kings (1 Kgs 16–2 Kgs 8) and the last years of the Northern kingdom (2 Kgs 15–17). Because the compositional layout of Kings is heavily dependent on the synchronic data, differing chronological information can greatly affect the order of the text. For example, in the MT Jehoshaphat ascends the throne of Judah in the fourth year of Ahab king of Israel (1 Kgs 22:41). In the LXX this happens already in the eleventh year of Ahab’s father Omri. This means that also the whole regnal narrative of Jehoshaphat must be given after that of Omri, not that of Ahab, in 16:28a–h. Again, some consider the MT layout to be the original one, later edited in the LXX *Vorlage* (Gooding 1969, Hendel 2012), while others argue the contrary to be the case (Shenkel 1968, Trebolle 2012).

In contrast to the situation with many other books of the Hebrew Bible, only a minuscule part of text of Kings—in a proto-MT form—has been found at Qumran. The Dead Sea Scrolls thus offer little evidence for the textual criticism of Kings. However, the Qumran evidence from other books—particularly Jeremiah and Samuel—indicates that there existed multiple differing editions of the same Hebrew work at a relatively late date. That situation resembles the relationship of the LXX and the MT in Kings: they represent two different Hebrew editions of the same composition. This should caution against attributing large-scale differences between the LXX and the MT to the translator.

Nevertheless, some scholars hold that the differences between the MT Kings and LXX Kingdoms result from the work of the Greek translators (Wevers 1950; Turkanik 2008) or later Greek revisers (Gooding 1969; Van Keulen 2005). According to this view, the *Vorlage* of the Greek Kingdoms was essentially the proto-Masoretic Hebrew text, but it was vastly reworked by the Greek translators or revisers. The additions, transpositions, different chronological settings, and the supplementary materials would be due to hermeneutical translation principles that resulted in deliberate and systematic changes of the text. However, this view does not take into consideration the fluidity of the biblical text in the Second Temple Period as shown by the Qumran findings, nor the recensional processes or the translation technique at work within both the Greek and the Hebrew traditions. Most importantly, however, in no other books of the Septuagint do we find evidence for such Greek revision, especially by the translator himself; the direction of deliberate revision is usually towards the MT, not away from it, as shown by the Kaige

and Hexaplaric revisions. In addition, it is unlikely that such a literal translator as that of Kings would have made such large changes to the text and its order.

Another approach is to accept that the *Vorlage* of the Greek Kingdoms differed from the proto-Masoretic text considerably. This approach covers, in turn, two views about the exact nature of that Hebrew original. (1) According to, for instance, Talshir (1993) and Tov (2008), Kingdoms faithfully reflects an original Hebrew edition that was a later reworking of the proto-Masoretic version. In this view, the LXX could serve mainly as a means to correct some of the manifestly corrupted readings in the MT. (2) In the second view, prompted by the newfound understanding of the pluriformity of texts brought about by the Qumran findings, the documented evidence of textual differences has to be taken into account on a larger scale. All textual evidence has to be assessed on its own terms, without any presumptions about the priority of certain text forms or manuscripts. The MT is, in the words of Ulrich (2002: 98), simply ‘a chance collection from a wide pool of circulating texts,’ and cannot thus be taken as the sole basis of the research. Therefore, while the *Vorlage* of LXX certainly contained readings secondary to the proto-MT, it likely was a generally older *edition* of Kings than the MT. Accordingly, the differences between the Hebrew and Greek editions are the result of editorial and redactional processes that are reflected in both texts. Some of the editing was triggered by new theological ideas that only became important for the later editors. For instance, the word of Yahweh concerning Solomon’s temple building in 1 Kgs 6:11–14, disruptive in its context and absent in the Old Greek and Josephus, is an insertion in the proto-MT. On the other hand, the Old Greek edition may have secondarily improved the image of Solomon in 1 Kgs/3 Kgdms 11:1–3 by having him marry an undefined number of foreign women, whereas MT depicts him as potentially marrying even hundreds of them.

If the view of the LXX going back to a differing Hebrew edition of Kings is adopted, it will pose challenges to literary and redaction criticism. Earlier the most influential theories concerning the textual evolution of Kings were proposed solely on the basis of the MT. If the documented evidence of the evolution of the biblical texts is taken seriously, and it is accepted that in some passages the MT reflects a textual stage posterior to that of the LXX, it will call for a reassessment of the MT-based redactional theories. Such reassessment is offered, for instance, in the works of Trebolle (2012) and Tekoniemi (2019).

SUGGESTED READING

Schenker (2004) suggests a considerable number of putative Hebrew readings underlying the LXX of Kings that are older than the MT. He pushes back the limits of the methodology of retroverting readings from Greek (and Latin!), and so the reader needs to assess his arguments with caution. The volume of papers edited by Aejmelaeus and Kauhanen (2017) contains articles in English touching upon questions of the Kaige revision and the Antiochian text, many of them on Kings. Trebolle (2020) presents a wide selection of articles on the textual history of Kings, with particular attention to the interaction between textual and literary or redaction criticism, and to the role of the Antiochian text and the Old Latin versions in the search for the Old Greek and its *Vorlage*. It expands on Trebolle’s 1989 work, a pioneering

study in the field, which stresses the importance of ‘resumptive repetition’ (*Wiederaufnahme*) as a redactional device and assesses its impact on the analysis of textual variants. Hugo (2006) has a comprehensive research-historical overview to the textual criticism of Kings, as well as case studies from 1 Kgs 17–18 where the LXX, for the most part, seems to preserve an older Hebrew version of the Elijah story.

In addition to the usual editions of the Greek text (Rahlfs and Brooke-McLean), the reader of 3–4 Kingdoms will benefit from an edition of the Antiochian text (Fernández Marcos and Busto Saiz 1992), the Old Latin witnesses La¹¹⁵ (Fischer 1986) and La^M (Moreno 1992). Lucifer’s works, with an apparatus, can be found in Diercks (1978); and Kauhanen (2018: 379–404) offers a running text of Lucifer’s quotations from Kings in Latin and English.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aejmelaeus, A., and T. Kauhanen, eds. (2017). *The Legacy of Barthélemy: 50 Years after Les Devanciers d’Aquila*. DSI 9. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Diercks, G. F. (1978). *Luciferi Calaritani opera quae supersunt*. CCSL 8. Turnhout: Brepols.
- Fernández Marcos, N., and J. R. Busto Saiz (1992). *El texto antioqueno de la Biblia griega*. 1–2 Reyes. TECC 50, 53, 60. Madrid: Instituto de Filología del CSIC.
- Fischer, B. (1986). *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Lateinischen Bibeltexte*. Aus der Geschichte der Lateinischen Bibel 12. Freiburg: Herder.
- Gooding, D. W. (1969). ‘Problems of Text and Midrash in the Third Book of Reigns’. *Textus* 7: 1–29.
- Hendel, R. S. (2012). ‘The Two Editions of the Royal Chronology in Kings’, in A. Piquer Otero and P. A. Torijano Morales, eds., *Textual Criticism and Dead Sea Scroll Studies in Honour of Julio Trebolle Barrera: Florilegium Complutense*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 99–114.
- Hugo, P. (2006). *Les Deux Visages d’Élie*. OBO 217. Fribourg: Academic Press.
- Kauhanen, T. (2016). ‘Septuagint in the West: The Significance of the Post-Lucianic Latin Witnesses for the Textual History of Kings’, in S. Kreuzer, M. Meiser, and M. Sigismund, eds., *Die Septuaginta: Orte und Intentionen*. WUNT 361. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 309–25.
- Kauhanen, T. (2018). *Lucifer of Cagliari and the Text of 1–2 Kings*. SBLSCS 68. Atlanta, GA: SBL Press.
- Keulen, P. S. F. van (2005). *Two Versions of the Solomon Narrative: An Inquiry into the Relationship between MT 1 Kgs. 2–11 and LXX 3 Reg. 2–11*. VTSup 104. Leiden: Brill.
- Law, T. M. (2015). ‘3–4 Kingdoms (1–2 Kings)’, in J. K. Aitken, ed., *T&T Clark Companion to the Septuagint*. London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, pp. 147–66.
- Moreno, A. (1992). *Las glosas marginales de Vetus Latina en las Biblias Vulgatas españolas: 1–2 Reyes*. Madrid: CSIC.
- Piquer Otero, A. (2008). ‘An Old Greek Reading Attested in the Sahidic and Old Latin Fragments of 1 Kgs 1:52. Text-Critical Analysis and Relationship with the Hebrew Text’, *Henoch* 30/1: 80–93.
- Piquer Otero, A. (forthcoming). ‘Lucianic or Pre-Lucianic? The Provenance of L Readings in the Coptic Fragments of III–IV Kingdoms’, in K. De Troyer, D. Candido, and J. Alfaro, eds., *On Hexaplaric and Lucianic Readings and Recensions*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Piquer Otero, A. and P. Torijano Morales (2014). ‘Between the Search in the Word and the Asking to God: Two Mantic Verbs in the Textual History of Samuel–Kings’, in K. De Troyer,

- T. M. Law, and M. Liljeström, eds., *In the Footsteps of Sherlock Holmes: Studies in the Biblical Text in Honour of Anneli Aejmelaes*. CBET 72. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 299–330.
- Rahlfs, A. (1904). *Studien zu den Königsbüchern: Septuaginta-Studien 1*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Rahlfs, A. (1911). *Lucians Rezension der Königsbücher: Septuaginta-Studien 3*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Richelle, M. (2015). 'Revisiting 2 Kings 13:14–21 (MT and LXX): The Transposition of a Pericope and Multiple Literary Editions in 2 Kings', in I. Himbaza, ed., *Text History of the Hebrew Bible*. Orbis Biblicus Orientalis 275. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 62–81.
- Schenker, A. (2000). *Septante et texte Massorétique dans l'histoire la plus ancienne du texte de 1 Rois 2–14*. Paris: Gabalda.
- Schenker, A. (2004). *Älteste Textgeschichte der Königsbücher: Die hebräische Vorlage der ursprünglichen Septuaginta als älteste Textform der Königsbücher*. OBO 199. Fribourg: Academic Press/Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Schenker, A. (2006). 'Die Textgeschichte der Königsbücher und ihre Konsequenzen für die Textgeschichte der Hebräischen Bibel, illustriert am Beispiel Von 2Kön 23:1–3', in A. Lemaire, ed., *Congress Volume Leiden 2004*. VTSup 109. Leiden: Brill, pp. 65–79.
- Schenker, A. (2010). 'The Septuagint in the Text History of 1–2 Kings', in A. Lemaire and B. Halpern, eds., *The Books of Kings: Sources, Composition, Historiography and Reception*. VTSup 129. Leiden: Brill, pp. 3–17.
- Shenkel, J. D. (1968). *Chronology and Recensional Development in the Greek Text of Kings*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Talshir, Z. (1993). *The Alternative Story of the Division of the Kingdom: 3 Kingdoms 12:24a–z*. Jerusalem Biblical Studies 6. Jerusalem: Simor.
- Tekoniemi, T. (2019). *A Game of Thrones: Textual History of 2 Kings 17 in Light of the Old Latin*. Doctoral dissertation at the University of Helsinki. Downloadable at <https://helsinki.academia.edu/TimoTekoniemi>.
- Thackeray, H. St. J. (1909). *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek According to the Septuagint*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Torijano, P. (2017). 'How Much Hexaplaric Material Entered into the Antiochene Textual Tradition?', in A. Aejmelaes and T. Kauhanen, eds., *The Legacy of Barthélemy: 50 Years after Les Devanciers d'Aquila*. DSI 9. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 69–119.
- Tov, E. (2008). 'Three Strange Books of the LXX: 1 Kings, Esther, and Daniel Compared with Similar Rewritten Compositions from Qumran and Elsewhere', in M. Karrer and W. Kraus, eds., *Die Septuaginta: Texte, Kontexte, Lebenswelten: Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D), Wuppertal 20.–23. Juli 2006*. WUNT 219. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 369–93.
- Trebolle Barrera, J. C. (1989). *Centena in libros Samuelis et Regum: Variantes textuales y composición literaria en los libros de Samuel y Reyes*. TECC 47. Madrid: Instituto de Filología del CSIC.
- Trebolle Barrera, J. C. (2006). 'The Text-Critical Value of the Old Latin in Post-Qumranic Textual Criticism', in F. García Martínez, ed., *From 4QMMT to Resurrection: Mélanges Qumraniens en hommage à Émile Puech*. STDJ 61. Leiden: Brill, pp. 313–32.
- Trebolle Barrera, J. C. (2007). 'Kings (MT/LXX) and Chronicles: The Double and Triple Textual Tradition', in R. Rezetko, T. H. Lim, and W. B. Aucker, eds., *Reflection and Refraction: Studies in Biblical Historiography in Honour of A. Graeme Auld*. VTSup 113. Leiden: Brill, pp. 483–501.

- Trebolle Barrera, J. C. (2012). 'Textual Criticism and the Literary Structure and Composition of 1–2 Kings/3–4 Reigns: The Different Sequence of Literary Units in MT and LXX', in S. Kreuzer et al., eds., *Die Septuaginta: Entstehung, Sprache, Geschichte: 3. Internationale Fachtagung Veranstatet Von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D), Wuppertal 22.–25. Juli 2010*. WUNT 286. Mohr Siebeck, pp. 55–78.
- Trebolle Barrera, J. C. (2017). 'Readings of the Old Latin (Beuron 91–95) Reflecting "Additions" of the Antiochene Text in 3–4 Kingdoms', in A. Aejmelaeus and T. Kauhanen, eds., *The Legacy of Barthélemy: 50 Years after Les Devanciers d'Aquila*. DSI 9. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 120–45.
- Trebolle Barrera, J. C. (2020). *Textual and Literary Criticism of the Books of Kings: Collected Essays*. Edited by A. Piquer Otero and P. Torijano. VTSup 185. Leiden: Brill.
- Turkanik, A. S. (2008). *Of Kings and Reigns: A Study of Translation Technique in the Gamma/Gamma Section of 3 Reigns (1 Kings)*. FAT 2/30. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Ulrich, E. (2002). 'The Text of Hebrew Scriptures at the time of Hillel and Jesus', in A. Lemaire, ed., *Congress Volume Basel 2001*. VTSup 92. Leiden: Brill, pp. 85–108.
- Van Keulen, P. S. F. (2005). *Two Versions of the Solomon Narrative: An Inquiry into the Relationship between MT 1 Kgs. 2–11 and LXX 3 Reg. 2–11*. VTSup 104. Leiden: Brill.
- Wevers, John William (1950). 'Exegetical Principles Underlying the Septuaginta Text of 1 Kings ii 12–xxi 43'. *Oudtestamentische Studiën* 8: 300–22.

CHAPTER 16

CHRONICLES/ PARALIPOMENA

LAURENCE VIANÈS

TITLE AND DIVISIONS

THE Greek version of the Chronicles bears the title *Παραλειπόμενα*, ‘things left aside, omitted’, suggesting that it was seen as a complement to the books of Kingdoms. The word used in the genitive became the Latin *Paralipomenon*. Other titles found in early Christian literature include ‘Book of the Days’ or ‘Paralipomena of the Kings / Kingdoms’ (Knoppers and Harvey 2002); sometimes quotations of—Paralipomena are introduced under the name ‘Kingdoms’ (Weber 1945: xviii–xx).

THE TEXT

Two main textual traditions have attracted the interest of scholars, the Old Greek and the Antiochian or Lucianic recension. The Lucianic, defined by its editors (Fernández Marcos and Busto Saíz 1996, following the failed attempt by Lagarde [1883]) chiefly as the text followed by Theodoret of Cyrrihus, derives from the Old Greek through extensive revision; it is characterized by a more Attic style, a carefully chosen and varied vocabulary, the addition of small words or sentences which make explicit the unsaid, and some double translations. Other groups of manuscripts are the Hexaplaric witnesses, and the R recension which exists also for the books of Kingdoms/Reigns and exhibits here the same recensional characteristics. The effort to retrieve the Old Greek has now resulted in a critical edition of 2 Paralipomena in the Göttingen series (Hanhart 2014); work on 1

Paralipomena is still ongoing. The textual form considered the closest to the Old Greek is found in the group formed by Vaticanus, despite its many copyist's errors, Sinaiticus and MS 127 (c₂); Papyrus 971 of the third century CE confirms the antiquity of this form. The whole manuscript tradition of Paralipomena was left untouched by the Kaige revision (Brock 1968, against Barthélemy 1963), but the representatives of the Antiochian text occasionally show the influence of the other Greek translators (MSS 19, 93, 108 = be₂ in Allen 1974 etc.: Fernández Marcos and Busto Saiz 1989). Albrecht (2018) presents a preliminary edition with images of early papyrus fragments from a codex from St Catherine's Monastery on Mt Sinai. The fragments relate to 1 Chronicles chs. 25–7, and 2 Chronicles chs. 4–6 and 29. The handwriting has been variously dated to between the fourth and seventh centuries, making the papyrus a relatively early witness to LXX Chronicles.

OTHER VERSIONS

Fragments from other Greek translations amount to little, and those transmitted anonymously might be only manuscript variants. Many name Symmachus as their author, one Theodotion, and one Aquila (both on 2 Par. 33:14; Hanhart 2014).

A complete Old Latin version of 2 Paralipomena is found in MS 109 (Complutense 31 = First Bible of Alcalá, tenth century, not the Complutensis Polyglot Bible edition). It represents the most common version in use before Jerome's, since it agrees strongly with the quotations by Lucifer of Cagliari and Augustine; the manuscript, however, suffered contamination by the Vulgate in thirteen passages, some of them quite long (Weber 1945: xxxiii). It also has some doublets which Lucifer does not have, as well as stylistic corrections. Other Latin versions are available only in fragments. All of them frequently agree with the Lucianic text. Rather than reflecting Theodotion (Weber 1945: xxxii with caution) or the Kaige recension (Carmignac 1981), MS 109 was probably translated from the Lucianic LXX, with which it sides in 52 per cent of cases, with some help from Hexaplaric material (Allen 1974; Fernández Marcos and Busto Saiz 1996: xxxiv–xl; Fernández Marcos 1997). Indeed, it has some very striking readings, either interpretative (*ad petram Cabaa* 2 Par. 28:7) or agreeing with the MT without support in the extant Greek tradition; it even witnesses one original Hebrew reading which all others have lost (*Edom* in 2 Par. 20:2).

The Ethiopic version is based on the Lucianic textual form (Grébaut 1932). Manuscripts of Chronicles in the Syriac Syrohexaplaric version do not exhibit material from the later Greek translators. In Armenian too the original version, made at the beginning of the fifth century, remained distinct from the slightly later Hexaplaric version (Cowe in Fernández Marcos and Busto Saiz 1996: xlvi–liii).

RECEPTION

There are few ancient commentaries: Theodoret of Cyrrihus's *Quaestiones in Reges et Paralipomena* (Fernández Marcos and Busto Saíz 1984) and a catena attributed to Procopius of Gaza (PG 87/1, cols. 1201–20). The Latin *Quaestiones Hebraicae in Paralipomena* of Pseudo-Jerome (PL 23 cols. 1431–79) are the work of a converted Jew in Carolingian times.

Passages famous in the Christian tradition include the Prayer of Solomon (*oratio Salomonis*) independently transmitted in numerous Greek and Latin manuscripts at the end of Ecclesiasticus: it is taken from 2 Par. 6:13–22 rather than from the parallel 3 Reigns 8:22–31. Manasseh's repentance in 2 Par. 33 was often quoted from the *Didache* and the *Apostolic Constitutions* (2.22) onwards, together with the so-called Prayer of Manasseh: this last piece eventually found its way into old LXX editions at the end of 2 Paralipomena, while Rahlfs printed it among the Odes (see Chapter 26 in this volume).

EXTENT

The final chapters of 2 Paralipomena, chs. 35–6, are parallel in content with chs. 1–2 of the Greek book 1 Esdras: together they constitute two different Greek translations of very similar Hebrew texts; the literalism of Paralipomena becomes more noticeable when compared to the free and idiomatic style of the latter. In the same chapters, vv. 35:19 and 36:1–5 are distinctly longer than both the MT and 1 Esdras. The additional sections are identical to the corresponding chapters in 4 Kingdoms/Reigns chs. 23–4 in meaning, but not in the wording of the Greek; both differ here and there from the Hebrew of 2 Kings chs. 23–4. Finally, the verses at the end, 2 Par. 36:22–3, are nearly identical to the opening of 2 Esdras (1:1–3, the book being a Greek version of canonical Esdras–Nehemia). They may be seen as two recensions of the same Greek translation. This once gave rise to a debate whether the same translator(s) produced Paralipomena and 2 Esdras, answered negatively since Walde (1913). The history of those final chapters is a matter of ongoing discussion (Klein 1968; Allen 1968; Talshir 1999; Talshir 2003; Klein 2011).

Compared to the MT, the Greek text as represented by Codex Vaticanus has an important omission in 1 Par. ch. 1: Ham's ('Cham') descendants are detailed until Nimrod ('Nebrod'), v. 10, then from vv. 11–23 there remains only a short version of 17a mentioning the first three sons of Shem ('Sem'). The omission, which was made up for in the other manuscripts but does not seem to be due to a copyist's error, may reflect a *Vorlage* different from MT and voluntarily excluding the Canaanites. In opposition, the extension of Davidic genealogy in 1 Par. 3:21 on the basis of a variant reading of the Hebrew probably bears no particular significance.

TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE

The Greek of Paralipomena is generally good and not especially marked by Hebraisms. For example it names the nations in the plural ('the Ammonites, the Syrians'), uses ἕκαστος for the distributive ἕξ 'each', and has Greek phrases for expressing someone's age, whereas in comparison the Greek in Reigns has the singular for gentilics ('the Ammonite, the Syrian'), ἀνὴρ for ἕξ, and υἱός X ἔτων for 'son of X years'. Thematic aorists are Classical, with a 1st person sing. and a 3rd person pl. usually ending -ον: εἶπον, where Reigns has εἶπα, εἶπαν. On the other hand, the translation is literal and word for word, closely following the word order of the Hebrew. Contrast 2 Par. 36:23, 'The LORD, the God of heaven, has given me all the kingdoms of the earth', with the much freer rendering of a presumably identical *Vorlage* in 1 Esdras 2:2, 'The God of Israel, the supreme God, has appointed me king of the *oikoumene*'.

The Greek Pentateuch served as a source for the vocabulary of cultic institutions, objects, and terms of craft, although not in the way of a lexicon providing fixed equivalents; rather, the translators proved sensitive to intertextuality, and when a Hebrew word present in Chronicles recalls a phrase of the Pentateuch, they often borrowed from the LXX Pentateuch a Greek word which does appear in that same phrase but does not necessarily correspond there to that same word (Meynadier 2009; Vahrenhorst 2009). While those observations point to resourceful translators, there are also many instances where Hebrew nouns are simply transliterated, or lists of objects are shortened. The translators may have been influenced by their knowledge of Aramaic, since they interpret a number of words beginning with the letter *mem* as infinitives (Good 2010).

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE GREEK PARALIPOMENA AND REIGNS

The relative genealogy of the Greek translations 1–2 Paralipomena and 1–4 Reigns constitutes an enigma. The translations did not arise independently of each other, for on the passages which are synoptic in Chronicles and in Samuel–Kings they often coincide word for word in a proportion which cannot be mere chance. But they also diverge in a significant number of cases on those passages. This includes phrases where the two MTs are strictly identical and the two Greek texts differ in wording but not in meaning, thus making probable that they had the same *Vorlagen*.

The study of this relationship must take into account the different views concerning the original ('Old Greek') text for Reigns (see Chapter 15 on Kings). According to the hypotheses of Barthélemy (1963) regarding the Kaige recension, the synoptic passages in 1 Par. 1:1–20:1 and 2 Par. chs. 1–17 may be compared to the Greek text of Reigns as it was reconstructed by Rahlfs closely following MS B (sections α, ββ, γγ), whereas for the

synoptic passages found in 1 Par. 20:2–29:30 and 2 Par. 18–36, the comparison must rely upon the Antiochian text of Reigns, because it preserves the Old Greek form (sections $\beta\gamma$ and $\gamma\delta$). Following Rehm (1937), Shenkel (1969), working on 1 Paralipomena in the light of Barthélemy's hypothesis, contended that when one correctly identifies the Old Greek text in Reigns, it becomes possible to prove that the resemblances between Reigns and Paralipomena in the synoptic passages result from a borrowing of the text of the first into the second, and not from a long process of assimilation in the Greek manuscripts as was previously thought (Gerleman 1946; Allen 1974); however, the translator adapted the borrowed Greek to bring it into conformity with his *Vorlage* of Chronicles and with higher stylistic standards. The translation is nevertheless a unity, since the same reviser(s) translated also the non-synoptic passages of the books; the attempt by Labahn (2008) to identify two translators working in a team remains isolated so far.

Thus on the level of the Greek wording, Paralipomena would stem from Reigns through a revision. The situation may be the reverse on the quantitative level, since some passages of LXX Reigns prove to be fuller than the MT of Samuel–Kings and close to the MT of Chronicles and, in meaning, to LXX Paralipomena. (However, as said above, 2 Par. 35:19 and 36:1–5 are fuller than the corresponding text of MT and close to that of Samuel–Kings). On a smaller scale, between LXX Paralipomena, MT Chronicles, MT Samuel–Kings, and LXX Reigns there are many instances where any three of the texts agree against the fourth, or the two Greek versions agree fully or partly between themselves while disagreeing with the two MT texts. Traditional scholarship supposed a cross-assimilation of the Greek books for their synoptic passages. After there was discovered in Qumran a third Hebrew form alongside Samuel and Chronicles (4QSam^a), which often backs the LXX readings, the hypothesis now prevails that the Greek translator(s) made use of *Vorlagen* which were still fluid. This gives rise to multiple views on the pre-Masoretic form of both sets of books. According to some, the LXX of Paralipomena preserves readings which are often older than the MT of Chronicles, and its Hebrew *Vorlage* should be envisaged as derived not from the MT of Samuel–Kings but from the *Vorlage* of Reigns (Trebolle Barrera 2007; Schenker 1996, 2006, 2008a, 2008b, 2009, 2013, 2016; Bogaert 2008). Others view the Greek text as an interpretative derivation of the MT (Talshir 1999, 2003; van Keulen 2005. On this subject see also Nihan 2014; Barthélemy 1982).

ORIGINS OF THE TRANSLATION

Scholarship on Paralipomena once focused on the relationship of the books to those of Esdras and to Theodotion's translation (Howorth 1905). Torrey (1910) proposed that the original 'Septuagintal' text was lost except for its last chapter, preserved in the first chapter of 1 Esdras, and the actual books of Paralipomena with their continuation 2 Esdras were the work of Theodotion in the second century CE. Arguments were the use of $\varphi\alpha\sigma\epsilon\kappa$ for Passover, the numerous transliterations of Hebrew words and the non-Hellenization of many names of persons and places. Later this view was adapted to the theory of a

proto-Theodotion working much earlier. The current consensus since Gerleman (1946) is that the text was already in existence in the mid-second century BCE since the Jewish-Greek historian Eupolemos made use of it in the years 159–157 BCE (he did not use 1 Esdras as Torrey [1910] contended. On Eupolemos, see Niesiołowski-Spano 2011). This makes Paralipomena very anciently attested in indirect tradition, which is remarkable given the scanty presence of the Hebrew text in Qumran (only 4QChron118: Trebolle Barrera 2000), the paucity of quotations or commentaries by later, Christian writers, and in the light of Shenkel's thesis that it reworks a pre-existing translation of Reigns (Shenkel 1969). The data from Josephus, though fully investigated (Begg 1993, 2000, 2006a–b; Spottorno Díaz in Fernández Marcos and Busto Saíz 1996: xxix–xxxi; Spottorno Díaz 2013), give uncertain conclusions because Josephus has multiple sources: he seems to make use of the Greek text in its Antiochian form (see Chapter 27 in this volume).

Following Thackeray (1907), Gerleman (1946) made the case for an Egyptian origin of the translation on the basis of features resembling the language of the papyri such as *λίψ* meaning 'West', the mention of peoples involved in the trade routes of Upper Egypt, words for describing particulars of the temple, and court titles imitating the Ptolemaic administration. Recent research (Pearce 2001; Vianès 2018) insists on the unreliability of the last three indicators, giving some probability to a Palestinian origin.

SUGGESTED READING

For a survey of the reception history of both Paralipomena and Chronicles, see Kalimi (2009). Good (2010) provides a succinct overview of LXX Chronicles.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Editions

- Brooke, A. E., N. McLean, and H. St. J. Thackeray, eds. (1932). *The Old Testament in Greek*, Vol. 2: *The Later Historical Books*, Pt. 3: *I and II Chronicles*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hanhart, R., ed. (2014). *Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum, auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum*, Vol. VII, 2: *Paralipomenon Liber II*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Lagarde, P. de (1883). *Παραλειπομένων α'–β'*, in *Librorum Veteris Testamenti Canoniconum Pars Prior graece*. Göttingen, pp. 395–460.

Studies

- Albrecht, Felix (2018). 'Ein Griechischer Papyrus-Codex der Chronikbücher (Ra 880, P.Sinai Gr. 1, Ineditum)'. *Archiv für Papyrusforschung und Verwandte Gebiete* 64.2: 279–93.
- Allen, L. C. (1968). 'Further Thoughts on an Old Recension of Reigns in Paralipomena'. *HThR* 61: 483–91.
- Allen, L. C. (1974). *The Greek Chronicles: The Relation of the Septuagint of I and II Chronicles to the Massoretic Text*, Vol. 1: *The Translator's Craft*. Vol. 2: *Textual Criticism*. VTSup 25, 27. Leiden: Brill.

- Barthélemy, D. (1963). *Les Devanciers d'Aquila*. VTSup 10. Leiden: Brill.
- Barthélemy, D. (1982). Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament. Vol.1. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 50/1. Fribourg and Göttingen: Éditions universitaires and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 427-521.
- Begg, C. T. (1993). *Josephus' Account of the Early Divided Monarchy (AJ 8, 212-420): Rewriting the Bible*. BETL 108. Leuven: Peeters and University Press.
- Begg, C. T. (2000). *Josephus' Story of the Later Monarchy (AJ 9,1-10,185)*. BETL 145. Leuven: University Press.
- Begg, C. T. (2006a). 'David's Final Depositions in Chronicles and Josephus.' *Old Testament Essays* 19.3: 1064-88.
- Begg, C. T. (2006b). 'The Wealth of Solomon According to Josephus.' *Antonianum* 81.3: 413-29.
- Bogaert, P.-M. (1996). 'Septante et versions grecques: 16. I-II Paralipomènes', in B. Botte, dir. *DBSup* XII. Paris, cols. 601-3.
- Bogaert, P.-M. (2008). 'La Fille de Pharaon et l'Arche du Seigneur selon les livres des Rois (TM et LXX) et des Chroniques', in C. Lichert and D. Nocquet, eds., *Le Roi Salomon, un héritage en question*. Brussels: Lessius, pp. 325-38.
- Brock, S. P. (1968). 'Lucian Redivivus: Some Reflections on Barthélemy's *Les devanciers d'Aquila*', in F. L. Cross, ed., *Studia Evangelica* V. TU 103. Berlin, pp. 176-81.
- Cañas Reillo, J. M. (2011). '1-2 Paraleipómena', in N. Fernández Marcos and M. V. Spottorno, eds., *La Biblia griega. Septuaginta, II: Libros históricos*. Biblioteca de Estudios Bíblicos 126. Salamanca: Sígueme. 2nd edn. (2018), pp. 429-554.
- Carmignac, J. (1981). 'Les devanciers de S. Jérôme: une traduction latine de la recension *kaige* dans le second Livre des Chroniques', in P. Cassetti, O. Kell, and A. Schenker, eds., *Mélanges Dominique Barthélemy*. OBO 38. Fribourg and Göttingen: Éditions Universitaires, and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 31-50.
- Fernández Marcos, N. (1991). 'The Antiochian Text in I-II Chronicles', in C. E. Cox, ed., *VII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Leuven 1989*. SBLSCS 31. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, pp. 301-11.
- Fernández Marcos, N. (1997). 'The Old Latin of Chronicles between the Greek and the Hebrew', in B. A. Taylor, ed., *IX Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Cambridge, 1995*. SBLSCS 45. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, pp. 123-36.
- Fernández Marcos, N. (2013). 'The Antiochene Edition in the Text History of the Greek Bible', in S. Kreuzer and M. Sigismund, eds., *Der Antiochenische Text der Septuaginta in seiner Bezeugung und seiner Bedeutung*. De Septuaginta Investigationes 4. Göttingen and Bristol, CT: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 57-73.
- Fernández Marcos, N., and J. R. Busto Saíz (1984). *Theodoreti Cyrensis Quaestiones in Reges et Paralipomena*. Textos y Estudios Cardenal Cisneros 32. Madrid: Ediciones Textos y Estudios Cardenal Cisneros.
- Fernández Marcos, N., and J. R. Busto Saíz (1989). *El texto antioqueno de la Biblia griega*, Vol. 1: 1-2 Samuel. TECC 50. Madrid: Instituto de Filología del CSIC.
- Fernández Marcos, N., and J. R. Busto Saíz (1996). *El texto antioqueno de la Biblia griega*, Vol. 3: 1-2 Crónicas. With the collaboration of V. Spottorno Díaz-Caro and S. P. Cowe. Madrid: CSIC.
- Gerleman, G. (1946). *Studies in the Septuagint*, Vol. 2: *Chronicles*. Lund: Gleerup.
- Good, R. (2010). *The Septuagint's Translation of the Hebrew Verbal System in Chronicles*. VTSup 136. Leiden: Brill.

- Grébaud, S. (1932). *Les Paralipomènes, Livres I et II: Version éthiopienne éditée et traduite*. PO 23/4. Paris: Firmin-Didot.
- Howorth, H. H. (1905). 'Chronicles.' *Proceedings for the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 27: 267–78.
- Kalimi, I. (2009). *The Retelling of Chronicles in Jewish Tradition and Literature*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- Klein, R. W. (1968). 'Supplements in the Paralipomena: A Rejoinder.' *HTR* 61: 492–5.
- Klein, R. W. (2011). 'The Rendering of 2 Chronicles 35–36 in 1 Esdras,' in L. S. Fried, ed., *Was 1 Esdras First? An Investigation into the Priority and Nature of 1 Esdras*. Ancient Israel and Its Literature 7. Atlanta, GA: SBL.
- Knoppers, G. N. and P. B. Harvey, Jr (2002). 'Omitted and Remaining Matters: On the Names Given to the Book of Chronicles in Antiquity.' *JBL* 121.2: 227–43.
- Labahn, A. (2008). 'Gab es unterschiedliche Übersetzer der Paralipomena?.' *Annali di Scienze Religiose* n.s. 1: 45–76.
- Meynadier, B. (2009). 'Éléments de lexicographie comparée des Règnes et des Paralipomènes,' in W. Kraus and O. Munnich, eds., *La Septante en Allemagne et en France: Septuaginta Deutsch und Bible d'Alexandrie*. Fribourg and Göttingen: Academic Press and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 37–51.
- Niesiołowski-Spanò, L. (2011). '(Pseudo-)Eupolemus and Shechem: Methodology Enabling the Use of Parts of Hellenistic Jewish Historians' Work in Biblical Studies,' in L. L. Grabbe, ed., *Enquire of the Former Age: Ancient Historiography and Writing the History of Israel*. LHB/OTS 554. London and New York, NY: T&T Clark and Continuum, pp. 77–96.
- Nihan, C. (2014). 'Samuel, Chronicles, and "Postchronistic" Revisions: Some Remarks of Method,' in U. Beckel and H. Bezzel, eds., *Rereading the Relecture?* Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 57–78.
- Pearce, S. J. K. (2001). 'Contextualising Greek Chronicles,' in S. Berger, M. Brocke, and I. Zwiép, eds., *Zutot: Perspectives on Jewish Culture*. New York, NY: Kluwer Academic Publishers, pp. 22–7.
- Rehm, M. (1937). *Textkritische Untersuchungen zu den Parallelstellen der Samuel-Königsbücher und der Chronik*. Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen 13:3. Münster in Westfalen: Aschendorff Verlag.
- Schenker, A. (1996). 'Jéroboam et la division du royaume dans la Septante ancienne,' in A. de Pury, T. Römer, and J.-D. Macchi, eds., *Israël construit son histoire*. Geneva: Labor et Fides, pp. 193–236.
- Schenker, A. (2006). 'Die Verheissung Natans in 2 Sam 7 in der Septuaginta,' in M. A. Knibb, ed., *The Septuagint and Messianism*. BETL 195. Leuven: Leuven University Press, pp. 177–192 = Schenker 2011: 59–74.
- Schenker, A. (2008a). 'Hebraica veritas bei den Siebzig? Die Septuaginta als älteste greifbare Ausgabe der hebräischen Bibel (erörtert am Beispiel von 2Chr 1,13),' in M. Karrer, W. Kraus, and M. Meiser, eds., *Die Septuaginta: Texte, Kontexte, Lebenswelten. Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D), Wuppertal 20.–23. Juli 2006*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 426–38.
- Schenker, A. (2008b). 'Salomo, Gibeon und Jerusalem: Das gegenseitige Verhältnis der vier Berichte von Salomo in Gibeon (1 Königsreiche 3; 3 Königsreiche 3; 2 Chronik 1; 2 Paralipomena 1)' *Annali di Scienze Religiose* n.s.: 18–43 = Schenker 2011: 75–97.
- Schenker, A. (2009). 'Pourquoi donc tenir compte de la Bible grecque? Les deux formes de la dissimulation du roi d'Israël dans 1 Rois 22 et 2 Chroniques 18,' in *L'Identité dans l'Écriture*. Lectio Divina 228. Paris: Cerf, pp. 297–309.

- Schenker, A. (2011). *Anfänge der Textgeschichte des Alten Testaments*. BWANT 194. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer.
- Schenker, A. (2013). *Une Bible archétype? Les Parallèles de Samuel-Rois et des Chroniques*. Paris: Cerf.
- Schenker, A. (2016). 'Paraleipomenon I und II: Das erste und zweite Buch der Chronik', in S. Kreuzer, ed., *Einleitung in die Septuaginta. LXX.H. Handbuch zur Septuaginta 1*. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, pp. 251–9.
- Shenkel, J. D. (1969). 'Comparative Study of Synoptic Parallels in I Paraleipomena and I–II Reigns'. *HTR* 62: 63–85.
- Spottorno-Díaz, V. (1997). 'The Books of Chronicles in Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities*', in B. A. Taylor, ed., *IX Congress of the IOSCS, Cambridge, 1995*. SBLSCS 45. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, pp. 381–90.
- Spottorno-Díaz, V. (2013). 'The Status of the Antiochene Text in the First Century AD. Josephus and New Testament', in S. Kreuzer and M. Sigismund, eds., *Der Antiochenische Text der Septuaginta in seiner Bezeugung und seiner Bedeutung*. Göttingen and Bristol, CT: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 74–83.
- Talshir, Z. (1999). *1 Esdras: From Origin to Translation*. Atlanta, GA: SBL.
- Talshir, Z. (2003). 'Synchronic Approaches with Diachronic Consequences in the Study of Parallel Redactions: First Esdras and 2 Chronicles 35–36; Ezra 1–10; Nehemiah 8', in R. Albertz, ed., *Yahwism after the Exile*. Assen: Royal Van Gorcum, pp. 199–218.
- Thackeray, H. St. J. (1907). 'The Greek Translators of the Four Books of Kings'. *JTS* 8: 262–78.
- Torrey, C. C. (1910). *Ezra Studies*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Trebolle Barrera, J. (2000). '4QChr (Pl. XXXVIII)', in E. Ulrich, ed., *Qumran Cave 4.XI: Psalms to Chronicles*. DJD 16. Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp. 295–7.
- Trebolle Barrera, J. (2007). 'Kings (MT/LXX) and Chronicles: The Double and Triple Textual Tradition', in R. Rezetko, T. H. Lim, and W. B. Aucker, eds., *Reflection and Refraction*. VTSup 113. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, pp. 483–501.
- Vahrenhorst, M. (2009). '“Mehr als ein Wörterbuch”: Beobachtungen zum Verhältnis des 2. Chronikbuches zum Pentateuch', in W. Kraus and O. Munnich, eds., *La Septante en Allemagne et en France: Septuaginta Deutsch und Bible d'Alexandrie*. Fribourg: Academic Press and Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 52–63.
- van Keulen, P. S. F. (2005). *Two Versions of the Solomon Narrative. An Inquiry into the Relationship between MT 1 Kgs. 2–11 and LXX 3 Reg. 2–11*. VTSup 104. Leiden: Brill.
- Vianès, L. (2018). 'Peuples exotiques et routes de l'encens dans les livres des *Paralipomènes*'. *Semitica et Classica* 11: 195–200.
- Walde, B. (1913). *Die Esdrasbücher der Septuaginta*. Freiburg: Herder.
- Weber, R. (1945). *Les Anciennes Versions latines du deuxième livre des Paralipomènes*. Collectanea Biblica Latina 8. Rome: Abbaye Saint-Jérôme—Libreria Vaticana.

CHAPTER 17

ISAI AH

RODRIGO F. DE SOUSA

OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY OF LXX ISAI AH

IN the history of biblical interpretation, LXX Isaiah is in all probability the LXX book that was cited most often. That is, at least a verse of it was cited, namely Isa. 7:14, with its notorious use of *παρθένος* and its influence in the New Testament and on the concept of the Virgin Birth of Jesus. This discussion has been recently revisited by Kamesar (1990) and de Sousa (2008). Yet, in spite of all the ink that was spilled around this verse, interest in LXX Isaiah as such is a recent phenomenon, having begun just a little over a century ago.

The modern study of LXX Isaiah can take as its starting point the efforts of Anton Scholz (1880), who compiled several examples of the differences between the Septuagint and the Masoretic Text with the purpose of demonstrating that the *Vorlage* of LXX Isaiah was very different from the standard Hebrew text. This focus on the differences and the search for the Hebrew substratum of LXX Isaiah also informs the works of Zillessen (1902) and Gray (1911; 1912), the latter pushing the matter into a defence of the superiority of LXX Isaiah in relation to the MT, and advocating a retroversion from the Greek in order to arrive at a superior Hebrew text. In this incipient stage, there were virtually no studies written specifically on LXX Isaiah but mostly work that mentioned or touched on it tangentially. And when reference was made, the focus was directed towards the value of LXX Isaiah as a textual witness to the Hebrew version.

The chief product of this period is the two-volume work of R. R. Ottley (1904, 1906). In the first volume, he provides an introduction to LXX Isaiah and a full translation of it, in parallel with a translation from the Hebrew. In the second volume, Ottley presents the full text of LXX Isaiah according to Codex Alexandrinus (still acknowledged as the best witness to the Old Greek text in Isaiah) followed by notes that virtually constitute the first full-length commentary on the version. His twofold interest was on the Greek text

in itself and on its relation to the Hebrew. Against the grain of much of the scholarship of this time, Ottley affirms that the Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX Isaiah was similar to the MT. This affirmation is born of his tendency to view the translator's work as fraught with error, and thus as an unreliable witness for the reconstruction of an alternative text. He pays very little attention to the interpretative context and influences of the translator and tends to explain most deviations as a result of misunderstanding of the Hebrew.

Another landmark appeared only in the 1930s, with the work of Joseph Ziegler on the standard Göttingen edition of LXX Isaiah, first published in 1938. In the context of this work, he also produced a monograph that contained a list of the variants in LXX Isaiah, as well as a discussion of the translator's penchant for paraphrasing and his abundant use of vocabulary typical of the Greek of Hellenistic Egypt, together with frequent allusions to different parts of Isaiah and of the Hebrew Bible, particularly when translating difficult passages (Ziegler 1934). A significant contribution of this monograph is in the treatment of the version's additions and omissions in relation to the source text. For Ziegler, these were not simply the result of error but had a more complex linguistic explanation: the pluses were intended to add clarity while the minuses were often the result of the omission of synonymous words or clauses. While much criticism has been levelled at Ziegler, primarily with regards to the inconsistencies and lack of clarity in his method, he still sets a standard and a starting point for approaching LXX Isaiah from a primarily *linguistic* basis. Another significant contribution is the attention paid to the ways in which interpretative traditions, especially those mediated via other biblical books both in their Hebrew and Greek versions, had an impact on the translation. Yet, while advancing this matter in relation to its predecessors, Ziegler still does not accord much significance to the role of the translator as an interpreter of his Hebrew text.

A watershed moment in LXX Isaiah research was the study of I. L. Seeligmann (1948), which has come, in one way or another, to cast its impressive shadow over most subsequent research and in many ways to set its agenda. Again while not following a precise method, Seeligmann radically changes the landscape of the field by discussing issues such as the translator's milieu, the hermeneutical traditions which might have influenced him, his possible ideological background, and the relation between his method and wider tendencies of exegesis in early Judaism. Another important feature of Seeligmann's work is the introduction of the concept of 'actualizing interpretation' of prophecy into the study of LXX Isaiah. This is the idea that the version contains free renderings which were influenced by the translator's belief that he and his community were living at the time of the fulfilment of the Isaianic prophecies. The significance of Seeligmann's contribution can be measured by how much the studies of LXX Isaiah since then have focused on theological features of the translation.

In very broad strokes, Ziegler and Seeligmann can stand as emblems of the two basic trends or camps into which contemporary studies of LXX Isaiah can be placed. In one direction, Ziegler's focus on strictly linguistic features of the translation lives on in works such as those of le Moigne (2001) and van der Worm-Crouchs (2014). In another trend, the interest in the theology or ideology that can be gleaned from the version, as so

eloquently espoused by Seeligmann, is represented, for example, in the studies of Brockington (1951), Winter (1954), Fritsch (1960), Olley (1979, 1980), Schweitzer (2004), and Cunha (2014).

The approaches here identified with Ziegler and Seeligmann are today most clearly represented respectively by Ronald L. Troxel, who focuses on the linguistic aspects of LXX Isaiah in order to achieve greater methodological precision than Ziegler; and Arie van der Kooij, who has developed the insights found in Seeligmann in creative and rich ways. The work of both scholars will be referred to later in greater detail.

This artificial distinction of two camps is not meant to imply that those who are interested in the theology of the translator do not heed the version's linguistic features, or vice versa. It is intended to highlight perceptible tendencies in the kinds of explanations offered to account for the peculiarities of the Greek in comparison to the Hebrew. These tendencies can markedly change one's assessment of LXX Isaiah. For instance, on the issue of messianism, one needs only to compare the virtually opposite proposals of de Sousa (2010) and Ngunga (2012).

PROFILE OF THE TRANSLATOR

In the initial phase of modern LXX Isaiah studies, it was argued by authors such as Gray (1911) and Baumgärtel (1923) that the version was to be seen as the work of two translators, roughly following the then prevailing division between First and Second Isaiah. Since the work of Fischer (1930), and, especially, of Ziegler, there arose a broad consensus that LXX Isaiah is the work of a single translator. Within this consensus, nuanced studies have been devoted to the special characteristics of particular chapters, such as those of Hurvitz (1957), who addresses the peculiarities of chapters 36–9, and Baer (2001; 2010), who detects a different, recensional, hand in chapter 66.

This consensus is also generally accompanied by the recognition that the Isaiah translator is more a theoretical construct than a historical figure. Ziegler himself, one of the chief names in establishing the single-translator model, also recognized how the complexities of the version, which include inconsistencies in method, the possibility of numerous recensions, etc., made a full identification of the translator's *Persönlichkeit* impossible.

As the precise identification of an empirical translator behind the work is unfeasible, it is therefore more advisable to follow Wagner (2013) in speaking of a 'model translator' immanent in the text. Wagner draws an analogy between Umberto Eco's concept of the 'model author' to develop his own view of the model translator. As the concept of model author is concerned with the intention of the written text as reconstructed by its own internal coherence, the model translator is reconstructed from the overall textual features and strategies of the translated work. When reference to the 'translator' is made here, it is this model translator that I have in mind.

As is the case with the various LXX books, the identity of the Isaiah translator can only be gleaned by clues left in the version itself, which are, to the extent that this is possible, correlated with the available historical evidence. When this is done, the picture that emerges is that of a complex figure, fluent in Greek—a feature which has been praised at least since the classic studies of Thackeray (1903; 1909)—and familiar with Classical rhetoric, while also at home with biblical traditions and hermeneutical principles and procedures typical of Judaism. We also have a translator who strove to convey in elegant language the drive of his source text with accuracy while also displaying an inconsistent method, famously highlighted by Ziegler, and which earned the translator the epithet ‘careless’ from James Barr (1979: 284, 302). This picture is a window into the world of Hellenistic Judaism—a complex setting where scribes, immersed in the biblical text, struggled with it, and tried to bring out its meaning within the influence of traditions and practices proper to their own heritage and of scholarly procedures that derived from the Alexandrian world which they inhabited.

DATE AND PROVENANCE

Thus, in the field of LXX Isaiah studies, we speak of the translator as belonging to a ‘dual milieu’ of Egypt and Palestine—a designation that comes from Seeligmann (1948: 79). We can also speak of this dual milieu through the images of the Alexandrian Museum and the Temple of Leontopolis (Heliopolis), as both settings have played a role in the contemporary understanding of LXX Isaiah. The former comes to the fore when Troxel (2008) discusses how philology was prevalent in the Museum of Alexandria and how this scholarly activity could have informed the Alexandrian Jewish scribal community and, consequently, the Isaiah translator. The latter appears prominently in the work of scholars such as Seeligmann, van der Kooij, and others who associate the translator of LXX Isaiah with the circle of Onias and the temple in Leontopolis, and view this temple as a place through which Palestinian exegetical traditions were mediated to the Jewish community in Egypt and thus to our version.

It is indeed quite likely that this temple could have been a place of mediation between the different Jewish groups. There is evidence in early Judaism for a high degree of tolerance for the Leontopolis temple, and John Collins (2000: 71–7) argues convincingly that Onias did not intend his temple to rival the one in Jerusalem. Taking this together with the probable intent attested in 2 Maccabees to integrate Diaspora and Palestinian Jews, we have a suitable ideological background in which sympathy with the Oniads, the presence of a degree of support for the Maccabean campaigns, and the hope for the restoration of the Jerusalem Temple could co-exist in early Judaism, and this could be reflected in LXX Isaiah.

However, while the association between LXX Isaiah and the Leontopolis temple is plausible, it ultimately rests on flimsy evidence. Building upon the use that Josephus makes of Isa. 19:19 as a prophecy for the establishment of the community in *Ant.* 13:3.1

§68, Seeligmann (1948: 86) takes the slightly deviating rendering of 10:24 as possibly influenced by the same tradition: the last clause ‘though he [Ashur] strikes you with a rod and lifts up his staff against you, in the way of Egypt’ appears as ‘for with a rod he (sic) [the Assyrians] will strike you; for I bring a stroke upon, *that you may see the way to Egypt*’. The noteworthy points are the change of subject, from Assyria to the Lord (1st person), and the addition *that you may see the way to*. Van der Kooij (1981: 60–5) adds further support for a possible association with Leontopolis, pointing out, for instance, to the insertion of *ἱερεῖς* in LXX Isa. 40:2, which in his view highlights the role of priests.

Dating a Septuagint book is a complex matter. An interesting way to illustrate the challenges in identifying the precise historical background of LXX Isaiah is to look at the treatment given to what is perhaps the clearest indication of the time of the translation, namely, the contemporization of the geographical name *Taršīš* ‘Tarshish’ as *Καρχηδών* ‘Carthage’ in LXX Isa. 23:1, 6, 10, and 14. As both locations are port cities, the translator clearly saw that city referred to in the oracle in Isaiah ch. 23 as contemporary Carthage.

Carthage, as we know, was destroyed by the Romans in 146 BCE. With this in mind, Fischer (1930: 6) takes the rendering of Isaiah ch. 23 (especially verse 14) to mean that the translator was unaware of Carthage’s destruction, and so sets this date as the *terminus ad quem* of the translation. Van der Kooij (1998) takes the opposite view. Taking into account the full context of chapter 23, and proposing that the translator actually saw this prophetic oracle as *fulfilled* in the destruction of Carthage, van der Kooij sets this fateful date as the *terminus a quo* of LXX Isaiah. This last proposal is not only more in line with what we expect of a piece of interpretation of prophetic literature from that period, but also correlates well with other evidence (such as the dependence of LXX Isaiah on the Greek versions of the Pentateuch and the Twelve), so that it ends up carrying the day. But the divergent interpretations serve to highlight how much of our dating is dependent on the method and assumptions we bring to bear upon the evidence available to us.

In the absence of clearer elements that enable a precise dating, we do well in sticking to general indicators: the firm grounding of the translation in Egypt, made clear by the use of vocabulary attested in the papyri (van der Meer 2010); the connection between the translator and the Greek scholarly world of Alexandria, which included the mastery of philological and rhetorical techniques (Troxel 2008; van der Worm-Croughs 2014); and his familiarity with Jewish hermeneutics and biblical texts and traditions, which could have been mediated via the Leontopolis temple, or by other means.

CHARACTERISTICS OF LXX ISAIAH

LXX Isaiah displays a noticeable commitment to its *Vorlage*. Lust (1987) demonstrated that the Isaiah translator produces about twice the number of additions as the translators of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, but that more than 98 per cent of these have four words or

less. Conversely, he also shows that Isaiah has fewer minuses than the other two Prophetic books and that 95.2 per cent of these are short. Only two full verses are missing in comparison with MT, namely Isa. 2:22 and 56:12 (Ziegler 1934: 47).

This is not to say that there are no significant differences between the MT and LXX versions of Isaiah, but they do not imply a detachment or lack of commitment towards the source text. The differences have other explanations. Firstly, the translator is dealing with an exceedingly difficult text, which led to many instances of error or misreading. In addition, he belonged within an interpretative and ideological context that shaped his reading in particular ways.

The commitment of the translator, together with his location in the 'dual milieu' we briefly described above (section 'Date and Provenance'), accounts for many of the puzzling features of LXX Isaiah. It has been noted that the Isaiah translator combines some literalistic tendencies with the kind of freedom and fluidity attested in versions like Proverbs or Job. The admixture in approaches can partly be accounted for by a comparison with the translation of the Torah. While attempting to follow the text closely and represent it faithfully, the translator seems to have conceived his primary task as that of conveying the meaning of the text in a vivid and accurate manner.

The crafting of the stylish and fluent Greek version, rich in rhetorical features, was possible at the frequent expense of Hebrew idiom, a feature which could suggest a lack of command of the original language of Isaiah as well as a driving purpose to create a good composition in Greek. As Troxel (2008: 288) notes, the translator 'was less concerned to bring his readers to the Hebrew text of Isaiah than to bring the book to them'.

If we can call a 'free translation' one that is keen on driving the sense of the original text by privileging the linguistic features and the compositional possibilities of the target language, then LXX Isaiah most certainly fits this description.

Yet both the version's freedom and commitment must be judged according to the standards he would have subscribed to. The intention of producing a clear readable translation is to be seen in the light of what a clear and readable translation would have meant in the translator's social world. The likely understanding that he was dealing with a sacred text, by means of which God had communicated with his people, entailed the application of some procedures which to modern eyes appear quite permissive and irreverent with regard to the text but which in context only highlighted its significance as divine speech. These procedures involved taking liberties such as the additions and omissions referred to above, the rearranging and transforming of syntax, the change in grammatical features such as person, subject, object, the updating of toponyms and gentilics, etc. All these procedures find resonance in other examples of ancient Jewish exegesis. In fact, a parallel has been drawn between his approach and that of the apostle Paul (Wilk 1998: 2010).

As a prophetic text, the book of Isaiah was normally read as a source of divine injunctions to his people. Accordingly, exegesis would tend to emphasize the paraenetic potential of the text. This is noted, for example, in the insertion of ὁδῶν in the rendering of Isa. 57:1, which turns a statement ('The righteous perish and no one lays it to heart') into a calling ('See how the righteous perish and no one takes it to heart').

In translation, this often comes across by means of stylistic changes which Baer (2001) calls ‘imperativization’ and ‘personalization’. The first phenomenon has to do with a tendency to turn non-imperative forms into imperatives, as in 21:7–10; 24:11; 26:9–10; 40:27; 43:10; 44:20–1; 56:10; 61:10; 63:16; 66:5. Personalization is the transformation of third-person forms into first- and second-person forms with the purpose of giving a paraenetic thrust to the text. This is seen in LXX Isa. 1:4, where we have the transformation from a third-person to a second-person injunction, changing *‘āzbū ‘et YHWH niššū ‘et qedōš isrāēl* ‘they have forsaken the Lord, they have mocked the Holy One of Israel’ to *ἐγκατελίπατε τὸν κύριον καὶ παρωργίσατε τὸν ἅγιον τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ* ‘you have abandoned the Lord and you have angered the Holy One of Israel’. For van der Louw (2007: 170–1) this change, which also had the purpose of providing a smooth transition to verse 5, follows a common pattern of shifting between third- and second-person forms in prophetic literature. Other examples of this type of personalization appear in 14:21; 26:16; 51:3; 56:6; 57:4, 8–11; 60:17; 62:8–11.

The work of van der Meer (2010) on the papyri, referred to above (section ‘Date and Provenance’), brings out several examples of how the Isaiah translator strives to utilize current vocabulary to bring out the meaning of his text. In some instances this can produce significant alterations. This is especially clear when we look at examples beyond the technical vocabulary on which van der Meer focuses and look, for instance, at the rendering of *šebet hannōgēs* ‘sceptre of the oppressor’ (MT Isa. 9:3) by *ράβδον τῶν ἀπαιτούντων* ‘sceptre of the tax-collectors’ (LXX Isa. 9:4), where the use of vocabulary transports the text to a totally different social location.

One needs to be careful not to think that contemporizations necessarily point to ‘actualizing interpretation’ in the sense of a reference to the situation of the translator and his community. A case in point is LXX Isa. 11:16 where *‘ašūr* (‘Ashur’) is replaced by *Αἴγυπτος* ‘Egypt’, which has been taken as a reference to the Jewish community living in second-century BCE Egypt. This, however, could also simply be an error occasioned by the presence of *mišrāim* (‘Egypt’) (translated by *γῆ Αἰγύπτου*) at the end of the verse. Whichever is the case, the fact remains that in other instances one of the significant traits of LXX Isaiah is the updating of geographical names (e.g. Isa. 11:11, where Cush becomes *Αἰθιοπία*). This is indeed quite a common feature of ancient translations.

Contemporization becomes particularly significant when it reveals in its wake the presence of other interpretative traditions. Perhaps the clearest example of this comes in the verse just mentioned, Isa. 11:11, when the construction *ūmiššinār ūmēhāmāt ūmē’īyyē-hayyām* (‘and from Shinar, and from Hamath, and from the coastlands of the Sea’) becomes *καὶ ἀπὸ ἡλίου ἀνατολῶν καὶ ἐξ Ἀραβίας* (‘and from the east, and out of Arabia’). The association could have been made between *šinār* and the story of the Tower of Babel (Gen. 11:2, *wayēhī běnosām miqqedem wayyimšē’ū biqāh bēreš šinār wayyēšbū šām*, is translated by *καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ κινήσει αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν εὐρον πεδίων ἐν γῆ Σεννααρ καὶ κατόκησαν ἐκεῖ*). Seeligmann (1948: 47) argues that the reminiscence is from the Hebrew or another Greek version different from the LXX.

In Isa. 10:9 we find the translation of *kalnō* (‘Calno’) by *Χαλαννη* (‘Calane’) to which is appended the addition *οὗ ὁ πύργος ὠκοδομήθη* (‘where the tower was built’). Wrong as

the geographical inference may be, the significant point is how the translator here clearly evokes the Tower of Babel as a point of reference. The reference to this narrative plays an important role in another connection.

In MT Isa. 9:9 we read *lēbēnīm nāpālū wēgāzīt nibneh šiqmīm gūdā'ū wa'ārāzīm nahālīp* ('Bricks are fallen and we shall build with hewn stones sycamores are cut down, and we will change them for cedars'), which is translated as *Πλίνθοι πεπτώκασιν ἀλλὰ δεῦτε λαξεύσωμεν λίθους καὶ ἐκκόψωμεν συκαμίνους καὶ κέδρους καὶ οἰκοδομήσωμεν ἑαυτοῖς πύργον* ('Bricks are fallen *but come*, let us hew stones, and let us cut down sycamores and cedars, *and let us build ourselves a tower*, LXX 9:10'). The most significant feature here is the insertion of vocatives and the addition of the final phrase which definitely connects the verse with the narrative of the Tower of Babel.

In this context, LXX Isa. 9:11 has the remarkable rendering of *wayšaggēb YHWH 'et-šārē rēsīn 'ālāyw wēet-oyēbāyw yēsaksēk* ('So the Lord raised the enemies of Rezin against him, and stirred up his enemies', MT 9:10) as *καὶ ῥάξει ὁ θεὸς τοὺς ἐπανιστανομένους ἐπ' ὄρος Σιων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς αὐτῶν διασκεδάσει* ('And God shall smite them who rise against Mount Zion, *against them*, and he shall scatter their enemies'). The easily made confusion between *ršyn* and *šywn* triggered changes that radically transformed the text's sense. The contemporizing adaptation turns the original oracle of judgement into an injunction against the enemies of Mount Zion, who will be destroyed and dispersed by God.

The next verse, Isa. 9:11 (LXX v.12), shows who these enemies are: by the rendering of *Ārām* by *Συρία* and *pēlišīm* by *Ἕλληνες*, the LXX effectively converts the original threat to the people from Aram/Damascus in the north-east and the Philistines in the south-west into the new threats of the Seleucid kingdom and the Greeks. Seeligmann (1948: 80–1) argues that the translator is referring to the hostility of the Greek cities on the west coast towards the Jewish population of Palestine, and that *Συρία* would here be the name for the realm of the Seleucids.

This passage is significant, because at the same time it reveals how interpretative traditions and other biblical books influenced the translation, how a misreading of the text can steer the translator in unexpected ways, how he viewed his text as both alluding to paradigmatic events of the past and speaking to his own contemporary situation, and how an awareness of the context informed his translation. This last point deserves fuller consideration.

Much contemporary study of LXX Isaiah focuses on the question of how the theological actualizations present in the version are to be approached and interpreted. Seeligmann (1948: 4) understood these actualizations to be found where there were 'isolated free renderings'. While acknowledging that LXX Isaiah gave indications of a preference for certain terms and theological notions, Seeligmann viewed the approach of the Isaiah translator to be close to that of the Targums, with an atomistic reading of passages that had no regard for their close context. Seeligmann's position has been developed in the work of authors such as Koenig (1982).

Others have, however, proposed that the actualizing renderings should be studied in the light of their context. This was done initially by Coste (1954) and das Neves (1973).

Their insights were later fully developed into a method by Arie van der Kooij (1977; 1986; 1987; 1997a, b; 1998; 2002; 2006). In a series of insightful articles and monographs, van der Kooij stressed the contextual character of the interpretation of LXX Isaiah and argued that the translator was not simply translating but attempting to produce what would be oracles in their own right.

In fact, van der Kooij takes the notion of actualizing renderings a step further by arguing that features of the Greek text of passages like Isa. 8:14–16, ch. 23, and 25:1–5 indicate that ‘actualizing’ interpretation cannot be considered a free rendering of the source text but a reworking of the original Hebrew that in fact generates a new oracle, or pericope. This perception obviously runs counter to the position we have defended so far regarding LXX Isaiah.

Van der Kooij’s method is based on observing stylistic data (such as parallelism, vocabulary, and the use of specific coordinating clauses), unique renderings, and syntactic differences between the Greek and MT versions of Isaiah. These criteria, however, even when pointing to significant differences between the source and translated text, do not necessarily mean a rewriting of prophecy and can be explained on other translation technical grounds (including hermeneutical traditions followed by the translator, linguistic difficulties, etc.).

There is much to be said in favour of the idea that the context of the passage is to be taken into account in the study of LXX Isaiah. Inconsistent as he is, the Isaiah translator nonetheless often gives significant indication of contextual awareness when reading his text. But this does not necessarily amount to the creation of an oracle in its own right. It does not even point to a theological or ‘fulfilment’ interpretation. In examples such as the apparent systematic ‘toning down’ of the foreign threat in LXX Isa. 7:2, 6, and in the depiction of the spiritual endowment of the ‘sceptre’ in 11:2–4, we have examples of contextual readings which do not amount either to the composition of a new oracle or to a special theological reading. Naturally the scope of this chapter does not allow fuller discussions of this issue. These, however, can be found in the works of Troxel (2008), de Sousa (2010), and Wagner (2013).

That a measure of theological exegesis is to be found in LXX Isaiah is a given. The book of Isaiah occupied a prominent place in early Judaism and Christianity, and its interpretation in this context has been surveyed by authors such as Childs (2004) and Blenkinsopp (2006). As a prophetic book, it would have normally been read in the second century BCE as containing utterances that ultimately came from God himself and whose fulfilment was to be expected around the time of its reading. This point has been highlighted by Bruce (1979), Barton (1986), and Schökel (1988).

In this connection, Isaiah is filled with themes around which important theological traditions developed, such as the way of the Lord, the coming exaltation of the Lord and the humiliation of his enemies, the glorification of Zion, the universal spread of Torah teaching, the exaltation and glorification of the ‘Remnant’, and the expectation of a coming righteous king. The question is whether the LXX translator was influenced by these traditions when approaching the book. Many recent studies indicate that he was, while the precise contours of this influence are a matter of debate.

Theological traditions appear in the evocation of conceptions related to the Mount of the Lord, and the ‘Way’ of the Lord in LXX Isa. 2:2–4 and 4:2–6. The translator of LXX Isaiah also seems to be influenced by the idea of the limited duration of God’s wrath derived from texts such as Ps. 30:6(5), Isa. 10:25, and 54:7–8, and this was particularly felt in LXX Isa. 7:4, 26:16, and 57:17. One can also note the possible link that the translator established between the depictions of an era of bliss in Isaiah chapters 11 and 65.

Yet it is possible to affirm with Baer (2001: 18) that we cannot identify a pervasive or consistent theological programme in LXX Isaiah, but rather tendencies, especially with regard to some nationalistic bents that can be identified in texts such as 25:2, 5, 26:1, and 54:5, and ameliorating statements about God or other subjects which could prove singularly ‘problematic’. In this connection, we note for instance the reading of LXX Isa. 6:2, where the translation of *mimma’al* by *κύκλω* probably serves the purpose of avoiding the notion that the angels could be flying ‘above’ God. Other significant examples are found in 35:2, 42:13, and 44:21.

Even with regard to a important theological theme like messianism, one has to heed the observations of Munnich (2006: 336–40), that the Isaiah translator does not seem to reserve a special place for ‘messianic words’, and that in LXX Isaiah lexical considerations took primacy over messianic ideas.

There is no need to refer to specific studies but the lure of finding theological exegesis in the LXX has definitely attracted many students of LXX Isaiah. What we have expounded so far points in the direction that caution is necessary in this regard. Against this tendency the work of Troxel can be seen as a healthy corrective. Yet Troxel himself can go too far in the opposite direction. Giving priority to linguistic explanations before embarking into theological explanations is a healthy exercise, yet sometimes Troxel pushes the matter to the point of leaving no room for acknowledgement that certain theological manoeuvres are quite naturally to be expected. This is clear, for instance in his proposition that expressions such as *bē’āhārīt hayyāmim* / ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις or *bayyôm hahû’* / ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ do not have eschatological nuances (Troxel 1992; 2008). It is true that they do not always and necessarily point in the direction of eschatology, but in the light of what we know of the cultural and hermeneutical world of LXX Isaiah it is very likely that such expressions could easily prompt specific eschatological frames, expectations, and traditions. The same can be affirmed of his treatment of expressions like *βουλή* (Troxel 2010).

CONCLUSION

Even though there will be inconsistencies in the degree of attachment to the *Vorlage*, the translator of LXX Isaiah ultimately seems to have at heart the intent to reproduce or transmit the original Hebrew text in Greek, in a way that is meaningful to its recipients. The challenge is to construe how the translator would have understood what this meaningful transmission entails and how it should be carried out.

While much work has been devoted to the study of LXX Isaiah as a witness to the theology and ideology of Hellenistic Judaism, we must acknowledge that we are dealing with a *translation*, a text inevitably bound to its source text. There are complex linguistic, cultural, and social factors involved in the translation process, and this has been thoroughly discussed by authors such as Boyd-Taylor (2006a, b) and van der Louw (2007). In this respect, we should do well to heed the important and oft quoted remark of Seeligmann (2004: 72) that the commitment of the LXX to its source text ‘will always, to a certain extent, disqualify it as a document of an independent theology’.

LXX Isaiah will continue to prove itself a fertile ground for research, and we can anticipate that work on the field will continue to oscillate between what I have called the ‘linguistic’ and ‘theological’ camps. The two approaches are not to be taken as antagonistic but complementary. It is possible to detect the presence of ideological and theological influences upon LXX Isaiah, and the version does present us a window into the world of Hellenistic Judaism. Yet, in the light of the complexities inherent to the study of LXX Isaiah, all of our findings in this direction ought necessarily to remain somewhat tentative and timid.

SUGGESTED READING

Another general introduction to LXX Isaiah is offered by Ngunga and Schaper (2015). For introductions in languages other than English, see Fernandez Marcos (2015) and van der Kooij (2016). Readers interested in understanding the translator’s literary approach and the quality of his Greek should consult the brief but excellent survey offered by Lee (2014). Also, Byun (2017) offers a comprehensive survey on the Aramaic background of the version. For an approach to linguistic and theological matters outside the strict paradigm of ‘actualization’, see de Sousa (2019). Questions regarding text and *Vorlage* are discussed by Parry (2011).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Baer, David (2001). *When We All Go Home: Translation and Theology in LXX Isaiah 56–66*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- Baer, David (2010). ‘What Happens in the End? Evidence for an Early Greek Recension in Isaiah 66’, in Arie van der Kooij and Michaël van der Meer, eds., *The Old Greek of Isaiah: Issues and Perspectives*. CBET 55. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 1–31.
- Barr, James (1979). *The Typology of Literalism in Ancient Biblical Translation*. MSU 15. Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Barton, John (1986). *Oracles of God: Perceptions of Ancient Prophecy in Israel after the Exile*. London: Darton, Longman and Todd.
- Baumgärtel, Friedrich (1923). ‘Die Septuaginta zu Jesaja das Werk zweier Übersetzer’, in Johannes Hermann and Friedrich Baumgärtel, eds., *Beiträge zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Septuaginta*. Berlin: Kohlhammer, pp. 20–31.
- Blenkinsopp, Joseph (2006). *Opening the Sealed Book: Interpretations of the Book of Isaiah in Late Antiquity*. Grand Rapids, IN: Eerdmans.

- Boyd-Taylor, Cameron (2006a). 'In a Mirror, Dimly: Reading the Septuagint as a Document of Its Times', in Wolfgang Kraus and R. Glenn Wooden, eds., *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures*. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, pp. 15–31.
- Boyd-Taylor, Cameron (2006b). 'Toward the Analysis of Translational Norms: A Sighting Shot.' *BIOSCS* 39: 27–46.
- Brockington, Leonard H. (1951). 'The Greek Translator of Isaiah and His Interest in ΔΟΞΑ.' *VT* 1: 23–32.
- Bruce, F. F. (1979). 'Prophetic Interpretation in the Septuagint.' *BIOSCS* 12: 17–26.
- Byun, Seulgi (2017). *The Influence of Post-Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic on the Translator of Septuagint Isaiah*. New York, NY: Bloomsbury.
- Childs, Brevard S. (2004). *The Struggle to Understand Isaiah as Christian Scripture*. Grand Rapids, IN: Eerdmans.
- Collins, John J. (2000). *Between Athens and Jerusalem: Jewish Identity in the Hellenistic Diaspora*. Grand Rapids, IN: Eerdmans.
- Coste, Jean M. (1954). 'Le Texte grec d'Isaïe XXV, 1–5.' *RB* 61: 36–66.
- Cunha, Wilson de A. (2014). *LXX Isa. 24:1–26:6 as Interpretation and Translation: A Methodological Discussion*. Atlanta, GA: SBL Press.
- Das Neves, J. C. M. 1973. *A teologia dos setenta no livro de Isaías*. Lisbon: Universidade Católica Portuguesa.
- de Sousa, Rodrigo F. (2008). 'Is the Choice of *IIAPΘENOΣ* in LXX Isa 7:14 Theologically Motivated?' *JSS* 53: 211–32.
- de Sousa, Rodrigo F. (2010). *Eschatology and Messianism in LXX Isaiah 1–12*. New York, NY: T&T Clark.
- de Sousa, Rodrigo F. (2019). 'Theological Ameliorative Translations in LXX Isaiah 6.' *JNSL* 45: 19–39.
- Fernández Marcos, Natalio (2015). 'El texto griego de Isaías.' *Salmanticensis* 62: 7–24.
- Fischer, Johann (1930). *In welcher Schrift lag das Buch Isaias den LXX vor?* Giessen: A. Töpelmann.
- Fritsch, Charles T. (1960). 'The Concept of God in the Greek Translation of Isaiah', in Jacob M. Myers, O. Reimherr, and H. N. Bream, eds., *Biblical Studies in Memory of H. C. Alleman*. New York, NY: Augustin, pp. 155–69.
- Gray, George Buchanan (1911). 'The Greek Version of Isaiah: Is it the Work of a Single Translator?' *JTS* 12: 286–93.
- Gray, G. B. (1912). *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Isaiah I–XXVII*. Edinburgh: T&T Clark.
- Hurvitz, Marshall S. (1957). 'The LXX of Isaiah 36–39 in Relation to That of 1–35, 40–66.' *HUCA* 28: 75–83.
- Kamesar, Adam (1990). 'The Virgin of Isaiah 7:14: The Philological Argument from the Second to the Fifth Century.' *JTS* 41: 51–75.
- Koenig, Jean (1982). *L'Herméneutique analogique du judaïsme antique d'après les témoins textuels d'Isaïe*. Leiden: Brill.
- Lee, John A. L. (2014). 'The Literary Greek of Septuagint Isaiah.' *Semitica et Classica* 7: 135–46.
- le Moigne, Philippe (2001). *Le Livre d'Esaië dans la Septante: Ecdotique, stylistique, linguistique ou Esquisse d'une poétique de la Septante*. PhD diss., Paris, École Pratique des Hautes Études.
- Lust, Johan (1987). 'Exegesis and Theology in the Septuagint of Ezekiel: The Longer "Pluses" and Ezek 43:1–9', in Claude E. Cox, ed., *VI Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Jerusalem 1986*. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, pp. 201–32.

- Munnich, Olivier (2006). 'Le Messianisme à la lumière des livres prophétiques de la bible grecque', in Michael A. Knibb, ed., *The Septuagint and Messianism*. BETL 195. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 327–56.
- Ngunga, Abi T. (2012). *Messianism in the Old Greek of Isaiah: An Intertextual Analysis*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Ngunga, Abi T., and Joachim Schaper (2015). 'Isaiah', in James K. Aitken, ed., *T&T Clark Companion to the Septuagint*. New York, NY: Bloomsbury, pp. 456–68.
- Olley, John W. (1979). 'Righteousness' in the Septuagint of Isaiah: A Contextual Study. Missoula, MT: Scholars Press.
- Olley, John W. (1980). 'The Translator of the Septuagint of Isaiah and "Righteousness"'. *BIOSCS* 13: 58–74.
- Ottley, Robert R. (1904). *The Book of Isaiah According to the Septuagint (Codex Alexandrinus)*, Vol. 1: *Introduction and Translation with a Parallel Version from the Hebrew*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Ottley, Robert R. (1906). *The Book of Isaiah according to the Septuagint (Codex Alexandrinus)*, Vol. 2: *Text and Notes*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Parry, Donald W. (2011). 'LXX Isaiah or Its Vorlage: Primary "Misreadings" and Secondary "Modifications"', in Eric F. Mason, ed., *A Teacher for All Generations: Essays in Honor of James C. Vanderkam*. JSJSup 153. Leiden: Brill, pp. 151–68.
- Schöckel, L. Alonso (1988). *A Manual of Hebrew Poetics*. Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico.
- Scholz, Anton (1880). *Die alexandrinische Uebersetzung des Buches Jesaias*. Würzburg: Leo Woerl.
- Schweitzer, Steven J. (2004). 'Mythology in the Old Greek of Isaiah: The Technique of Translation'. *CBQ* 66: 214–30.
- Seeligmann, Isac L. (1948). *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah: A Discussion of Its Problems*. Leiden: Brill.
- Seeligmann, Isac L. (2004). 'Problems and Perspectives in Modern Septuagint Research', in Robert Hanhart and H. Spieckermann, eds., *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah and Cognate Studies*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 23–80.
- Thackeray, Henry St. J. (1903). 'The Greek Translators of the Prophetical Books'. *JTS* 4: 578–85.
- Thackeray, Henry St. J. (1909). *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek According to the Septuagint*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Troxel, Ronald L. (1992). 'ΕΣΧΑΤΟΣ and Eschatology in LXX-Isaiah'. *BIOSCS* 25: 18–27.
- Troxel, R. L. (2008). *LXX-Isaiah as Translation and Interpretation: The Strategies of the Translator of the Septuagint of Isaiah*. Leiden: Brill.
- Troxel, R. L. (2010). 'ΒΟΥΛΗ and ΒΟΥΛΕΥΕΙΝ in LXX Isaiah', in Arie van der Kooij and Michaël van der Meer, eds., *The Old Greek of Isaiah: Issues and Perspectives*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 153–71.
- van der Kooij, Arie (1977). 'Die Septuaginta Jesajas als Document jüdischer Exegese: Einige Notize zu LXX-Jes 7', in Dominique Barthélemy, ed., *Übersetzung und Deutung: Studien zu dem Alten Testament und seiner Umwelt: Alexander Reinard Hulst gewidmet*. Nijkerk: Callenbach, pp. 91–102.
- van der Kooij, A. (1981). *Die alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches: Ein Beitrag zur Textgeschichte des Alten Testaments*. OBO 35. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- van der Kooij, A. (1986). 'Accident or Method? On "Analogical" Interpretation in the Old Greek of Isaiah and in 1QIsa'. *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 43: 366–75.

- van der Kooij, A. (1987). 'The Old Greek of Isaiah 19:16–25: Translation and Interpretation', in Claude E. Cox, ed., *VI Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Jerusalem 1986*. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, pp. 127–66.
- van der Kooij, A. (1997a). 'Isaiah in the Septuagint', in Craig C. Broyles and Craig A. Evans, eds., *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah: Studies of an Interpretive Tradition*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 513–29.
- van der Kooij, A. (1997b). 'Zur Theologie des Jesajabuches in der Septuaginta', in Henning G. Reventlow, ed., *Theologische Probleme der Septuaginta und der hellenistischen Hermeneutik*. Gütersloh: Chr. Kaiser, pp. 9–25.
- van der Kooij, A. (1998). *The Oracle of Tyre: The Septuagint of Isaiah XXIII as Version and Vision*. VTSup 71. Leiden: Brill.
- van der Kooij, A. (2002). 'Wie heißt der Messias? Zu Jes 9,5 in den alten griechischen Versionen', in Christoph Bultmann, Walter Dietrich, and Christoph Levin, eds., *Vergegenwärtigung des Alten Testaments: Beiträge zur biblischen Hermeneutik. Festschrift für Rudolf Smend zum 70. Geburtstag*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 156–69.
- van der Kooij, A. (2006). 'The Septuagint of Isaiah and the Hebrew Text of Isa 2:22 and 36:7', in Peter W. Flint, Emanuel Tov, and James C. Vanderkam, eds., *Studies in the Hebrew Bible, Qumran, and the Septuagint Presented to Eugene Ulrich*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 377–86.
- van der Kooij, A. (2016). 'Esaias / Isaias / Jesaja', in Siegfried Kreuzer, ed., *Einleitung in die Septuaginta: Handbuch zur Septuaginta (LXX.H)*. Vol. 1. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, pp. 559–73.
- van der Louw, Theo (2007). *Transformations in the Septuagint: Towards an Interaction of Septuagint Studies and Translation Studies*. Leuven: Peeters.
- van der Meer, Michaël (2010). 'Papyrological Perspectives on the Septuagint of Isaiah', in Arie van der Kooij and Michaël van der Meer, eds., *The Old Greek of Isaiah: Issues and Perspectives*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 105–33.
- van der Vorm-Croughs, Mirjam (2014). *The Old Greek of Isaiah: An Analysis of Its Pluses and Minuses*. Atlanta, GA: SBL Press.
- Wagner, J. Ross (2013). *Reading the Sealed Book: Old Greek Isaiah and the Problem of Septuagint Hermeneutics*. Waco, TX: Baylor University Press.
- Wilk, Florian (1998). *Die Bedeutung des Jesajabuches für Paulus*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Wilk, Florian (2010). 'Between Scripture and History: Technique and Hermeneutics of Interpreting Biblical Prophets in the Septuagint of Isaiah and the Letters of Paul', in Arie van der Kooij and Michaël van der Meer, eds., *The Old Greek of Isaiah: Issues and Perspectives*. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 189–209.
- Winter, P. (1954). 'OY ΔΙΑ ΧΕΙΡ...s Isa 63:9 (Gk) and the Passover Haggadah'. *VT* 4: 439–41.
- Ziegler, Josef (1934). *Untersuchungen zur Septuaginta des Buches Isaias*. Münster: Verlag der Aschendorffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung.
- Zillessen, Alfred (1902). 'Bemerkungen zur alexandrinischen Übersetzung des Jesaja (c. 40–66)'. *ZAW* 22: 238–63.

CHAPTER 18

JEREMIAH AND BARUCH

MATTHIEU RICHELLE

THE LATE REDISCOVERY OF THE SEPTUAGINT VERSION OF JEREMIAH

IN antiquity, Origen and Jerome already noted major differences between the Hebrew text they knew and the Septuagint version (Bogaert 1994: 365–6). The Hebrew text was far longer, and several passages were ordered differently. However, Jerome’s commitment to the *hebraica veritas* led him to set aside the Greek version when writing his own Latin version, the *iuxta Hebraeos* version (later known as the Vulgate), which supplanted the Old Latin in many parts of the Western Church (see Chapters 41 and 42). As a corollary, Jerome did not translate the book of Baruch, in contrast to the Old Latin manuscripts, where it is an integral part of the book of Jeremiah. Consequently, whereas the Septuagint was widely read in liturgy and used by many Church fathers, scholarly work on Greek Jeremiah and on Baruch was neglected from Late Antiquity onwards.

From the eighteenth century onwards, some scholars made detailed studies of the textual differences between Hebrew and Greek Jeremiah, notably Eichhorn (1777) and Movers (1837), and of the latter as a translation (Thackeray 1902–3). The discovery of Hebrew fragments from the book of Jeremiah among the Dead Sea Scrolls, some of them exhibiting a text quite close to what would be the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX, gave a new impetus to this kind of study. While this was announced in the 1950s, it was only in 1973 that a preliminary edition of the relevant Qumran fragments from Cave 4 was published (Janzen 1973). From then on, work on the textual history of the book of Jeremiah became a major field in textual criticism, as well as an emblematic case study for Septuagint scholarship. In parallel, linguistic studies and textual criticism on the book of Baruch developed, especially, although not exclusively, with regard to its links with Greek Jeremiah.

A VERY DIFFERENT FORM OF THE BOOK OF JEREMIAH

To understand the development of modern research on Greek Jeremiah, it is worth summarizing the main textual data. The proto-Masoretic Text was already present in the era of the Dead Sea Scrolls, as attested by 2QJer, 4QJer^a, and 4QJer^c (Tov 2012: 286–94). In addition, the allusions to and quotations of Jeremiah in the Qumran *Hodayot* might indicate that their authors used a similar form of Jeremiah (Lange 2012). In the first century CE, Flavius Josephus also consulted, when writing his *Jewish Antiquities*, some Semitic form of the long text of Jeremiah, either in Aramaic (Piovanelli 1992) or in Hebrew (Nodet 2010: XLIII–XLV). The proto-MT was used for the Greek revisions made by Theodotion, Aquila, and Symmachus, as well as the Syriac version (Peshitta) and the Vulgate.

With regard to the Old Greek, its best witness is Codex Vaticanus; the other manuscripts have been corrected to align them with the MT, even when they preserve the order of chapters of the OG as in Codex Alexandrinus. In addition, the fragmentarily preserved Old Latin sometimes proves to be a better witness to the Old Greek, albeit an indirect one (Bogaert 1991a: 2). References to Jeremiah in Sirach show that the LXX of Jeremiah already existed around 130 BCE. The translation may have been made in the first half of the second century BCE in Alexandria (Dorival 1988: 90–1, 97, 105). It likely influenced the translator of Lamentations (first century CE), because many significant Greek renderings of Hebrew words and expressions are the same in this book and in Jeremiah 1–28 (Assan-Dhôte and Moatti-Fine 2005: 33–5). As to the *Vorlage*, two manuscripts from Qumran, 4QJer^b and 4QJer^d, attest a Hebrew text which, although not identical, is close to it in several passages (including Jer. 9:22–10:21).

The quantitative difference between the MT and the LXX is impressive: a little more than 3,000 words from the MT, that is about one seventh of its content, do not have a counterpart in the LXX (Tov and Polak 2005). In many cases, it is only a matter of a sequence of a few words that do not seem to be of crucial importance (around fifty occurrences of the formula ‘thus says the LORD’, and names, titles, etc.), and often create mere repetitions in the text. Yet even some of these small pluses significantly alter the content of the text when they provide unique information (e.g. the identity of the ‘king coming from the north’ who will subjugate all the nations in Jeremiah ch. 25). More importantly, long pluses are not rare, and the longest (33:14–26 MT) contains 185 words. Such material inevitably has a qualitative impact insofar as it contains theological or ideological ideas, and because it changes the literary arrangement of entire sections. That being said, it is to be noted that some parts of the book are almost identical in both textual traditions: this is the case of the ‘confessions of Jeremiah’, e.g. Jer. 11:18–12:6 (Kilunga 2011).

Some scholars have attempted to explain a large proportion of the differences by scribal error. According to Lundbom (2005), 64 per cent of the LXX minuses can be

accounted for by haplography in its Hebrew *Vorlage*. But this result seems highly unlikely (Joosten 2008: 94 n. 9; Tov 2012: 289). One would need to postulate one or more extraordinarily clumsy copyists, making errors on a scale unprecedented in the entire transmission history of the Hebrew Bible and its versions. Moreover, the longer the omitted passages are, the less probable it is that they were dropped by accidents such as *homoiooteleuton*. Most of the ‘pluses’ are likely due to deliberate additions. Furthermore, the structure of the book is different in Hebrew and in Greek. The main divergence in this regard concerns the location of the Oracles Against the Nations (OAN): they appear at the end of the book in the MT (chapters 46–51), but in the middle of it in the LXX (25:13–31:44). Many other oracles have similarly been transposed. Such differences obviously stem from deliberate rearrangement of the literary shape of the book.

In view of these major differences between the MT and the LXX, the main question has long been whether they were due to the translator(s), or already present in the Hebrew *Vorlage*. Was the translation seeking to be literal, or does it exhibit more or less considerable freedom?

TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE AND TRANSLATOR(S)

Detailed analysis of the Qumran findings showed that 4QJer^b and 4QJer^d are very close to what would be the *Vorlage* of the LXX, if the translator has rendered it faithfully (Janzen 1973). Their basic agreement with the Hebrew basis of the OG manifests itself in the fact that they share seven minuses with the LXX, as well as the sequence of verses in ch. 10, which is different in the MT. This has prompted most scholars to accept as the correct working hypothesis that, generally speaking, OG Jeremiah closely followed its *Vorlage*. In other words, the differences with the MT generally came from a Hebrew text that already differed from it. It was now clear that there once existed two Hebrew forms of the book of Jeremiah, one short (reflected by LXX) and another longer (MT). Another proof that the Greek text points to a *Vorlage* already shorter than the MT comes from a textual comparison of an entire passage common to the book of Jeremiah and the book of Kings: there are significant agreements between Jeremiah ch. 52 LXX and 2 Kings chs. 24–5 MT against the longer Jeremiah ch. 52 MT (Tov 2012: 288).

All this is corroborated by a detailed study of the translation technique in Greek Jeremiah, which indicates that it is, generally speaking, a reliable witness to its *Vorlage* (Stipp 1994: 58). Most scholars now regard the Greek translation of Jeremiah as literal (Tov 2012: 288), though this opinion needs to be qualified because of the presence of ‘freedom within literalism’ (Sollamo 2012: 19), which is confirmed by a recent study of Jeremiah ch. 32 that distinguishes between grammatical, lexical, and quantitative freedom (Shead 2002: 250–5). Yet analyses of the translation technique have either been done on selective material scattered across the book or on limited specific passages.

Consequently, it remains difficult to generalize and characterize Greek Jeremiah by global rules (Shead 2002: 256). All these nuances notwithstanding, the overall picture is that of a more or less faithful and generally literal translation. It is characterized by isomorphism: as a rule, each Hebrew morpheme is represented in the Greek text, regardless of the resulting lack of elegance (Pietersma and Saunders 2007: 876). This faithfulness to the *Vorlage* and commitment to literalism render unlikely the notion that the short form of the book resulted from many deliberate omissions by the translators for the sake of shortening or avoiding repetitions (Janzen 1973; Goldman 1997: 153).

Numerous differences in the choice of Greek renderings have been noted between the first part of the book (chs. 1–28) and the second (chs. 29–52). This may be due to the activity of two translators (Thackeray 1902–3; Soderlung 1985: 153–92; Pietersma 2010) or to a revision of the translation in chs. 29–52 (Tov 1976b). Yet recent research has indicated the need for further studies, since the hypothesis of a second translator or reviser does not appear adequate to explain all the data: there are significant lexical differences not only between the two halves of the book, but also within each of them (Michael 2006).

THE *VORLAGE* OF THE SEPTUAGINT AS AN EARLIER EDITION

Since the Greek form of the book proves to be very different from the MT, and both the Qumran findings and the study of the translation technique show that the differences can be traced back to its *Vorlage*, LXX Jeremiah provides an open window on the textual history of the book for a period that is otherwise barely documented. Moreover, the addition or omission of entire new sections, and the changes in the order of the pericopes, stem from a new redactional project. Most scholars today acknowledge that the short and long forms of the text represent two different and successive *literary editions* of the same book, both produced in Hebrew (on this concept, see Ulrich 1999: 99–120). The book of Jeremiah has become a paradigmatic example of the interweaving of textual criticism and literary criticism. Its textual history provides material attestation of redactional development. Conversely, the study of its transmission cannot be reduced to the mere application of mechanical criteria (e.g. *lectio brevior*): it necessitates the use of methods developed in literary criticism. This situation, in turn, raises a new question: what is the relative chronology of the two editions?

The current scholarly consensus states that the short edition is the earlier. Three main arguments support this hypothesis. The first line of reasoning relates to the general analysis of the pluses in the MT, which, when not accidentally omitted in the LXX or its *Vorlage*, mostly arise from additions. It is unlikely that corresponding omissions were made at the level of the Hebrew *Vorlage*, since there exist more credible explanations of the pluses through scribal activity. In fact, it is possible to classify the pluses as follows

(Tov 1972: 192–7; 1997; 1999): (i) stylistic expansions (repetitions; addition or development of proper names, titles, or formulae); (ii) additions inspired by other passages of the book; (iii) substantial additions by the redactor; (iv) Deuteronomistic additions. In practice, a detailed comparison of both editions in many pericopes shows that the short edition has been reshaped into the long one (e.g. Aejmelaeus 2002; Bogaert 1997c, 2005a; Schenker 2006; Goldman 2005). Moreover, the study of entire passages unique to the MT has proved them to be secondary. Some of these long additions had even been prepared by small changes in previous passages: e.g. 33:14–26 in MT is linked to small alterations not only in the preceding verses but also in chs. 29 and 31 (Bogaert 1991b; Goldman 1992: 9–31; 2005: 203–7; Piovanelli 1997).

Secondly, on a larger scale, it is possible to understand the reason for several *transpositions* of passages, and minor changes linked to them, if we admit that the redactor responsible for the MT has moved them. For instance, whereas the short edition highlights the importance of Baruch, notably thanks to a promise of safety given to him at the end of the book (Jer. 51:31–5 LXX), the long edition downplays it by displacing these verses to ch. 45:1–5, while adding a colophon (51:64 MT) that reinforces the figure of Jeremiah. Also, this creates an *inclusio* with 1:1 MT, where the wording ('The words of Jeremiah'), differing from 1:1 LXX ('The word [ῥῆμα] of God which came to Ieremias'), makes clear that what follows is Jeremiah's work. In ch. 36 MT (ch. 43 LXX), several pluses, notably the titles 'scribe' for Baruch and 'prophet' for Jeremiah, insist on the fact that the former is subordinate to the latter (there is no title for Baruch in the entire Greek version of the book). In sum, whereas Baruch appeared to be responsible for the entire book in the short edition, the scribes who produced the MT used different means to make Jeremiah appear the author of the book (Bogaert 1997a).

Another illustration: in the Greek text, the 'oracle of the cup' is the conclusion of the Oracles Against the Nations (LXX Jeremiah ch. 32). In the MT, it comes at the end of the oracles against Judah, in ch. 25, and immediately after the announcement of the coming of a northern king who will dominate Judah (Jer. 25:14); the list of the nations is amplified, and Judah is clearly distinguished from it, even appearing at the head of them. As a result, Judah's fate proves to be the model of all the other nations' destiny; conversely, Judah's fate now appears against a universal background (Goldman 1997:154–6). In addition, the order followed in Jeremiah ch. 25 (oracle against Judah, then against the nations) prepares for the following two sections in the MT: the judgement of Judah in chapters 26–45, then the judgement of the nations in chapters 46–51 (Bogaert 1994: 377). Significantly, the redactor of the long text has made several modifications to the list of the nations in the oracle of the cup in order to harmonize it with the list of the OAN. Notably, he has made several additions reflecting the special influence of the oracle against Babel and he has diffracted the general title of 25:14 LXX, introducing the OAN under three new titles in 25:13, 46:1, and 49:4 MT (Bogaert 1994: 379–80; 2005a: 12–14). Such a coherent and multiform rearrangement can only be explained as occurring from the short to the longer edition.

Thirdly, this theory is now corroborated by linguistic considerations. Several pluses of the MT seem to be written in an idiolect somewhat different than that of the text in

common (Stipp 1994: 77–82). They exhibit linguistic features characteristic of Late Biblical Hebrew, whereas most of the common text is written in Classical Biblical Hebrew (Piovanelli 1997: 273–5; Joosten 2008; see also Hornkohl 2014: 356–69). Stipp (1997: 2016) notes that the MT edition as a whole reflects a distinct idiolect. All this implies that at least some of the pluses are additions to the short edition.

There is, nevertheless, a small minority of scholars who doubt this model. The spectrum of their opinions encompasses exegetes who state that the priority of the MT cannot be absolutely ruled out, even if unlikely (Shead 2002: 25), to convinced advocates of this priority (Fischer 1991; 1997). Some exegetes regard the literary structure of the MT as more original (Rofé 1989; Seitz 1989). According to Seitz, the MT displays a movement from Judah's 'gradual deterioration' to its 'eventual punishment' that is lost in the LXX (1989: 25). Yet such arguments seem too subjective and easily reversible. Likewise, the fact that the overall arrangement of the LXX is similar to the structure of other Prophetic books (with the OAN in a medial position) could be construed either as a clue that it results from deliberate harmonization by imitation, or that it is original. The same can be said of the arguments referring to the conformity of the MT to original themes of the book (see Seitz 1989).

More to the point, some scholars argue that the LXX exhibits secondary features in specific passages (van der Kooij 1994). However, these could be accounted for as secondary alterations in the transmission of the LXX or its *Vorlage*; this does not invalidate the mainstream theory. Thus Renaud (1999) accepts the mainstream chronology, but his analysis of Jer. 31:31–4 MT/38:31–4 LXX leads him to conclude that in this passage it is the LXX which has been revised. To demonstrate the priority of one edition over the other, it is necessary to explain not only isolated secondary features, but also the large-scale differences (long additions, transpositions, etc.) that betray redactional activity. In spite of a few attempts (Fischer 1991, criticized by Goldman 1997: 169–77), this is lacking in the defences of the priority of the MT.

ASSESSING THE DISTANCE BETWEEN THE SEPTUAGINT VORLAGE AND THE LONG EDITION

To conclude that the *Vorlage* of the Septuagint constitutes an earlier edition of the book than the MT is insufficient in assessing precisely the role it should play in the understanding of the literary history of the book. Does Greek Jeremiah give access to an earlier but almost contemporary form of the book, as some scholars believe, or to a considerably more ancient edition?

Admittedly, the date of 4QJer^a, in the first half of the second century BCE, implies a *terminus ad quem* for the long edition. But this allows many possibilities between the

sixth century and this date. Another marker would be provided by the Letter of Jeremiah (see Chapter 26), probably written during the Hellenistic period, if, as most scholars think, its author used the long edition, but Thomas (2008) has recently argued that he used the Hebrew short edition. Given the paucity of material data, scholars resort to hypotheses.

In 1777, Eichhorn surmised that Jeremiah and Baruch carried a scroll with them into Egypt, and later gave or sent an expanded scroll to the Babylonian exiles. Still today, some scholars accept this notion in one form or another (van Selms 1976; Archer 1991). A similar theory postulates that Baruch and his brother Seraiah ben Neriah stand behind the short and long editions, respectively (Lundbom 1986; Shead 2002: 261–2). This theory is based on three arguments. First, the text has them going to Egypt (Jer. 43:5–6 MT) and Babylon (Jer. 51:59–64 MT). Thus the LXX comes from Egypt, whereas the MT edition seems to be oriented towards the Babylonian Diaspora. Indeed, the editor of MT Jeremiah has made several additions that insist on the role of Babylonia and her king, as well as on their punishment; he has displaced the oracle against Babylon to the end of the OAN, in a climactic position; he sometimes refers cryptically to Babylon through the *atbash* cipher, i.e. *ššk* is a code word for *bbl* (Babel; Steiner 1996: 79–84). Second, Jeremiah ch. 45 MT and 51:59–64 MT, which stand at the end of the book in the short and long edition respectively, are, according to this theory, colophons written by Baruch and Seraiah respectively (Lundbom 1986). Third, some of the historical information contained in the Hebrew pluses would appear reliable in the light of epigraphic discoveries (Steiner 1996: 77–8), which suggests that they are very ancient.

These arguments are not very strong, however. The second is hypothetical, while the third relies on very limited data and, assuming that it could give credence to the authenticity of a few verses, this would not allow us to generalize. As to the first argument, the focus on Babylon could be explained in a post-exilic context. Precisely, the long edition identifies the 'king coming from the north' (ch. 25) as Nebuchadnezzar and gives him the positive title 'my servant' (of the LORD). Such a positive designation is astonishing regarding the king responsible for the fall of Jerusalem. This seems to presuppose a historical context far later than the sixth century (Aejmelaeus 2002: 471).

Moreover, as noted above, the MT pluses contain late linguistic features, which rule out a Jeremianic authorship (and the work of the sons of Neriah) for at least some of them, insofar as they indicate a date in the post-exilic era (Joosten 2008: 108; however, Hornkohl dates the supplementary material in the MT to the sixth century on linguistic grounds: 2014: 371–2). Furthermore, the two editions seem to offer contradictory chronologies (in Jeremiah chs. 39–40 MT and chs. 46–7 LXX) of the liberation(s) of Jeremiah by the Babylonians after the fall of Jerusalem (Joosten 2008: 105–7), which renders it unlikely that they ultimately come from the same author. Many scholars discern, too, Deuteronomistic additions scattered across the book. Efforts have been made to characterize the concerns and the *Tendenz* of the new edition and to infer a historical context (see the overview of Bogaert 1994: 393–8). Apart from (for instance) the role of Babylon and Nebuchadnezzar, sacerdotal interests, special mention should be made of the dynastic promises to the Davidic line (Goldman 1992, 2005). Based on this kind of

consideration, scholars have proposed various dates for the long edition: the end of the sixth century (Goldman 1992, 2005), the third century (Bogaert 1994: 398–400), or the second century (Schenker 2007; Piovanelli 1997: 271–3; Sérandour 2002).

That said, it would probably be misleading to ascribe all the pluses and changes of the long edition to the same redactor (Aejmelaeus 2005: 17–18; Joosten 2008: 94). There may have been several redactions, or a main redaction and *Fortschreibungen* staggered through several centuries. A ‘rolling corpus’ model would even account for the possible presence of pluses in the MT that come from Jeremiah himself as Tov thinks (1972: 195–6; 1999: 367, 383), although he acknowledges that nobody knows how they would have found their way to the long edition.

In sum, while there is a large consensus about the relative chronology concerning the two editions of Jeremiah, the absolute chronology is still debated. But current research generally abandons the notion that the revised edition comes from Jeremiah or his scribe(s), often proposing far later dates. What LXX Jeremiah represents is not a mere contemporary alternative of the same book known in the MT, but by far the earliest edition of it available to scholars (which does not mean that it is a pristine reflection of the most ancient state of the book).

BARUCH

In the Septuagint, the book of Jeremiah is inseparable from the book of Baruch. The Greek fathers until Origen, and the Latin fathers except Jerome, quote this book as Jeremiah’s (Bogaert 2006: 388–9). Indeed, the book never mentions Baruch as author. The title (Bar. 1:1) is similar to the formula that introduces Jeremiah’s letter sent to the Babylonian Jews in Jeremiah ch. 36 and could be interpreted the same way as Baruch reading the oracles of the prophet. Moreover, in the most ancient Old Latin, Baruch directly follows Jeremiah ch. 52 without a title. Bogaert believes the title does not predate Origen (2006: 385). Furthermore, there are clear links between Jeremiah ch. 52 and Baruch that create a form of continuity (Kasabele Mukenge 1998: 392–7). In particular, the beginning of Baruch (Bar. 1:1–14) takes over the theme of the last verses of Jeremiah (Jer. 52:31–4 MT), that is, the unexplained rehabilitation of Jehoiakin at the royal court of Babylon, by providing the reason for it: this king repented when hearing the words read by Baruch.

The book of Baruch is best understood against the background of the pseudepigraphical literature inspired by the book of Jeremiah during the Second Temple period. Several compositions developed around the figure of Baruch, i.e. 1, 2, and 3 Baruch. The first of these, also simply referred to as ‘Baruch’, is the only one included in LXX manuscripts. In all likelihood, the book played a role in the liturgical calendar. It is supposed to have been written on the commemoration day of the fall of Jerusalem (Bar. 1:2) and it contains a collective prayer meant to be read in the Temple ‘on a feast day’. Thackeray hypothesized that Jews read it on the Ninth of Ab, together with Lamentations (1921: 80–111).

Exegetes generally regard the book as composite, even when they emphasize the literary unity of the final redaction (Kabasele Mukenge 1998: 397–411). Baruch contains four parts: (A) an historical introduction (Bar. 1:1–14); (B) a collective prayer of confession and lament (Bar. 1:15–3:8); (C) a meditation on Wisdom and an exhortation to seek her (3:9–4:4); (D) a prophetic exhortation with words of consolation to the exiles, and a promise of return (4:5–5:9). Part A situates the action among the Babylonian exiles; they repent and send a letter to Jerusalem containing a penitential prayer (B), full of allusions to Deuteronomy and Jeremiah, which is to be read in the Temple. From a narrative viewpoint, part D still presupposes a context before the authorization to return to Judah, but the atmosphere is different from part A and B: now the return is promised, and the tone is victorious. Finally, part C, a poetic composition reminiscent of Job ch. 28 and Sirach ch. 24 clearly stands apart, though admittedly there is a link with the rest of the book: this part begins by stating that Israel has been exiled because she has forsaken the source of wisdom (Bar. 3:10–12).

On the grounds of historical allusions, scholars have proposed various dates for the main composition of Baruch, from the Persian period to the first century CE. Mainstream opinion favours the second century BCE in view of the absence of later traditions and because its content would fit the Maccabean period (Assan-Dhôte and Moatti-Fine 2005: 51–2; Kabasele Mukenge 1998: 412–26). As for part C, the author of Psalm of Solomon 11 seems to have used this poem; since he was writing not long after Pompey took Jerusalem (63 BCE), this provides a *terminus ad quem*. But part C could well have already been interpolated in the second half of the second century BCE.

Not found among the Dead Sea Scrolls, Baruch is mainly attested by Greek and Latin witnesses. The book features in four uncial manuscripts (Alexandrinus, Vaticanus, Marchalianus, and Venetus) as well as in many minuscules. Due to his commitment to the *hebraica veritas*, Jerome did not translate Baruch. Since the latter had no title, the supplanting of the Old Latin by the Vulgate had an important consequence: the absence of Baruch went unnoticed for some time and the Latin version was poorly transmitted, to the extent that there is no Latin manuscript with a complete text of Baruch before 800 CE. In the following centuries, the book was reintegrated in the Vulgate using Old Latin manuscripts (Bogaert 2005b). Old Latin versions are precious indirect witnesses of the LXX, which they translate (Kabasele Mukenge 2000).

According to Bogaert, the book of Baruch was meant to follow the *short* edition of Jeremiah as a supplement (1982: 81). Indeed, apart from the appendix of ch. 52, the LXX of Jeremiah ends by highlighting the character of Baruch. In addition, Baruch appears only in manuscripts that contain the short form of Jeremiah. Bogaert also thinks that Bar. 1:1–4 functions as a colophon to Greek Jeremiah. This theory implies interpreting 1:1 as a reference to the book of Jeremiah, not to what follows it, which is not accepted by all scholars. Kabasele Mukenge has pointed out a series of similarities between the long edition of Jeremiah and Baruch, which would indicate that the author of the latter was, in reality, acquainted with the MT (1998: 384–92). He has also noted that juxtaposing the long edition of Jeremiah and Baruch reveals the classical prophetic threefold pattern: (i) oracles against Judah (Jeremiah chs. 26–45), (ii) oracles against the nations (Jeremiah

chs. 46–51), and (iii) oracles of consolation for Judah (Baruch chs. 1–5). However, this scenario seems at variance with the fact that Baruch follows the short edition, not the long one, in the textual witnesses. Kabasele Mukenge offers two explanations: either the author of Baruch wanted his text to act as a supplement with regard to the short edition, a role similar to the function the MT pluses play with regard to the common text; or Baruch had a different destiny than Jeremiah in transmission history, perhaps because the rabbis adopted the MT of Jeremiah while rejecting the supplement (Kabasele Mukenge 1998: 391). Both scenarios are speculative, and while some of the links between Baruch and the long edition of Jeremiah are striking, most of them are thematic and thus difficult to prove beyond doubt.

No Hebrew text of Baruch has been found yet. The existence of a Hebrew *Vorlage* is generally accepted for the first part of the book (1:1–3:8, written in prose), but more debated for the second (3:9–5:9, in poetry). Several arguments show that there may have existed a Hebrew basis for part or all of the book. First, although the entire text is marked by obeli in the Syrohexapla version, implying that Origen did not know of any Hebrew text of Baruch, this version nevertheless attributes a few variants in the Greek text (in Bar. 1:1–2; 2:29; and 4:13) to Theodotion, which suggests some work on a Hebrew model (Assan-Dhôte and Moatti-Fine 2005: 22). Second, some Greek renderings come from mistaken understanding of Hebrew words (Thackeray 1921: 86). Third, scholars have actually been able to reconstruct, by retroversion, a Hebrew text for 1:1–3:8 (Tov 1975) as well as for 3:9–5:9 (Burke 1982). Fourth, in the second part of the book, the reconstructed text exhibits classical features of Hebrew poetry. By contrast, this part does not fit the regular Greek metre: it is a sort of rhythmic prose similar to other LXX translations of Hebrew poems (Assan-Dhôte and Moatti-Fine 2005: 54). Fifth, according to a statistical analysis, the Greek syntax here is due to a translation process, not a direct composition—though in the case of 3:9–4:4 it leads one to hypothesize an Aramaic base (Martin 1991). Sixth, while many Semitisms could be due to influence or imitation of earlier Septuagint translations, other Semitisms and peculiar Greek constructions seem best explained as literal renderings of a Hebrew text (Assan-Dhôte and Moatti-Fine 2005: 69–71). Although the cumulative force of these arguments is impressive, it should be noted that some scholars have highlighted several methodological issues related to this approach and believe that Baruch is a ‘Greek composition that drew heavily on the language and content of the LXX’ (Davila 2005: 60).

If one accepts the hypothesis that Baruch is a translated work, the tendency to literalism in this book would be similar to that of Daniel-Theodotion (Tov 1976a). At the same time, on several occasions the translator chose a more elevated vocabulary, especially in the poetic part (3:9–5:9). The overall impression is that of a Hellenist who did not hesitate to make personal choices in his translation (Assan-Dhôte and Moatti-Fine 2005: 71–2). Tov has argued that the translator of Bar. 1:1–3:8 was the same as the translator of Jeremiah chs. 29–52 (1976b). Assan-Dhôte and Moatti-Fine have recently pointed out further lexical similarities with Jeremiah chs. 29–52 in Bar. 3:9–5:9 (2005: 33). That said, a few striking differences between Bar. 1:1–3:8 and 3:9–5:9 might hint at the existence of two translators or a revision of the first part of the book (Assan-Dhôte and

Moatti-Fine 2005: 72–3). In any case, the hypothesis of the same translator for Bar. 1:1–3:8 and Jeremiah chs. 29–52 suggests a date in the first half of the second century BCE.

TOWARDS THE FUTURE

Much work remains to be done. With regard to Jeremiah, the origins and date of the pluses found in the longer literary edition are still debated. In addition, both editions have been subject to their own textual history, affected by transmission errors and deliberate scribal activity (see Shead 2002; Gesundheit 2012). The LXX *Vorlage* can neither be construed as a pristine original nor as the archetype of the book. In other words, while the relative chronology of the two editions seems to constitute a solid result, future research might go beyond the alternative of MT or LXX when proceeding to detailed comparisons of specific passages, and thus might have a different aim than to confirm in which sense the textual evolution has taken place. The study of the textual history of Jeremiah includes reconstructing the different roads taken by the different editions.

Another interesting topic which needs more investigation concerns the differentiated reception of both editions of Jeremiah. Which text has been used and by whom during the Second Temple period, and with what consequences? A critical examination of the quotations and allusions to Jeremiah found in the Second Temple Jewish literature might help in partly answering that question, as Lange has already done for the *Hodayot* (2012). What was the consequence of the adoption of the Masoretic Text in rabbinic Judaism? What impact has the use of the Septuagint among the Church fathers had on their exegesis or even theology?

The latest tendency in current research consists of studying Greek Jeremiah in its own right. Recent years have seen the publication of several translations of it in modern languages (see Chapter 46). These modern translations depend on crucial choices (Walser 2008). New series of commentaries are devoted to the study of the Greek text: the SBL Commentary on the Septuagint and the Septuagint Commentary Series (Walser 2012; Adams 2014).

Among the still undecided questions in the research on Greek Jeremiah is the explanation of the differences in the translation in chs. 1–28 and 29–52 (or even also in ch. 52 alone). Is this due to several translators or to a revision? Besides, much remains to be done to further the understanding of the translation technique, between literalness and limited freedom (Stipp 1991). Finally, whereas scholars have focused on discerning the characteristics and *Tendenzen* of the long edition, a correct understanding of the Septuagint of Jeremiah should integrate a systematic study of its own characteristics. In other words, understanding the short edition cannot be equated with the mere result of the subtraction of the special features of the Masoretic Text; it should be a positive synthesis. This would also imply resisting the temptation to retrospectively transfer onto the short edition later tendencies. For instance, the possible traces of an inchoative ‘messianism’ are less pronounced in LXX than in MT (Lust 1991; Bogaert 2006).

Another area of important debate which needs more work is the connection between the books of Jeremiah and Baruch. Was Baruch meant to follow a Hebrew form of Jeremiah or the Septuagint? Was it meant to follow the short edition of the former, as Bogaert thinks, or the long, as his former student Kabasele Mukenge contends?

SUGGESTED READING

For a short survey of the textual data concerning the book of Jeremiah see the third edition of Tov's *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (2012: 286–93). Bogaert's excellent overview of the research on the two forms of the book from 1994 should be complemented by the more recent work of Weis (2010). Bogaert has written numerous other valuable articles on Jeremiah and Baruch, focusing on the textual history of these books and their relationship. Stipp's *Textkritische Synopse zum Jeremiabuch* (https://www.kaththeol.uni-muenchen.de/lehrstuehle/at_theol/team/emeritus/stipp/textkritische-synopse/index.html) is an invaluable tool.

The introduction of the annotated translation of *La Bible d'Alexandrie* is an excellent recent survey of current research on Baruch (Assan-Dhôte and Moatti-Fine 2005). Kabasele Mukenge (1998) also provides a very interesting study of Baruch. A commentary of Baruch based on the Vaticanus is now available (Adams 2014).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adams, Seth A. (2014). *Baruch and the Epistle of Jeremiah: A Commentary Based on the Texts in Codex Vaticanus*. SCS. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill.
- Aejmelaeus, Anneli (2002). 'Jeremiah at the Turning-Point of History: The Function of Jer 25:1–14 in the Book of Jeremiah'. *VT* 52: 459–82.
- Aejmelaeus, Anneli (2005). '“Nebuchadnezzar, my servant”: Redaction History and Textual Development in 27', in F. García Martínez and M. Vervenne, eds., *Interpreting Translation: Studies on the LXX and Ezekiel in Honour of Johan Lust*. BETL 192. Leuven: University Press and Peeters, pp. 1–18.
- Archer, Gleason (1991). 'The Relationship between the Septuagint and the Masoretic Text in Jeremiah'. *Trinity Journal* 12: 139–50.
- Assan-Dhôte, Isabel, and Jacqueline Moatti-Fine (2005). *Baruch, Lamentations, Lettre de Jérémie*. La Bible d'Alexandrie 25. Paris: Cerf.
- Bogaert, Pierre-Maurice (1982). 'Le Personnage de Baruch et l'histoire du livre de Jérémie: Aux origines du livre deutérocanonique de Baruch', in E. A. Livingstone, ed., *Papers Presented to the Fifth International Congress on Biblical Studies Held at Oxford, 1973*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, pp. 73–81.
- Bogaert, Pierre-Maurice (1991a). 'Les Trois Formes de Jérémie 52 (TM, LXX et VL)', in G. J. Norton and S. Pisano, eds., *Tradition of the Text: Festschrift D. Barthélemy*. OBO 109. Fribourg and Göttingen: Universitäts Verlag, pp. 1–17.
- Bogaert, Pierre-Maurice (1991b). 'Urtext, texte court et relecture: Jérémie xxxiii 14–26 TM et ses préparations', in J. A. Emerton, ed., *Congress Volume Leuven 1989*. VTSup 43. Leiden: Brill, pp. 236–47.
- Bogaert, Pierre-Maurice (1994). 'Le Livre de Jérémie en perspective: Les Deux Rédactions antiques selon les travaux en cours'. *RB* 101: 363–406.
- Bogaert, Pierre-Maurice (1997a). 'De Baruch à Jérémie, les deux rédactions conservées du livre de Jérémie', in P.-M. Bogaert, ed., *Le Livre de Jérémie: Le Prophète et son milieu, les*

- oracles et leur transmission*. 2nd edn. BETL 54. Leuven: University Press and Peeters, pp. 168–73.
- Bogaert, Pierre-Maurice (1997c). ‘Loi(s) et alliance nouvelle dans les deux formes conservées du livre de Jérémie (Jr 31: 31–37 TM; 38: 31–37 LXX)’, in C. Focant, ed., *La Loi dans l’un et l’autre testament*. *Lectio Divina* 168. Paris: Cerf, pp. 81–92.
- Bogaert, Pierre-Maurice (2005a). ‘La Liste des nations dans l’oracle de la coupe (Jr 25:16–26): Juda, les peuples voisins et les grandes puissances’, in D. Böhler, I. Himbaza, and Ph. Hugo, eds., *L’Ecrit et l’Esprit: Études d’histoire du texte et de théologie biblique en hommage à Adrian Schenker*. OBO 214. Fribourg and Göttingen: Academic Press and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 1–14.
- Bogaert, Pierre-Maurice (2005b). ‘Le Livre de Baruch dans les manuscrits de la Bible latine: Disparition et réintégration.’ *Revue bénédictine* 115: 286–342.
- Bogaert, Pierre-Maurice (2006). ‘Qui exerce la royauté dans le livre de Jérémie (et Baruch 1–5)? Du trône de David au trône de Dieu dans sa ville’, in M. A. Knibb, ed., *The Septuagint and Messianism*. BETL 195. Leuven: Leuven University Press and Peeters, pp. 381–415.
- Burke, David J. (1982). *The Poetry of Baruch: A Reconstruction and Analysis of the Original Hebrew Text of Baruch 3:9–5:9*. Chico, CA: Scholars Press.
- Davila, James R. (2005). ‘(How) Can We Tell if a Greek Apocryphon of Pseudepigraphon Has Been Translated from Hebrew or Aramaic?’ *JSP* 15: 3–61.
- Dorival, Gilles (1988). ‘Les Origines de la Septante: La Traduction en grec des cinq livres de la Torah’, in Marguerite Harl, Gilles Dorival, and Olivier Munnich, eds., *La Bible grecque des Septante: Du judaïsme hellénistique au christianisme ancien*. Paris: Cerf, pp. 39–82.
- Eichhorn, Johann G. (1777). ‘Bemerkungen über den Text des Propheten Jeremias.’ *Repertorien für Biblische und Morgenländische Litteratur* 1: 141–68.
- Fischer, Georg (1991). ‘Jer 25 und die Fremdvölkersprüche: Unterschiede zwischen hebräischem und griechischem Text.’ *Biblica* 72: 474–99.
- Fischer, Georg (1997). ‘Zum Text des Jeremiabuches.’ *Biblica* 78: 305–28.
- Gesundheit, Shimon (2012). ‘The Question of LXX Jeremiah as a Tool for Literary-Critical Analysis.’ *VT* 62: 29–57.
- Goldman, Yohanan A. (1992). *Prophétie et royauté au retour de l’exil: Les Origines littéraires de la forme massorétique du livre de Jérémie*. OBO 118. Fribourg and Göttingen: Academic Press/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Goldman, Yohanan A. (1997). ‘Juda et son roi au milieu des nations: La Dernière Rédaction du livre de Jérémie’, in A. Curtis and T. Römer, eds., *The Book of Jeremiah and Its Reception*. BETL 128. Leuven: University Press and Peeters, pp. 151–82.
- Goldman, Yohanan A. (2005). ‘Le Seigneur est fidèle à son Alliance: Continuité et rupture dans l’histoire d’Israël d’après la forme longue du livre de Jérémie (TM Jr 31:31–37; 17:1–4; 11:7–8)’, in A. Schenker and Ph. Hugo, eds., *L’Enfance de la Bible hébraïque: Histoire du texte de l’Ancien Testament*. *Le Monde de la Bible* 52. Geneva: Labor et Fides, pp. 199–219.
- Hornkohl, Aaron D. (2014). *Ancient Hebrew Periodization and the Language of the Book of Jeremiah: The Case for a Sixth-Century Date of Composition*. Leiden: Brill.
- Janzen, J. Gerald (1973). *Studies in the Text of Jeremiah*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Joosten, Jan (2008). ‘L’Excédent massorétique du livre de Jérémie et l’hébreu post-classique’, in Jan Joosten and Jean-Sébastien Rey, eds., *Conservatism and Innovation in the Hebrew Language of the Hellenistic Period: Proceedings of a Fourth International Symposium on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira*. STDJ 73. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, pp. 93–108.

- Kabasele Mukenge, André (1998). *L'Unité littéraire du livre de Baruch*. Paris: Gabalda.
- Kabasele Mukenge, André (2000). 'Les Particularités des témoins latins de Baruch: Étude d'un phénomène de réception scripturaire.' *RB* 107: 24–41.
- Kilunga, Bambi (2011). *Prééminence de YHWH ou autonomie du prophète: Étude comparative et critique des confessions de Jérémie dans le texte hébreu massorétique et la "Septante"*. Fribourg and Göttingen: Academic Press and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Lange, Armin (2012). 'The Textual History of the Book of Jeremiah in Light of Its Allusions and Implicit Quotations in the Qumran Hodayot', in J. Penner, K. M. Penner, and C. Wassen, eds., *Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature: Essays in Honor of Eileen Schuller on the Occasion of Her 65th Birthday*. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, pp. 251–84.
- Lundbom, Jack R. (1986). 'Baruch, Seraiah, and Expanded Colophons in the Book of Jeremiah.' *JSOT* 36: 89–114.
- Lundbom, Jack R. (2005). 'Haplography in the Hebrew "Vorlage" of LXX Jeremiah.' *Hebrew Studies* 46: 301–20.
- Lust, Johan (1991). 'Messianism and the Greek Version of Jeremiah', in Claude M. Cox, ed., *VII Congress of the IOSCS, Leuven 1989*. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, pp. 87–122.
- Martin, Ralph A. (1991). 'Syntax Criticism of Baruch', in C. E. Cox, ed., *VII Congress of the IOSCS, Leuven 1989*. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, pp. 361–71.
- Michael, Tony S. L. (2006). 'Bisectioning of Greek Jeremiah: A Problem to Be Revisited?.' *BIOSCS* 39: 93–104.
- Movers, Franz C. (1837). *De Virisque recensionis vaticiniorum Ieremiae, Graecae Alexandrinae et Hebraicae masorethicae, indole et origine Commentatio critica*. Hamburg.
- Nodet, Étienne (2010). *Flavius Josèphe V. Les Antiquités juives, livres X et XI*. Paris: Cerf.
- Pietersma, Albert (2010). 'Of Translation and Revision: From Greek Isaiah to Greek Jeremiah', in M. N. van der Meer, P. van Keulen, et al., eds., *Isaiah in Context: Studies in Honour of Arie van der Kooij on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, pp. 359–87.
- Pietersma, Albert, and Marc Saunders (2007). 'Jeremias', in A. Pietersma and B. G. Wright, eds., *A New Translation of the Septuagint*. New York, NY and Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 876–924.
- Piovanelli, Pierluigi (1992). 'Le Texte de Jérémie utilisé par Flavius Josèphe dans le Xe livre des Antiquités Judaiques.' *Hénoch* 14: 11–36.
- Piovanelli, Pierluigi (1997). 'JrB 33: 14–26 ou la continuité des institutions à l'époque maccabéenne', in A. Curtis and T. Römer, eds., *The Book of Jeremiah and Its Reception*. BETL 128. Leuven: University Press and Peeters, pp. 255–76.
- Renaud, Bernard (1999). 'L'Oracle de la nouvelle alliance: À propos des divergences entre le texte hébreu (Jr 31: 31–34) et le texte grec (Jr 38: 31–34)', in J.-M. Auwers and A. Wénin, eds., *Lectures et relectures de la Bible: Festschrift P.-M. Bogaert*. BETL 144. Leuven: University Press and Peeters, pp. 85–98.
- Rofé, Alexander (1989). 'The Arrangement of the Book of Jeremiah.' *ZAW* 101: 390–8.
- Schenker, Adrian (2006). *Das Neue am neuen Bund und das Alte am alten: Jer 31 in der hebräischen und griechischen Bibel, von der Textgeschichte zu Theologie, Synagoge und Kirche*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Schenker, Adrian (2007). 'Est-ce que le livre de Jérémie fut publié dans une édition refondue au 2e siècle? La Multiplicité textuelle peut-elle coexister avec l'édition unique d'un livre biblique?', in I. Himbaza and A. Schenker, eds., *Un Carrefour dans l'histoire de la Bible: Du*

- texte à la théologie au IIe siècle avant J.-C.* OBO 233. Fribourg and Göttingen: Academic Press and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 58–74.
- Seitz, Christopher (1989). 'The Prophet Moses and the Canonical Shape of Jeremiah'. *ZAW* 101: 3–27.
- Sérandour, Arnaud (2002). 'Jr 33: 14–26 TM: Contribution pour dater la forme longue (TM) de Jérémie', in A. Chehwan and A. Kassis, eds., *Etudes bibliques et Proche-Orient ancien: Mélanges offerts au Rvd. Père Paul Féghali*. Beirut: Fédération biblique, pp. 247–61.
- Shead, Andrew G. (2002). *The Open Book and the Sealed Book: Jeremiah 32 in Its Hebrew and Greek Recensions*. JSOTSup 347. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- Soderlung, Sven (1985). *The Greek Text of Jeremiah: A Revised Hypothesis*. JSOTSup 47. Sheffield: JSOT Press.
- Sollamo, Raija (2012). 'Why Translation Technique and Literalness Again? The Renderings of the Infinite Absolute in the Septuagint of Jeremiah', in M. Nissinen, ed., *Congress Volume Helsinki 2010*. VTSup 148. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, pp. 1–20.
- Steiner, Richard C. (1996). 'The Two Sons of Neriah and the Two Editions of Jeremiah in the Light of Two "Atbash" Code-Words for Babylon'. *VT* 46: 74–94.
- Stipp, Hermann-Josef (1991). 'Offene Fragen zur Übersetzungskritik des antiken griechischen Jeremiasbuches'. *JNSL* 17: 117–28.
- Stipp, Hermann-Josef (1994). *Das masoretische und alexandrinische Sondergut des Jeremiasbuches: Textgeschichtlicher Rang, Eigenarten, Triebkräfte*. Fribourg and Göttingen: Academic Press and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Stipp, H.-J. (1997). 'Linguistic Peculiarities of the Masoretic Edition of the Book of Jeremiah: An Updated Index'. *JNSL* 23: 181–202.
- Stipp, Hermann-Josef (2016). 'Broadening the Criteria for Clarifying the Textual History of Jeremiah 10: The Pre-Masoretic', in K. Finsterbusch and A. Lange, eds., *Texts and Contexts in Jeremiah: The Exegesis of Jeremiah 1 and 10 in Light of Text and Reception History*. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 107–16.
- Thackeray, Henry St. J. (1902–3). 'The Greek Translators of Jeremiah'. *JTS* 4: 245–66.
- Thackeray, Henry St. J. (1921). *The Septuagint and Jewish Worship: A Study in Origins*. Schweich Lectures 1920. London: Oxford University Press.
- Thomas, Benjamin D. (2008). 'Reevaluating the Influence of Jeremiah 8 upon the Apocryphal Epistle of Jeremiah'. *ZAW* 120: 547–62.
- Tov, Emanuel (1972). 'L'Incidence de la critique textuelle sur la critique littéraire dans le livre de Jérémie'. *RB* 79: 189–99.
- Tov, E. (1975). *The Book of Baruch also Called I Baruch (Greek and Hebrew), Edited, Reconstructed and Translated*. Missoula, MT: Scholars Press.
- Tov, Emanuel (1976a). 'The Relation between the Greek Versions of Baruch and Daniel', in Michael E. Stone, ed., *Armenian and Biblical Studies*. Jerusalem: St James, pp. 27–34.
- Tov, Emanuel (1976b). *The Septuagint Translation of Jeremiah and Baruch: A Discussion of an Early Revision of the LXX of Jeremiah 29–52 and Baruch 1, 1–3, 8*. Missoula, MT: Scholars Press.
- Tov, Emanuel (1997). 'Some Aspects of the Textual and Literary History of the Book of Jeremiah', in P.-M. Bogaert, ed., *Le Livre de Jérémie*. BETL 154. 2nd edn. Leuven: Peeters Press, pp. 145–67.
- Tov, Emanuel (1999). 'The Literary History of the Book of Jeremiah in Light of Its Textual History', in Emanuel Tov, ed., *The Greek and the Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 363–84. Formerly published in *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism*, ed. J. H. Tigay. Philadelphia, PA: Pennsylvania University Press, pp. 211–37.

- Tov, Emanuel (2012). *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress.
- Tov, Emanuel, and Frank Polak (2005). *The Revised Computer-Assisted Tools for Septuagint Studies: Hebrew/Greek Parallel Text*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania.
- Ulrich, Eugene (1999). *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible*. Grand Rapids, IN and Cambridge: Eerdmans; Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill.
- Van der Kooij, Arie (1994). 'Jeremiah 27:5–15: How Do MT and LXX Relate to Each Other?' *JNSL* 20: 58–78.
- Van Selms, Arie (1976). 'Telescoped Discussion as a Literary Device in Jeremiah'. *VT* 26: 99–112.
- Walser, Georg (2008). 'Translating the Greek Text of Jeremiah', in M. K. H. Peters, ed., *XIII Congress of the IOSOT, Ljubljana, 2007*. SBLSCS 59. Atlanta, GA: SBL Press, pp. 353–62.
- Walser, Georg (2012). *Jeremia: A Commentary Based on Ieremias in the Codex Vaticanus*. Septuagint Commentary Series. Leiden: Brill.
- Weis, Richard D. (2010). 'The Textual Situation in the Book of Jeremiah', in Y. A. P. Goldman, A. van der Kooij, and R. D. Weis, eds., *Sôfer Mahir: Essays in Honour of Adrian Schenker*. SupVT 110. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, pp. 269–93.

CHAPTER 19

EZEKIEL

KATRIN HAUSPIE

PAPYRUS 967

THE discovery and publication of Papyrus 967 was a key event for the scholarly study of Ezekiel in the last century, with far-reaching implications for textual criticism and the problem of homogeneity of Greek Ezekiel (see section ‘Homogeneity or Heterogeneity of Septuagint Ezekiel’). Papyrus 967 is a Greek papyrus of Egyptian origin of the late second or early third century CE, which was discovered in the 1930s. It is the earliest extant witness of Ezekiel, besides some scant Hebrew fragments from Qumran. The first leaves of Papyrus 967, containing Ezekiel chs. 1–11, are missing; the remaining chapters from Ezek. 11:25 to Ezek. 48:35 (with some lacunae) were published in four different locations between 1937 and 1972 due to their conservation in various places. Twenty-one leaves containing the majority of Ezekiel chs. 19–39 were acquired by Scheide and deposited at Princeton University (Johnson, Gehman, and Kase 1938); eight leaves covering most of Ezek. 11:25–17:21 belong to the Chester Beatty collection housed at Dublin (Kenyon 1937–8); readings from Ezek. 43:9 to the end of the book, and the bottom halves of the Chester Beatty leaves and of some Scheide leaves, are preserved in Cologne (Jahn 1972); pages covering Ezek. 40:1–43:9 are located in Madrid (Fernández-Galiano 1971). Besides the Greek of Ezekiel, this papyrus also contains the Greek text of Daniel, Bel and the Dragon, Susanna, and Esther.

To the present there has been no single publication of all extant Ezekiel fragments in Papyrus 967 in one edition. In his Göttingen edition, Ziegler (1952) based his eclectic text on Codex Vaticanus with variants of Papyrus 967 in the critical apparatus, since he only had at his disposal the text of Papyrus 967 in the John H. Scheide portions and Chester Beatty papyri. In his *Nachtrag* (Ziegler 1977), after the complete publication of other portions of Papyrus 967 (the Cologne and Madrid leaves), Fraenkel still defers to Codex Vaticanus as the base text, noting the variants of Papyrus 967 in the apparatus

instead of incorporating the material in the eclectic text. Despite the overall positive assessment of Ziegler and Fraenkel of the usefulness of Papyrus 967 for determining the text of the Old Greek, the papyrus still has a marginal place in the critical edition.

Yet the significance of Papyrus 967 for textual criticism of the Greek text of Ezekiel was immediately clear: it is the earliest witness of the pre-Hexaplaric text of Ezekiel, predating the oldest extant Greek manuscripts by nearly a century. Scholarship on Papyrus 967 was in the beginning mainly focused on differences with respect to the MT and on affinities to other Greek manuscripts, particularly Codex Vaticanus: Papyrus 967 displays unique minuses of significant length and transposition of chapters, which were initially evaluated as scribal errors and studied as isolated features (Johnson in Johnson, Gehman, and Kase 1938: 8–9; Filson 1943; Wevers 1969: 273; Spottorno 1981; van der Meer 2002). The most notable features are the omission of Ezek. 36:23c–38 and the transposition of Ezekiel ch. 37 to follow Ezekiel chs. 38–9. In this first phase Kase (in Johnson, Gehman, and Kase 1938: 10, 37–8) already surmised that Papyrus 967 might preserve an early Hebrew version. Lust (1981) pioneered a new approach in the investigation of Septuagint Ezekiel. He considered Papyrus 967 a literary work in its own right, preserving an earlier form of the book, the MT being secondary. He demonstrated a literary connection between the two most notable features, that the omission and transposition display both a theological (eschatological and apocalyptic) and a literary coherence. Lust's position was not followed by everyone, as has been shown by Block's well-grounded disproof (Block 1998: 339–43). The coherence approach of Lust has been continued in the work of Crane (2008) on Ezekiel chs. 36–9, who concludes that Papyrus 967 and the MT represent variant editions of Ezekiel's view of restoration. These editions emerged from various scribal communities, generating valid textual traditions, not competing with each other to be the 'original' text but each informed with a particular historical and theological/political agenda (see section 'Literary Criticism and Variant Literary Editions').

The question of how extensive the variant edition of Papyrus 967 is, and whether this variant edition affects the whole book or only parts of it, remained unanswered until 2012, with the first comprehensive full-length study of Papyrus 967. In *Two Books of Ezekiel: p967 and the MT as Variant Literary Editions* (2012), Lilly deduces that meaningful variants in Papyrus 967 are not individual details but part of theologically significant themes concentrated in distinct sections of the text. Her conclusion establishes the way for future scholarship on Papyrus 967: the variants of Papyrus 967 are the result of a variant in an early edition of a Hebrew text differing from the MT and they do not reflect Greek innovation. She concludes that Papyrus 967 is a variant literary edition of Ezekiel, with unique literary features, differing from that found in the MT (see section 'Literary Criticism and Variant Literary Editions').

Along with Block's sound critique of Lust's view that the *Vorlage* of Papyrus 967 has priority over the MT, the debate addresses the question of which text-form has historical precedence over the other (Tov 1992: 333–4; Zimmerli 1969: 76–7; Ziegler 1952, 1977). Already in 1969, although he had access to the main part of the papyrus (portions of the John H. Scheide collection and Chester Beatty papyri), in his

commentary on Ezekiel, Zimmerli did not consider Papyrus 967 an early witness but as belonging to the later history of the text. Block sees no reason to abandon the MT in favour of a hypothetical archetypal original behind Papyrus 967, though he avoids taking a conclusive stance on priority. Searching for the earlier text, Patmore (2007) argues we cannot establish definite textual priority between Papyrus 967 and the MT: in these witnesses we have two parallel ancient editions of Ezekiel that were in existence at the same time. As an inner-Greek issue, the relationship among Papyrus 967, Codex Vaticanus, and the Old Greek requires continued study, despite premature conclusions that Papyrus 967 is closest to the Old Greek (Gehman in Johnson, Gehman, and Kase 1938: 79; Crane 2008).

Innovative in recent research on Papyrus 967 is the manuscript approach (Lilly 2012), which combines textual, literary, and codicological criticism. A codicological analysis studies the significance of paratextual features and marginal marks of Papyrus 967 for its literary edition. This integrated approach demonstrates the need for integration of several related lines of enquiry, i.e. text-critical and literary methods, together with the analysis of the socio-history of the manuscript, to reach the full significance of Papyrus 967.

Full attention to the codicological features or physical layout of a manuscript has been realized in the Ezekiel commentary of Olley (2009). He comments on the Greek text of Codex Vaticanus (B) and reproduces the Ezekiel text as evident in this manuscript: Greek numerals mark the minor and major sense delimitations present in the manuscript, a footnote or superscript in the text signals corrections or changes in B. These codicological features inform us how the text might have been read and understood by some readers of this manuscript. Manuscript divisions are sense-division breaks that vary between manuscripts, and can be informed by different exegetical or liturgical interests (contributing to the study of the history of interpretation), or are divisions influenced by catchphrases or literary features, e.g. dating, or 'Son of Man' addresses (Crane 2008; Olley 2009: 39–60). Sense division markers in Septuagint Ezekiel do not always coincide with Hebrew verse divisions. However, in his edition Ziegler's punctuation and verse divisions reflect the MT layout and punctuation, due to the authoritative status of the MT. The number of divisions increases over time (pap967 < B < A < Q < MT MSS) (Olley 2009).

HOMOGENEITY OR HETEROGENEITY OF SEPTUAGINT EZEKIEL

The study of the homogeneity of the Greek of Ezekiel has many facets. First, it is concerned with the issue of whether we could break up the text into different sections, attributed to one or more translator. Second, it examines how the Greek text has come to us in its present form.

Multiple-Translator/Translation Theory

Thackeray (1903a) was the first to question the homogeneity of the Greek text of Ezekiel in the early twentieth century. Following his research in Greek Jeremiah, in which the book was the product of two translators, he split Greek Ezekiel up into three sections, divided between two translators, through analysis of grammatical features, different representation (translation and transliteration) of place names, and translation variants of several Hebrew words. He identified Ezek. α (chs. 1–27), Ezek. β (chs. 28–39), and Ezek. γ (chs. 40–8); the translator of Ezek. α was also responsible for Ezek. γ , while Ezek. β is from the hand of a second independent translator. There is some overlap between the end of Ezek. α and Ezek. β because the second translator read over the last pages of his predecessor and introduced some corrections. One of Thackeray's arguments for his two-translator theory is especially compelling. The rendering for the city Tyre is the Greek term *Tυρος* in Ezek. 28:2, 12; 29:18, 20, i.e. Ezek. β , but the transliteration *Σορ* in Ezek. 26:3, 4, 7, 15; 27:2, 3, 8, 32, i.e. Ezek. α , implying a demarcation-line after chapter 27. The multiple-translator theory is followed by Schäfer, Herrmann, and later by N. Turner, Muraoka, and McGregor, and others, with or without the same dividing lines between the sections. The supporting evidence collected by Schäfer (1909) and Herrmann (1913) consists of a variety of forms in the Greek version for the frequently occurring Tetragrammaton of which one and the same Greek form conspicuously appears in consecutive chapters but is lacking in others, hence disproving any random distribution (see section '*Nomina sacra*').

However, the discovery and publication of Papyrus 967 (Johnson, Gehman, and Kase 1938) has invalidated the evidence of the divine name in the multiple-translator hypothesis, though the hypothesis itself holds out. Kase (in Johnson, Gehman, and Kase 1938: 37) observed that in the earliest Greek manuscript the divine name was *κύριος*, usually in abridged form *κς*, with almost total absence of the double divine name forms. The corresponding Tetragrammaton was later expanded into *ἄνυ ἰηwh*, which in turn led to the double divine names in Greek to bring the Septuagint in line with a Hebrew text similar to MT. Another counterargument from Papyrus 967 is the rendering for the city Tyre. Papyrus 967 has *Tυρος* in Ezek. 27:32, which is in Ezek. α characterized by *Σορ*. Despite these modifications and some other minor variations, Kase supports a tripartite division, though an alternative one, by introducing the idea of a revisor who was at work in Ezek. α of an originally single-handed work. Large books, as Ezekiel is, circulated in two scrolls; at some stage in the transmission the text of a revised first scroll had come to be linked with that of an unrevised second scroll. This supposed revisional activity in Ezek. α is convincingly countered by examples of divergences that do not show a closer conformity with the Hebrew, in comparison with the renderings in Ezek. β (Muraoka 1972).

The second serious criticism of the multiple-translator theory was put forward by Ziegler. Building on the research of Kase, Ziegler (1946: 88) saw a rather sporadic revision of the Greek towards the Hebrew text, namely in Ezek. β . He interpreted the translation variants as a characteristic of the Ezekiel translator with his predilection for variation in synonymous renderings (Ziegler 1953). However, he overlooked that these

variant renderings show a clear-cut distribution, and that some of them exhibit a special sensitivity on the part of each translator towards nuances in the Hebrew. The theory involving revisional activity in the Greek Ezekiel continued to have prominent proponents: Barthélemy (1963) assessed Ezek. β as being a representative of a pre-Kaige recensional approach; Tov (1976: 149–50) suggests that Ezek. β and Ezek. γ might possibly reflect a recensional text, while Ezek. α contained the Old Greek of Ezekiel, due to similarities with Jeremiah α (representing the Old Greek of Jeremiah) and the Minor Prophets. A slightly different connection of sections of Ezekiel and other books had already been proposed in the early twentieth century by Thackeray (1903b: 578–85): one individual or a small group of collaborators might be responsible for Ezek. α , Ezek. γ , Jeremiah α , and the Minor Prophets.

In a full discussion of the issue of multiple translators, Nigel Turner (1956) proposed another variation of the multiple-translator theory on the basis of grammatical issues and lexical considerations: that Ezekiel chs. 1–25, Ezekiel chs. 26–39, and Ezekiel chs. 40–8 should be attributed to three translators. These sections were also later observed by McGregor (1985), who discerned two translators, concurring with Thackeray. He named the sections S₁, S₂, and S₃, as clearly distinguished from Thackeray's divisions. McGregor re-examined the evidence afforded by his predecessor's studies, taking into account and carefully weighing all variant readings. P. D. M. Turner (2001) challenged the work of Nigel Turner and introduced a new idea: there is a non-uniform pattern of relationship with other parts of the Greek Bible which makes it possible to demarcate some boundaries. On the basis of language and translation technique she resolved Ezekiel chs. 1–39 into four sections (A, B, C, D) that do not represent different translators but a method of different stages characterized by moderate variety. The debate of the main divisions of Septuagint Ezekiel continues to the present. Grammatical approaches, represented in the work of Soisalon-Soininen (1965), Sollamo (1979), Marquis (1986, 1987), and later Hauspie (2002, 2006a, 2006b, 2008a, 2008b, 2011), dominate the issue. Though the results are inconclusive for the question of the homogeneity or heterogeneity of the text, fresh studies may yet afford more conclusive material by taking this grammatical path.

In the 1970s and 1980s the question of multiple translators for Septuagint Ezekiel rightly moved towards a methodological discussion (Muraoka 1972, 1986). In 1986 McGregor provided a general methodology which should guide every enquiry into translation homogeneity of a text, thus fulfilling a long-standing desideratum. He criticized the notion that differences indicate different translators, and similarities identical translators, as being too general and too flawed. He introduced specific criteria, some of which had already proven their soundness in the debate: these include changes in the *Vorlage* that are carried over into the translation (e.g. divine names in Papyrus 967), and changes in subject matter that can alter the meaning or interpretation of certain words. Variations in translation resulting from these factors are thus invalid clues for identifying more than one translator.

Less attention had been given to the criterion based on progression in translation, i.e. the development of the translator in his approach to a text during his translating activity (see Turner 2001). The criterion of mistranslation and ignorance of Hebrew on the part of the translator deserves more attention too, as shown by Muraoka (1972, 1986). The

criterion based on the theological bias of a particular translator is not examined for Septuagint Ezekiel.

It is just as important to ascertain the rationale for dividing a translation. Thackeray adduced a practical concern as a motive for a plurality of hands in Septuagint Ezekiel: a mechanical bipartition of the book into two portions of nearly equal length divides the labour, and the difficult third section (Ezek. γ) was translated by the first translator, because of his better skills. These divisions are in sharp contrast with the more logical subject matter demarcation after Ezekiel ch. 24.

Ezek. 36:23c–38

It was also Thackeray (1903a) who first isolated the unit Ezek. 36:23c–38, on the basis of differences in style with its immediate context. Some decades later Papyrus 967 had proved his hypothesis to be correct with its apparent omission of Ezek. 36:23c–38, and the transposition of chapter 37 to the end of chapter 39. Kase (in Johnson, Gehman, and Kase 1938: 10) and Irwin (1943: 62–5) suggested that Ezek. 36:23c–38 might be missing in the *Vorlage* of Papyrus 967. Lust (1981) argued that the original Septuagint Ezekiel was probably based on a Hebrew text where chapter 36 (Ezek. 36:1–23b) was followed by chapters 38–39–37: this sequence of chapters describes the peaceful restoration of Israel, and the need for sanctification of God's profaned name (Ezekiel ch. 36), the peaceful land where Israel dwells securely at the eve of the battle scene against Gog of Magog (Ezekiel ch. 38), with the ultimate defeat of Gog and his army, and bones spread over the battlefield (Ezekiel ch. 39); it places the vision of the valley of the resurrection of the dried bones through the gift of God's Spirit after this final battle (Ezekiel ch. 37). In this development of thought Ezekiel 39 and Ezekiel 37 describe the situation after the final battle: the fate of the enemy, and the fate of the people of Israel. After this resurrection scene the reorganization of the land and the temple is concordantly developed in Ezekiel chs. 40–8.

The passage Ezek. 36:23c–38, characterized by a number of expressions atypical of the book of Ezekiel, was composed later to provide a transition between Ezekiel chs. 36 and 37 in the new sequence of chs. 36–37–38–39, to smooth the transition from the peaceful restoration of Israel (Ezekiel 36) to the dried bones vision (Ezekiel 37). This sequence was probably motivated by an anti-apocalyptic Pharisaic reaction (Lust 1981). The apocalypticists, awaiting a final battle and the coming of the messiah in a new heavenly Israel, probably saw their expectations fulfilled in the final chapters of Ezekiel. The Pharisees reacted against this apocalyptic view of life and may have occasioned the new order. In a revision of the Septuagint the Greek text was adapted to the new Hebrew text; Ezek. 36:23c–38 needed to be translated. This was the work of a new translator and it explains why the style is markedly different from the surrounding sections.

With the conclusions of Lust, the issue of the homogeneity of Septuagint Ezekiel turned from an inner-Greek problem into a literary-critical one. Nonetheless, Lust's position is not followed by everyone. Already in 1943 Filson judged the omission of Ezek. 36:23c–38 accidental in the Greek transmission, due to *homoioteleuton* and *parabolepsis*. Similarly Spottorno (1981) and Van der Meer (2002) ascribe the omission to

accidental damage by way of loss of a folio at some early stage, probably due to frequent use as lectionary in the synagogue. Zimmerli (1969: 873) argues for the intrinsic harmony of Ezek. 36:22–32, and traces the omission of Ezek. 36:23c–38 in Papyrus 967 to a problem inherent to the Septuagint. Van der Meer (2002) recently returned to the question with a thorough linguistic study and literary-critical analysis of the alleged atypical vocabulary in Ezek. 36:23c–38. This vocabulary does not betray a later stage of Hebrew or literary dependence from strata of other later books, supporting the secondary character of the passage; it rather fits the exilic or early post-exilic period. He concludes that Ezek. 36:16–32 is a relatively late contribution to the Ezekiel corpus, with appendices of the self-contained sections Ezek. 36:33–6 and Ezek. 36:37–8, countering the secondary character of Ezek. 36:23c–38 to the preceding text Ezek. 36:16–32b.

Ezekiel 40–8

Ezekiel chs. 40–8 is generally considered the hardest part of the book, brimming with technical terms and measurements, and featuring a somewhat pedantic style and unique subject matter. From the very beginning of Septuagint Ezekiel, this part had been passed on to the most talented of the two translators of Septuagint Ezekiel for that reason, according to Thackeray (1903a: 410). In 2010 O'Hare published a first thorough study of these final chapters of Septuagint Ezekiel. Using *Skopostheorie* he investigates the *Vorlage* rendered by the translator and the translator's purpose in making such a rendering available. The purpose of the translator determines the manner in which the translation will be carried out (*Skopostheorie*). This purpose is dependent on the type of translation (an interlinear, literal, philological, or communicative one) and the type of text (an informative, expressive, or operative one), expressing respectively the act of translation and the act of communication between the translator and his readers. O'Hare argues that Ezekiel 40–8 is a philological translation and a prophetic, thus operative, text: the translator renders the thought of the *Vorlage* faithfully, bringing the reader to the original (philological translation), and wants to persuade his audience of the relevance of hearing and obeying these divine words (operative text). Intuitively the translator sets himself goals towards the persuasive effect of the translation. The goals in descending order of importance are: accuracy and comprehensibility of the Greek, necessitated by a need for momentary clarity; authority and persuasiveness of the translation; accommodating the cultural aspects to a Hellenistic readership. It is by implementation of these goals in his translational praxis that the translator made—consciously or unconsciously—his choices and resorted to several means, e.g. etymological analysis, adherence to Hebrew word order, transliteration, use of Pentateuchal terminology, but also recontextualization, use of elements from the Hellenistic environment, and use of the historical present. The latter group explain that some differences between Septuagint and MT are the translator's effort. This functional approach opens avenues for further research: *Skopostheorie* might prove its helpfulness for understanding the translator's work in other parts of Septuagint Ezekiel.

Given the faithful rendering of the *Vorlage*, most differences between the LXX and MT ought to be attributed to the *Vorlage*, not to the translator. The *Vorlage* of Ezekiel 40–8 contained a number of secondary readings or pluses, motivated by exegetical concerns, in order to explain the difficult text on its own terms; they might come forth from Zadokite priestly circles (O’Hare 2010). These pluses are secondary, relative to the MT; they are not attributable to the translator, but result from the interpretive process of transmission of the Hebrew text. Here we find directions for further research: what theological movements lie at the basis of this scribal activity in the *Vorlage* of Septuagint Ezekiel 40–8? What is the contribution of the *Vorlage* of Septuagint Ezekiel chs. 1–39 in this matter? Texts from outside Ezekiel have cast their light on the pluses of the *Vorlage* of Ezekiel 40–8 to clarify difficult passages, to exclude certain interpretations, or to conform to earlier exegesis: Pentateuchal influence is clear in Ezekiel’s law code, and influence of esoteric traditions such as the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (4Q403 and 4Q405) is traceable in Ezekiel 43. Other texts from Qumran in relation to Ezekiel remain an outstanding issue: pseudo-Ezekiel texts from Qumran (4Q385 and 4Q386) bear a reworking of Ezekiel’s visionary narrative. With respect to these texts future research involves the question: what is the relationship between the canonical book of Ezekiel and Second Ezekiel (i.e. pseudo-Ezekiel) texts as found in Qumran?

LITERARY CRITICISM AND VARIANT LITERARY EDITIONS

Major differences in the Greek Ezekiel versions in relation to MT are not on the account of the translator but reflect a different *Vorlage*. Tov (1992: 333–4) identified two literary strata of Ezekiel: a slightly shorter version with minuses that do not amount more than 4–5 per cent of the text, reflected by the Septuagint, and a longer one represented by the MT. The shorter Septuagint version reflects an earlier Hebrew parent text, which was later, during the stage of literary growth or in the course of scribal transmission, subject to recensional rewriting with various types of expansions. Tov mentions in particular that the Septuagint version preserves an apparently earlier version of Ezekiel ch. 7 (see below). The number of minuses in the Greek version increases when one takes Papyrus 967 into account: shorter minuses abound and are probably but not necessarily due to *parablepsis* by the copyist (Johnson in Johnson, Gehman, and Kase 1938), which is not the case for longer minuses that most probably betray an earlier Hebrew version (Lust 2002: 22, 24–31). More detailed studies on the major differences emerged in the second half of last century.

Bogaert (1986) and Lust (1986b) independently argued that the MT is a rewriting of Ezek. 7:2–12 as attested in the Septuagint, representing a further stage of development of the text. The different order of verses and significant pluses in the MT (what Bogaert calls *Rédaction B*, in opposition to *Rédaction A* being the Septuagint) are motivated by punishment and destruction of Jerusalem *post eventum* and by the insertion of a new

idea, the *sefira* (see below). The redactional activity in the MT is probably grounded in the political situation during Antiochus IV Epiphanus and by Dan. 8–9. In addition to his conclusion Bogaert continues to examine the expansion of the redactional activity of Réd. B of Ezek. 7 to the rest of the book. He raises the question whether certain differences characterizing Réd. B of Ezek. ch. 7 are related to the main differences in Ezek. ch. 36, i.e. the chapter order 36–37–38–39 and the addition of Ezek. 36:23c–38. Lust took up this idea and developed it some years later.

Lust (1981) was the first who argued for a connection between the transposition of chapters 36–38–39–37 and omission of Ezek. 36:23c–38 in Papyrus 967, which represents a different stage in the development of the text (see section ‘Papyrus 967’). Later he expanded this literary connection to other major differences between Papyrus 967 and the MT (Lust 2003a). The three longer minuses in Papyrus 967, Ezek. 12:26–8, Ezek. 32:24–6, and Ezek. 36:23c–38, show a literary coherence motivated by a similar eschatology and apocalypticism. The plus Ezek. 12:26–8 in the MT and the LXX interrupts the theme of chapters 12 and 13, which talk of prophecy in general in Ezek. 12:21–5, in particular the lack of true prophecy, and false prophecy in Ezek. ch. 13. This plus lifts these prophecies to eschatological or apocalyptic dimensions, e.g. v. 27 ‘for distant times’ and ‘for many years ahead’. At the same time this apocalyptic tendency is played down, to remove suspicion of apocalyptic-coloured visions: the fulfilment of the visions and apocalyptic times are to be expected in the immediate future, in historical time (v. 28). Ezek. 12:26–8 in the Greek translation betrays the hand of a later translator who wanted to adapt the Greek text to the expanded Hebrew text (Lust 1990), but in his attempt to imitate the style he overdid it (e.g. use of λέγοντες λέγουσιν without counterpart in MT). Filson had already studied in 1943 the omission of Ezek. 12:26–8 and Ezek. 36:32b–38 in Papyrus 967, and came to the conclusion that they were independent individual modifications, accidentally resulting from *parablepsis*. The second major plus Ezek. 32:24–6 mentions the mythological kingdoms of Meshech and Tubal, two allies of Gog in the eschatological battle described in Ezekiel chs. 38–9. In Ezekiel ch. 32 they figure besides the historical enemies Assur and Elam, two nations of contemporary times, which brings them down to the historical level: they are not remote mysterious apocalyptic entities, but real historical agents. The third longer plus Ezek. 36:32b–38 prepares for the transposed chapter 37 with the vision of the dry bones, after Ezek. 36:23a (see section ‘Ezek. 36:23c–38’). All longer pluses in MT suggest that the editor has a specific theological interest in downplaying the eschatological and apocalyptic tendencies in the book, in order to historicize the mythologizing tendencies of Papyrus 967. Lust also added the transpositions in Ezek. 7:1–11 to this editorial activity; as the first chapters are not preserved in Papyrus 967, the mythologizing features cannot be proven in this manuscript. In the LXX the Lord himself is punishing on the day of the Lord; the verses of Ezekiel ch. 7 in MT are reorganized around the new central element, the *sefira*. This *sefira*, an instrument of the Lord’s fury, is coming at the end of the days. The editor of the MT may have been inspired by Dan. 8:5, which identifies the *sefira* with Alexander and his successors; he reorganizes the material of Ezek. 7 from his historical context during the reign of Antiochus IV, describing the threatening Greek empire. Crane (2008) develops Lust’s conclusion, focusing on the restoration theology in Ezekiel chs. 37–9. The MT

reworks the peaceful vision of Papyrus 967 into a military image, due to a changed political situation; Papyrus 967 and the MT offer variant editions on Ezekiel's views of restoration.

Both Lust and Crane argue that several of MT's pluses represent a coherent and literary edition which is distinct from Papyrus 967. Their work provides important foundations for further understandings in the literary history of Ezekiel. Lilly (2012: 301–4) concludes that the MT and Papyrus 967 do not share text-types, challenging textual priority of Papyrus 967 over the MT (Lust 1981); the MT and Papyrus 967 are variant literary editions. These variant literary editions differ primarily in their views of restoration and in MT's interest in fulfilment and prophetic speech.

Lilly (2012: 307–8) raises some questions over Lust's assumption that Papyrus 967 is the more apocalyptic of the editions. The MT indeed exhibits more historicizing tendencies but displays certain apocalyptic features not present in Papyrus 967, sometimes even presenting the more apocalyptic edition over Papyrus 967. The eschatological concerns definitely differentiated the two editions but are more complex than originally suggested by Lust. Lilly calls for further research into the eschatological significance of and sectarian influence in Ezekiel's textual transmission, an activity that characterizes the Second Temple Period (see section 'Ezek. 40–8').

In 2010 O'Hare's enquiry established that the *Vorlage* of Septuagint Ezekiel chs. 40–8 preserves earlier readings relative to the MT. This *Vorlage* contains a number of small pluses, especially in transitional sections of the visions (Ezek. 40:1–4; 42:15–20; 43:1–12; 47:1–12). They are attempts to make the larger sense of the vision more explicit or to conform it to earlier visions of the book, or to guarantee privileges of the Zadokites. Ezekiel still underwent significant redaction during the third and second centuries BCE, as evidenced in the Septuagint, impelled by theological interests, among which the rise of apocalyptic eschatology may have stimulated scribal interest in Ezekiel's vision.

MESSIANISM

Coppens (1968) argued that the Septuagint shows signs of a developing messianism, as far as royal messianism is concerned. So-called messianic passages in Ezekiel, and elsewhere in the Old Testament, have been thoroughly studied by Lust, who advanced the opposing view that the Septuagint does not add to the messianic character of the text. The translation is literal, with no messianic bias, nor is there messianic exegesis in the Septuagint as a unified entity; there is a shift in some passages displaying a weakening of the royal messianic character of the text. A handful of texts of Ezekiel underpin his statement. Ezek. 21:30–2 expresses a priestly messianic expectation as opposed to a royal Davidic messianic expectation (Lust 1985b). Ezek. 12:26–8 is missing in Papyrus 967. These verses in LXX and MT show apocalyptic tendencies, which are messianic in a larger sense. Since they are absent in the oldest Greek manuscript, this messianic character is rather attributable to the MT (Lust 1990). MT Ezek. 17:22–4 is clearly messianic while every messianic expectation is absent from the LXX version; the Greek text was

later subject to a Christian reworking of the text (Lust 1990, 1997). In the Septuagint of Ezek. 21:15b, 18b there is no allusion any more to a royal sceptre or messiah as in the MT, failing any messianic expectation (Lust 2003a). In Ezek. 34:23–4 and Ezek. 37:22–5 LXX attributes the title ἄρχων to David of the messianic times; the Septuagint reserves the royal title for the Lord, attaching more importance to the Lord than to the messiah (Lust 1990).

NOMINA SACRA

The rendition of God's name in LXX Ezekiel is a rather complex issue, which is typical of (LXX) Ezekiel, as divine names have a high frequency in relation to other books. It is clear from the manuscripts that the *nomina sacra* appeared in various forms in the Greek text. There is no agreement over the exact rendering in the Old Greek, neither over what was the form in the Hebrew *Vorlage*. Different suggestions for this problem have been proposed in the last centuries. The first one concerns the Hebrew text. The majority of scholars maintain that *šdōnay* was later introduced in the Hebrew. Some of these hold *šdōnay* as a *qere* for YHWH, which was gradually inserted (e.g. Redpath 1907: 9; Wevers 1969: 52). Another group of scholars ascribes it to a later redactor (e.g. Baudissin 1929: 525–88). An opposing view suggests *šdōnay* to be original to the Hebrew text, repointing it with a first-person suffix, so the meaning of the double name was 'my Lord Yahweh' (Lust 1968; Lust 1996). Lust argues for the originality of the double divine name, referring to fragments of the Ezekiel manuscripts found in Masada which support the reading *šdōnay yhw̄h*. A second suggestion concerns the Greek text. It originally read only κύριος in accordance with its *Vorlage* (Johnson, Gehman, and Kase 1938: 19, 51; Ziegler 1946: 93), but turned later to double names to bring it in line with a revised MT. An alternative explanation holds that the Septuagint translators found the double divine name *šdōnay yhw̄h* in the *Vorlage*, and rendered it by κύριος yhw̄h—YHWH was left untranslated and appeared in Hebrew letters of some sort, and a few Hexaplaric readings even attest Π Ι Π Ι (McGregor 1985: 85–92). Later at some stage in the transmission the divine name in Hebrew letters was replaced by a Greek equivalent, resulting in κύριος κύριος, κύριος ὁ θεός, ἀδοται κύριος, or in the single κύριος, all reflecting the scribe's several options. Choosing for the single form the scribe made short work of the double form, as if κύριος already stood for YHWH, assuming κύριος yhw̄h as a *ketib-qere*. The last option implies a reduction of the divine name. This alternative view calls into question what inspired a revision of the Hebrew, which results in the use and insertion by a redactor of *šdōnay*, and questions why this revision only affects the Ezekiel book so extensively.

In the early twentieth century the issue of *nomina sacra* was given pride of place as evidence in the discussion about the number of translators of Ezekiel (Schäfer 1909; Herrmann 1913, 1923; Thackeray 1903a). Some decades later the material attested in Papyrus 967 and more recent research (Lust 1981, 1986b, 1996; McGregor 1985) represent

the distribution of the divine names in the Greek manuscripts as a stage subsequent to that of the translation, and the *nomina sacra* are thus invalid criteria for proving or disproving the multiple-translator theory.

SUGGESTED READING

The introductory chapters of McGregor (1985) and O'Hare (2010) offer very good surveys of the state of the scholarship on the main questions of Septuagint Ezekiel—the number of translators for Septuagint Ezekiel and the *nomina sacra* in Ezekiel—while Lilly (2012) provides a detailed presentation of previous scholarship on Papyrus 967. Also worth reading is the introduction of Olley (2009) and the introductory chapters on Ezekiel by Hauspie (2015) and Lust (2016).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Barthélemy, Dominique (1963). *Les devanciers d'Aquila: Première publication intégrale du texte des fragments du Dodécaprophéton*. VTSup 10. Leiden: Brill.
- Baudissin, Wolf W. (1929). *Kyrios als Gottesname im Judentum und seine Stelle in der Religionsgeschichte*, Part 1: *Der Gebrauch des Gottesnamens Kyrios in Septuaginta*. Giessen: Töpelmann.
- Block, Daniel I. (1998). *The Book of Ezekiel: Chapters 25–48*. The New International Commentary on the Old Testament. Grand Rapids, IN and Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans Company.
- Bogaert, Pierre-Maurice (1986). 'Les deux rédactions conservées (LXX et TM) d'Ézéchiél 7', in J. Lust, ed., *Ezekiel and His Book: Textual and Literary Criticism and their Interrelation*. BETL 74. Leuven: University Press and Peeters, pp. 21–47.
- Coppens, Joseph (1968). *Le Messianisme royal: Ses origines, son développement, son accomplissement*. Lectio divina 54. Paris: Cerf.
- Crane, Ashley S. (2008). *Israel's Restoration: A Textual-Comparative Exploration of Ezekiel 36–39*. VTSup 122. Leiden: Brill.
- Fernández-Galiano, Manuel (1971). 'Nuevas páginas del código 967 del A.T. griego (Ez 28,19–43,9) (PMatr. Bibl. 1)'. *Studia Papyrologica* 10: 5–76.
- Filson, Floyd V. (1943). 'The Omissions of Ezek. 12:26–28 and 36:23b–38 in Codex 967'. *JBL* 62: 27–32.
- Hauspie, Katrin (2002). *La version de la Septante d'Ézéchiél: Traduction annotée d'Ez 1–24 et étude du grec d'Ézéchiél par une sélection de particularités lexicales et grammaticales*. PhD diss., KULeuven. Abstract (2003) *BIOSCS* 36: 103–4.
- Hauspie, Katrin (2006a). 'ἐν with Dative Indicating Instrument in the Septuagint of Ezekiel', in M. K. H. Peters, ed., *XII Congress of the IOSCS Leiden, 2004*. SCS 54. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, pp. 201–24.
- Hauspie, Katrin (2006b). 'Proposition complétive avec τοῦ et l'infinitif dans la Septante d'Ézéchiél', in R. Pierri, ed., *Grammatica intellectio Scripturae: Saggi filologici di greco biblico in onore di Lino Cignelli*. Studium Biblicum Franciscanum. Analecta 68. Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, pp. 163–82.
- Hauspie, Katrin (2008a). 'L'expression du comparatif et du superlatif dans la Septante d'Ézéchiél', in H. Ausloos, B. Lemmelijn, and M. Vervenne, eds., *Florilegium Lovaniense in*

- Honour of Florentino García Martínez. BETL 224. Leuven: University Press and Peeters, pp. 201–22.
- Hauspie, Katrin (2008b). 'Prepositional Phrases in the Septuagint of Ezekiel', in A. Voitila and J. Jokiranta, eds., *Scripture in Transition: Essays on Septuagint, Hebrew Bible, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of Raija Sollamo*. JSJSup 126. Leiden: Brill, pp. 89–105.
- Hauspie, Katrin (2011). 'Periphrastic Tense Forms with εἰμί and γίγνομαι in the Septuagint of Ezekiel', in E. Bons and T. J. Kraus, eds., *Et sapienter et eloquenter: Studies on Rhetorical and Stylistic Features of the Septuagint*. FRLANT 241. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 127–51.
- Hauspie, Katrin (2015). 'Ezekiel', in J. K. Aitken, ed., *T&T Clark Companion to the Septuagint*. London: T&T Clark, pp. 528–54.
- Herrmann, Johannes (1913). 'Die Gottesnamen im Ezechieltexte: Eine Studie zur Ezechielkritik und zur Septuagintawertung', in A. Alt et al., eds., *Alttestamentliche Studien für R. Kittel*. BWAT 13. Leipzig: J. C. Heinrich, pp. 70–87.
- Herrmann, Johannes (1923). 'Die Septuaginta zu Ezechiel das Werk dreier Übersetzer', in J. Herrmann and F. Baumgärtel, eds., *Beiträge zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Septuaginta*. BWAT nF, 5. Berlin, Stuttgart, and Leipzig: Kohlhammer, pp. 1–19.
- Irwin, William A. (1943). *The Problem of Ezekiel: An Inductive Study*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago.
- Jahn, P. Leopold G. (1972). *Der griechische Text des Buches Ezechiel nach dem Kölner Teil des Papyrus 967: Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen* 15. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt.
- Johnson, Allan C., Henry S. Gehman, and Edmund H. Kase (1938). *The John H. Scheide Biblical Papyri Ezekiel*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Kenyon, Sir Frederic G. (1937–8). *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri Descriptions and Texts of Twelve Manuscripts on Papyrus of the Greek Bible*. Fasciculus 7: Ezekiel, Daniel, Esther. 2 vols. London: Emery Walker.
- Lilly, Ingrid E. (2012). *Two Books of Ezekiel: Papyrus 967 and the MT as Variant Literary Editions*. VTSup 150. Leiden: Brill.
- Lust, Johan (1968). "Mon Seigneur Jahweh" dans le texte hébreu d'Ézéchiél. *ETL* 44: 482–8.
- Lust, Johan (1981). 'Ezekiel 36–40 in the Oldest Greek Manuscript'. *CBQ* 43: 517–33.
- Lust, Johan (1985a). *Ezekiel and His Book: Textual and Literary Criticism and Their Interrelation*. BETL 74. Leuven: University Press and Peeters.
- Lust, Johan (1985b). 'Messianism and Septuagint: Ez 21,30–32', in J. Emerton, ed., *Congress Volume Salamanca 1983*. VTSup 36. Leiden: Brill, pp. 174–91.
- Lust, Johan (1986a). 'Methodological Remarks', in D. Barthélemy, D.W. Gooding, J. Lust, and E. Tov, eds., *The Story of David and Goliath: Textual and Literary Criticism. Papers of a Joint Research Venture*. OBO 73. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 121–8.
- Lust, Johan (1986b). 'The Use of Textual Witnesses for the Establishment of the Text: The Shorter and Longer Texts of Ezekiel. An Example: Ez 7', in J. Lust, ed., *Ezekiel and His Book: Textual and Literary Criticism and their Interrelation*. BETL 74. Leuven: University Press and Peeters, pp. 7–20.
- Lust, Johan (1990). 'Le Messianisme et la Septante d'Ézéchiél'. *Tsafon* 2,3: 3–14.
- Lust, Johan (1996). 'אֲדַנִּי יְהוָה in Ezekiel and Its Counterpart in the Old Greek'. *ETL* 72: 138–45.
- Lust, Johan (1997). 'And I Shall Hang Him on a Lofty Mountain: Ezek 17:22–24 and Messianism in the Septuagint', in B. Taylor, ed., *IXth Congress of the IOSCS, Cambridge 1995*. SCS 45. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, pp. 231–50.

- Lust, Johan (2002). 'Textual Criticism of the Old and New Testaments: Stepbrothers?', in A. Denaux, ed., *New Testament Textual Criticism and Exegesis*. BETL 161. Leuven: University Press and Peeters, pp. 15–31.
- Lust, Johan (2003a). 'Major Divergencies between LXX and MT in Ezekiel', in A. Schenker, ed., *The Earliest Text of the Hebrew Bible: The Relationship between the MT and the Hebrew Base of the Septuagint Reconsidered*. SBLSCS 52. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, pp. 83–92.
- Lust, Johan (2003b). 'Messianism in Ezekiel in Hebrew and in Greek: Ezek 21:15(10) and 18(13)', in S. Paul, R. A. Kraft, L. H. Schiffman, and W. Fields, eds., *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of Emanuel Tov*. SVT 94. Leiden: Brill, pp. 619–31.
- Lust, Johan (2016). 'Jezeziel, Ezechiel, Hesekiel', in S. Kreuzer, ed., *Einleitung in die Septuaginta (Handbuch zur Septuaginta/Handbook of the Septuagint)*. Vol. 1. Gütersloh: Gütersloh Verlagshaus, pp. 613–32.
- Marquis, Galen (1986). 'Word Order as a Criterion for the Evaluation of Translation Technique in the LXX and the Evaluation of Word-Order Variants as Exemplified in LXX-Ezekiel'. *Textus* 13: 59–84.
- Marquis, Galen (1987). 'Consistency of Lexical Equivalents as a Criterion for the Evaluation of Translation Technique as Exemplified in the LXX of Ezekiel', in CE Cox, ed., *VIIth Congress of the IOSCS. Jerusalem 1986*. SCS 23. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, pp. 405–24.
- McGregor, Leslie J. (1985). *The Greek Text of Ezekiel: An Examination of Its Homogeneity*. SCS 18. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.
- Muraoka, Takamitsu (1972). 'A Re-Examination of the Two-Translator Theory of a Septuagint Book'. An unpublished paper summarized in *BIOCS* 5: 9.
- Muraoka, Takamitsu (1986). Review of Leslie J. McGregor, *The Greek Text of Ezekiel: An Examination of Its Homogeneity*. *JSS* 31: 84–7.
- O'Hare, Daniel (2010). 'Have You Seen, Son of Man?' *A Study in the Translation and Vorlage of LXX Ezekiel 40–48*. SCS 57. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature.
- Olley, John W. (2009). *Ezekiel: A Commentary Based on Iezekiël in Codex Vaticanus*. Septuagint Commentary Series. Leiden: Brill.
- Patmore, Hector M. (2007). 'The Shorter and Longer Texts of Ezekiel: The Implications of the Manuscript Finds from Masada and Qumran'. *JSOT* 32: 231–42.
- Redpath, Henry A. (1907). *The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel*. London: Methuen.
- Schäfers, J. (1909). 'Ist das Buch Ezechiel in der Septuaginta von einem oder mehreren Dolmetschern übersetzt?' *Theologie und Glaube* 1: 289–91.
- Soisalon-Soininen, Ilmari (1965). *Die Infinitive in der Septuaginta*. AASF B-132/1. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia.
- Sollamo, Raija (1979). *Renderings of Hebrew Semiprepositions in the Septuagint*. AASF 19. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia.
- Spottorno, Maria Victoria (1981). 'La omisión de Ez. 36, 23b–38 y la transposición de capítulos en el papiro 967'. *Emerita* 50: 93–9.
- Thackeray, Henry St. J. (1903a). 'The Greek Translators of Ezekiel'. *JTS* 4: 398–411.
- Thackeray, Henry St. J. (1903b). 'The Greek Translators of the Prophetic Books'. *JTS* 4: 578–85.
- Tov, Emanuel (1976). *The Septuagint Translation of Jeremiah and Baruch*. Missoula, MT: Scholars Press.
- Tov, Emanuel (1986). 'Response', in D. Barthélemy, D. W. Gooding, J. Lust, and E. Tov, eds., *The Story of David and Goliath: Textual and Literary Criticism. Papers of a Joint Research Venture*. OBO 73. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 92–4.

- Tov, Emanuel (1992). *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*. Minneapolis, MN, and Assen/Maastricht: Fortress Press and Van Gorcum.
- Turner, Nigel (1956). 'The Greek Translators of Ezekiel'. *JTS* n.s. 7: 12–24.
- Turner, Priscilla D. M. (2001). 'The Translator(s) of Ezekiel Revisited: Idiosyncratic LXX Renderings as a Clue to Inner History', in Raija Sollamo and Seppo Sipilä, eds., *Helsinki Perspectives on the Translation Technique of the Septuagint*. Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society 82. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 279–307.
- Van der Meer, Michaël N. (2002). 'A New Spirit in an Old Corpus? Text-Critical, Literary-Critical and Linguistic Observations Regarding Ezekiel 36:16–38', in F. Postma, K. Spronk, and E. Talstra, eds., *The New Things: Eschatology in Old Testament Prophets*. FS Henk Leene. Amsterdamse Cahiers voor Exegese van de Bijbel en zijn Tradities. Supplement Series 3. Maastricht: Uitgeverij Shaker, pp. 147–58.
- Wevers, John W. (1969). *Ezekiel*. The Century Bible. London: Nelson.
- Ziegler, Josef (1946). 'Die Bedeutung des Chester Beatty-Scheide Papyrus 967 für die Textüberlieferung der Ezechiel-Septuaginta'. *ZAW* 46: 76–94.
- Ziegler, Josef (1952). *Ezechiel*. Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Societatis Litterarum Göttingensis editum 16/1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Ziegler, Josef (1953). 'Zur Textgestaltung der Ezechiel-Septuaginta'. *Biblica* 34: 435–55.
- Ziegler, Josef (1977). *Ezechiel*. Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Göttingensis editum, 16/1, 2, durchgesehene Auflage mit einem Nachtrag von D. Fraenkel. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Zimmerli, Walther (1969). *Ezechiel 25–48*. BKAT XIII/2. Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag.

CHAPTER 20

DANIEL, SUSANNA, BEL AND THE DRAGON

Old Greek and Theodotion

OLIVIER MUNNICH

THE GREEK TEXTS OF DANIEL

THE Greek of Daniel is preserved in two forms: the older is termed ‘Septuagint Daniel’ (σ). This was effectively replaced by another, later, form, referred to as ‘Theodotion’ (θ) which the tradition attests to almost unanimously (in terms both of manuscripts and daughter versions). Over the centuries, just a few patristic citations provided access to Dan-σ, until the rediscovery of two Greek manuscripts and a Syriac translation. Such replacement of one version by another is an unusual phenomenon about which Jerome provides some information in his *Commentary on Daniel* (I, IV, 5a): the omission of Dan. 4:3–6 led the ‘teachers of the Church’ to ‘reject’ the Septuagint edition of Daniel and ‘commonly’ (*vulgo*) to read Theodotion’s version. He goes on to say that ‘this is also why Origen . . . states that from this place in Daniel onwards, he is commenting not on the text according to the Septuagint translators who did not agree at all with the “truth” of the Hebrew text (*hebraica ueritate*), but on Theodotion’s edition.’ The substitution of Dan-σ by Dan-θ may be connected to Origen, but Jerome remains vague on this point, probably because he uses this opportunity to boost his own project: as suggested orally by Dominique Barthélemy, Jerome emphasizes the rejection of a previously accepted text in favour of a commonly used version in order to justify his own translation over against the Old Latin texts. What we have from Origen supports Jerome’s assertion: in his *Homilies on Numbers*, Origen cites successively part of Dan. 1:17–20 ‘according to the seventy translators’, then a text in complete conformity with Dan-θ which he refers to as

‘what one finds in the manuscripts of the Hebrews’ and which one should not ignore, ‘even if we do not use it’ (*Hom. Num.* 18.3, 5). On the other hand, in his *Letter to Africanus*, with regard to the deuterocanonical odes of Daniel ch. 3, he speaks of what is found ‘in our manuscripts’ and he quotes the beginning and end of the supplementary material according to each of the two versions, pointing out that they are ‘in use in the churches’ (§4). Further on, he specifies that ‘our copies (*ἀντίγραφα*), whose wording I have cited, are partly according to the Septuagint version and partly from that according to Theodotion’ (*ibid.*). The designations ‘Septuagint’ and ‘Theodotion’ for the book of Daniel therefore go back to Origen and derive from the columns of the Hexapla in which the Alexandrian scholar placed the respective texts. In his exegetical work Origen’s citations are effectively derived from Dan-*o*’ for the first chapters, and from chapter 4 onwards from Dan-*θ*’. The evidence brought together in the margin of the Syrohexapla supplies the information assembled by Origen himself in making such a decision (Munnich 2014). Since Bludau (1897: 24), scholarship has explained the adoption of Dan-*θ*’ by the ‘interpretative tradition’ of the Septuagint in Dan. 9:24–9, in relation to the date of the coming of the messiah. In fact, it is the whole book that at an early date Judaism judged it necessary to retranslate, for some reason that is hard to determine. The translations were made not long after the completion of the Hebrew–Aramaic collection since the translators display an accurate knowledge of historical events (Hanhart 1981: 135). Suppositions concerning the geographical origin of the translations are more uncertain.

Papyrus 967

In his edition Ziegler considered Papyrus 967 a fragmentary witness, but the folios edited since 1954 allow scholars to view it as a complete manuscript. It is dated to the second to third centuries CE, and the lacunae are more numerous towards the end of the text (chs. 10–12, Bel and the Dragon, Susanna).

This papyrus is interesting for two reasons. Firstly, it is a witness to a text 700 years older than the two other complete textual witnesses, and furthermore, its text is untouched by the Hexaplaric recension or by the Theodotionic tradition, except for the deuterocanonical hymns in chapter 3 and Bel and the Dragon (for a contrary view, see McLay 1996: 215). One point deserves attention: of the seventy corrections in 967 towards MT, chapters 1–3 contain fifty-four, which is around 80 per cent; the other chapters have a low number or none at all from ch. 5 to ch. 8. When he reached ch. 4, did the person responsible for the Hebraizing revisions in 967 discover the Theodotionic tradition? Papyrus Bodmer 861, the oldest witness to Dan-*θ*’ and one almost contemporaneous with 967, now attests such a text, though in a rather incomplete way. It is equally possible that when he got to ch. 4, whoever made the Hebraizing revisions was aware that Dan.-*o*’ no longer reflected a *Vorlage* that matched the MT, and ceased to make such changes at this point. It is important to distinguish between the nature of the text of 967 and the work of the copyist who introduced or reproduced a large number of errors:

orthography, dittographies, mistakes concerning numbers, omissions (over one hundred); sometimes the omission may arise from a shorter Hebrew *Vorlage* than MT, and so establishing the original text becomes difficult.

The Hexaplaric Manuscripts and Recension

There are two witnesses: Codex Chisianus (Rahlfs 88: Rome, tenth century) and the Syrohexapla (henceforth Syh), translated at the beginning of the seventh century and preserved for the second part of the Bible in the Codex Ambrosianus in Milan. Because of its close relationship with MS 88, Ziegler includes this Syriac manuscript among the Greek witnesses. Thanks to 967, a pre-Hexaplaric witness, one can see more clearly the extent of Hexaplaric interference, which falls into three categories: asterization, obelization, and the rearrangement of the word order according to that of the Hebrew–Aramaic text. For the Aristarchan signs, there is a remarkable convergence of data transmitted by the two witnesses. Sometimes reduced to a single word, the asterized and obelized segments are generally longer than in other books. The content of the additions is borrowed by Dan- θ' : Origen makes no qualitative change (Jeansonne 1988: 23; for a contrasting view, see Di Lella 2001: 600).

Remarkably, the deuterocanonical odes of Daniel ch. 3 have ten passages that are asterized in Syh and three others that are obelized in 88-Syh, while Susanna and Bel and the Dragon have respectively one and two passages that are obelized in Syh (and in 88 for Susanna). Since the asterisk and obelus denote a quantitative comparison with the Hebrew, how do we understand such notations in the places where Origen did not have access to a Semitic *Vorlage*? Here the notation changes function: the annotator compares quantitatively one Greek formulation (as in Dan-o') to another (that of Dan- θ'). As an indication of the different function of the Aristarchan sign, the asterized or obelized section is accompanied by the siglum ' θ' ', whereas this is never the case in Daniel for signs that compare Greek to MT. In the 'canonical' section of Daniel, the marginal annotation is sometimes accompanied by the siglum ' θ' ' (Dan. 4:7), and certain obelized passages have their equivalent in the MT. We have to conclude that in these cases the person responsible for the annotation, aware of the gap between Dan-o' and MT, compared—as in the deuterocanonical sections—the Greek formulation of Dan-o' to another that he had, and that 967 sometimes documents. All this suggests that such activity was not post-Hexaplaric but that, originating with Origen, it constituted the scholarly work that led him to discard Dan-o' in favour of Dan- θ' .

The Style of Dan-o'

Dan-o' is the work of a single translator (Albertz 1988: 167; for a contrary view, McLay 1996: 212): it renders every supernatural figure who is sent by the word 'angel', where MT uses the words 'gods' (Dan. 2:11), 'son (of God)' (Dan. 3:92), 'watcher' (Dan.

4:10), or 'general' of the heavenly army (Dan. 10:13, 21; 12:1). It translates *hā'ēlōhīm*, 'God', or its Aramaic equivalent, by *κύριος*, the standard rendering of the Tetragrammaton. In a collection which first talks about 'dreams' and then of 'visions', the translator fuses these elements by frequently rendering the word 'dream' by 'vision' (*ὄραμα*: Dan. 2:7, 9, 26, 36) and the word 'vision' by 'dream' (*ἐνύπνιον*: twice in Dan. 7:1); in Dan. 2:1 'dreams' is rendered by 'visions and dreams' and in Dan. 8:2 'vision' by 'vision of my dream'. We should speak of the lexical and semantic 'virtuosity' of the translation, rather than its 'inaccuracy' (Bludau 1897: 130). The translator varies the renderings of the same Semitic word when it recurs in a verse, e.g. in Dan. 1:8 *ἀλισγέω* and *συμμολύνω* appear for successive occurrences of *hitgā'al*, 'defile oneself'. In Daniel ch. 2, the idea of 'showing' (Aram. *ḥāwāh*, Pa. and Haph.) the dream and its interpretation is expressed by five different verbs (Dan. 2:4, 6, 7, 10), while Dan-*θ'* resorts to *ἀναγγέλλω* and *ἀπαγγέλλω* (for other examples see Bludau 1897: 131).

Elsewhere the translator adopts synthesis (*οἱ προγεγραμμένοι* in Dan. 3:3) or explanatory wording (*οἱ ἄνδρες οἱ προχειρισθέντες* in Dan. 3:22), revealing a free translation of a *Vorlage* which in both cases probably had the expression 'these men'. Transliterations are rare (Dan. 2:27; 3:94; 5:7; 8:13; 10:5, 6). Certain terms are otherwise unattested in the Greek Bible: *κάπτειν*, *ὕδροποτεῖν* (Dan. 1:12), *φιλόλογος* (Dan. 1:20), *ὄσπριον* (Dan. 1:12, 16), *καταλοᾶν* (Dan. 2:34) and *συναλοᾶν* (Dan. 2:45), *διασυρίζω* (Dan. 3:50), *ἀπολύτρωσις* (Dan. 4:30c), *ἀναστατόω* (Dan. 7:23), *ἐμβριμᾶσθαι* (Dan. 11:30). Syntactically, the idioms of the original text are often avoided by resorting to subordination, apposition of the participle or, for the Hebrew construct state, an adjective (Dan. 1:3); genitive absolute constructions are frequent. Both lexically (cf. use of *κύριος* for *hā'ēlōhīm*; *ἀπερείδομαι* and *εἰδώλιον* in Dan. 1:2 and in 1 Esdr. 1:39) and stylistically, Dan-*ο'* presents 'auffallende Ähnlichkeit' ('striking similarity') with the translation of 1 Esdras (Walde 1913: 49).

Daniel-Theodotion

According to Ziegler, the authentic form of Dan-*θ'* is found in the 'Vaticanus group' of manuscripts, the daughter versions, and the citations of Hippolytus of Rome. Such a text underwent Hexaplaric revision that made it align both quantitatively and qualitatively with MT. Some additions even appear under the asterisk. Was Origen responsible for such a revision (O)? Ziegler adopted the symbol O but did not exclude the possibility that the work post-dated the Alexandrian scholar. Dan-*θ'* does not constitute a new translation: it shows awareness of Dan-*ο'* and is a revision of it (Grelot 1995: 381; for a different view, McLay 1996: 214), as proved by the reuse of unusual equivalents (Dan. 1:8 ; 4:8) or idiomatic expressions (Dan. 12:6). Like all Hebraizing revisions, Dan-*θ'* replaces an unusual rendering of a word with its standard equivalent, and exceptions are rare (Dan. 8:7; 12:11). Transliterations are very frequent (Dan. 1:3; 4:10; 8:2; 10:5; 11:41; 12:6).

Theodotion and Proto-Theodotion

If Dan- θ' brings Dan- \omicron' into alignment with the Masoretic *Vorlage*, its own *Vorlage* retains some divergences from MT that it shares with \omicron' (Dan. 8:9, 14; 9:27 end; 10:13) or the expansions presented by \omicron' (Dan. 2:34; 3:91; 8:13), in the Qumran fragments (Dan. 6:19 [MT 6:20]) or the Peshitta (Dan. 11:6). However, the numerous omissions (see list in Ziegler, Munnich, and Fraenkel 1999: 153) are baffling, since in the other books Origen fills the minuses in the Septuagint with material from Theodotion. Scholars have therefore attributed Dan- θ' to an 'Ur-Theodotion'. This picture is in conformity with the apparent knowledge of Dan- θ' by the authors of the New Testament (for a list of allusions and citations, see Bludau 1897: 13–16). Christian writers from the end of the first century or from the second century also have citations that are from Dan- θ' . However, the text of Dan- θ' cannot therefore be the work of Theodotion, since according to Epiphanius of Salamis Theodotion produced his revision around the end of the second century CE. The relationship between the Proto-Theodotion of Daniel, recorded by Origen in his Hexapla, and the reviser Theodotion in the other books has therefore given rise to two opposing interpretations:

- a) according to Dominique Barthélemy, the distinction between them is without foundation since the set of texts that Origen placed in the 'Theodotion' column belongs to a particularly ancient revision (called Kaige: see Barthélemy 1963: 89–157), prior to that of Aquila. The dating based on Epiphanius must therefore be rejected for all the books for which Theodotion is partially attested and not just for Daniel.
- b) Ziegler places the siglum θ' between quotation marks since, according to him, this version has nothing in common with Theodotion: Dan- θ' does not fill the minuses of the Septuagint and only rarely discards material without any equivalent in the Semitic text. In terms of lexical equivalents, the choices of Dan- θ' do not match those of Theodotion (Ziegler, Munnich, and Fraenkel 1999: 121). This view was taken up and extended by Schmitt (1966); even if he was wrong to deny any relationship between Dan- θ' and Theodotion, scholars have now given up considering Dan- θ' 'pre-Theodotonic' and see in it a non-Theodotonic text. It is not even necessary to suppose that this text was reworked by 'historical' Theodotion (as suggested by Bludau 1897: 23). As Di Lella has written, the expression 'Dan- θ' ' is therefore 'a misnomer', which it is necessary to preserve 'to avoid creating further confusion' (Di Lella 2001: 596).

This debate on the authorship of Dan- θ' has obscured a larger question: why did Origen, at the beginning of the third century CE, place in the sixth column of his Hexapla a text that was so different, not only qualitatively but especially quantitatively, from the one we have for the other books? Ziegler has put forward the persuasive hypothesis that Dan- θ' is based here on a non-MT *Vorlage* (Ziegler, Munnich, and Fraenkel 1999: 121).

On the other hand, he is wrong to suppose that Theodotion would have made his revision on the basis of a Hebrew–Aramaic text distinct from MT, at the date Epiphanius attributes to him (Ziegler, Munnich, and Fraenkel 1999: 155). It is out of the question that at the end of the second century CE a divergent Semitic form of Daniel would have coexisted with MT. We must therefore explain the editorial decision of Origen by the prestige which this text enjoyed in his time among Jews, or by the interest its content held for Christian scholars.

Position of the Book, Additions, and Chapter Order

In MT, Daniel is placed in the Writings between Esther and Ezra–Nehemiah. In the Greek Bible, Daniel follows Ezekiel, but the reverse order is attested by MS 88 and the Syrohexapla, as well as by patristic testimony, both Eastern and Western. Either way, in the Greek Bible, Daniel is brought closer to the Prophets. This definition of Daniel as a prophet is documented in Jewish texts (a Florilegium from Qumran, 4Q174; Flavius Josephus; and the Mekhilta de-Rabbi Ishmael I, 1), but equally in Matt. 24:15. Within the book of Daniel there is some variation in the placing of the deuterocanonical additions and the ordering of the chapters. For Dan- θ , Papyrus 967 gives the order Daniel–Bel and the Dragon–Susanna, which is otherwise unattested. However, traces of a similar order are perhaps preserved in the θ' tradition by MS 88: the first two verses of Bel and the Dragon are inserted between the canonical book of Daniel and Susanna. This also seems to be the case in the biblical text of John Chrysostom and Theodoret (Ziegler, Munnich, and Fraenkel 1999: 21, 128). Before he was aware of the witness of 967, Rahlfs had concluded that originally Bel and the Dragon followed the canonical book of Daniel and that Susanna had at a later stage been placed before this addition (Rahlfs 1914: 278). In the Hexaplaric manuscripts Susanna follows Daniel and precedes Bel and the Dragon. With the exception of a few manuscripts, Dan- θ' moves Susanna to a place before the beginning of canonical Daniel, and so makes it an account of Daniel's youth: this probably represents a late initiative.

Papyrus 967 also presents an unusual layout of the book, since chs. 7–8 are placed between chs. 4 and 5. It is not the sole witness to this phenomenon: Quodvultdeus (fifth century) gives a summary of the book which assumes an identical order of chapters, and he must have borrowed this arrangement from a Latin manuscript of Daniel that reproduced an ancient form of the Vetus Latina (Bogaert 1978). This question of chapter order presents some thorny problems, and they have an equivalent in the book of Ezekiel, for which 967 and a witness to the Old Latin also attest to a chapter order that differs from MT. Scholars have often attributed the order of 967 to a historicizing recasting—at the Greek stage rather than in the *Vorlage*—that aimed to move chs. 7 and 8 (where Baltasar is alive) to before ch. 5, where he dies (Bogaert 1984: 199). Nevertheless, the result is chronologically awkward: in 967, ch. 9 is set in the first year of Darius's reign, but follows ch. 6 where Darius is 'full of years' (Dan- θ 6:1), whereas it should have preceded ch. 6

(Albertz 1988: 78). In addition, the date given in Dan- θ in chs. 3 and 4 ('in the eighteenth year of Nabuchodonosor') is absent in MT. Always in the genitive in Dan- θ and in the dative preceded by $\epsilon\nu$ in Dan- θ , the situation is reversed in Dan- θ in ch. 3 (Ziegler puts the date between square brackets) and in Dan- θ in chs. 10 and 11. Likewise, the names of the kings vary sometimes, as in Dan. 11:1 where we find Darius the Mede in MT, but Cyrus in Dan- θ and Dan- θ . All this suggests late editorial notes and, for the chronological and dynastic elements, the extent of the differences between the MT and the versions increases in the last chapters. So we cannot rely on the chapters' introductory verses when considering the question of their original order. Furthermore, it is necessary to study the chapter order in relation to their contents: in Dan. 4:19, Dan- θ describes Nabuchodonosor's offence in terms reminiscent of that of Antiochus Epiphanes at the end of Daniel ch. 7. These links, which do not appear to be secondary, provide the connection between chs. 4 and 7 to which 967 attests, a thematic logic (Lust 1993: 44; Meadowcroft 1995: 274). In contrast, the tedious reminder in the MT of Daniel ch. 5:18–22 (absent in Dan- θ) to the 'son' (Baltazar) of the acts of his 'father' (Nabuchodonosor) seems to be a late linking mechanism that justifies the new position of Daniel ch. 5 after ch. 4 rather than ch. 8 (Lust 1993: 51).

The chapter order of 967 disrupts the balance of MT Daniel, where the first part is made up of stories in the third person and the second part is composed of visions in the first person. Ending with the formula 'and it is *this* Daniel who prospered' during different reigns (Dan. 6:29), the first part builds up a picture of the hero who legitimizes his prophecies. Yet the demonstrative ('*this* Daniel') is missing in the two Greek versions and also in the Peshitta. The order in 967 would assume a surprising alternation of the Hebrew and Aramaic material. All in all, each layout of the chapters has different features to recommend it and one should be less categorical than Segal, for whom 967 'is certainly a secondary arrangement of the original sequence' (Segal 2016: 5). If there are 'external' additions (Susanna, the deuterocanonical hymns, Bel and the Dragon), are chapters 5 and 6 not types of 'internal' additions that entered the Semitic *Vorlage* at a late date in different places in the exemplar of 967 and in MT?

THE DEUTEROCANONICAL ADDITIONS

Susanna

The story of Susanna in Dan- θ is appreciably shorter than the one in Dan- θ . As work on 967 suggests, the beginning of the account that is now lost once corresponded in length (and probably also in content) to v. 5 of Dan- θ . The story opens with the two elders (and not with Susanna, as in Dan- θ) and suggests that the entire society is corrupt, with the exception of the young Daniel and more generally the group of young

men who through their piety represent the people's salvation (cf. v. 62a–b). This theme disappears in Dan- θ ' where the conflict is less radical, setting two dishonest judges against a society which accepts Daniel among them from the outset (v. 50): for this difference in perspective, see Engel (1985: 177–83) and Fraenkel (1999: 184–7). It is difficult to explain the presence of such a story, which is centred on a conflict internal to a Jewish community, within a collection focused on the opposition between Judeans and rulers or hostile elites. As in the canonical chapters (Daniel chs. 1, 3, and 6) this story develops the figure of the Jew who is faithful to God. Moreover, the story of Susanna in Dan-o' introduces 'an angel of the Lord' (Sus. vv. 44–5), as in the additions to ch. 3 (v. 49), in Bel and the Dragon, and in chs. 8–12 where Gabriel and Michael appear. Are the two stories based on a Semitic *Vorlage*? It is difficult to determine, despite the presence of features characteristic of the Hebrew Bible.

The Hymns in Chapter 3

Textually, Dan-o' relates the hymns closely to the canonical account: the verses preceding the Song of Azaria, as well as in the narrative between the two hymns, speak not of 'Sedrach, Misach, and Abdenago', but of 'Azaria's associates' (τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀζαριαν, Dan. 3:49). The texts of the two Greek versions are so close that it would be possible to edit it just once and group the variants in a single critical apparatus. These variants have two characteristics: they appear to consist of Hebraizing corrections, suggesting that the hymns, and particularly the first one, derive from a Semitic *Vorlage*; and in contrast to the rest of the collection, 967 provides many readings that belong to Dan- θ '. The content of the hymns—penitence in the first one, and a hymn to creation in the other—does not fit well with the context of the narrative of the canonical section (an account of martyrdom for the faith).

Bel and the Dragon

These two stories occur close together, but given their unusual depiction of Daniel as a priest at the court of a king of Babylon, the narrative given in Dan-o' reflects a stage when the story circulated independently. Providing more of a separation between the episode of Daniel in the lions' den and the two preceding ones (Bel; the Serpent) than Dan- θ ', Dan-o' presents an illustration of autonomous narrative units. Even if these have been secondarily rewritten, like the short text of Dan-o' in ch. 5, they hint at a pre-literary state of the Daniel cycle.

From a textual point of view, the extent of the divergences between the texts of Dan-o' and Dan- θ ' in Susanna suggest that each had their own existence quite early. The lower number of differences between Dan-o' and Dan- θ ' in Bel and the Dragon imply that they were integrated at a later date; the near-identity between the two versions for the hymns in Daniel ch. 3 suggests that they entered Dan- θ ' very late.

EVOLUTION OF THE DEBATES

The initial critical assessment of Dan-*o*' was a negative one (Bludau 1897: 30). Bludau commented that in chs. 1–2 the 'Alexandrian' (i.e. Dan-*o*') version represented a true translation with insignificant variations with regard to MT; the case was similar for chs. 7–12 (Bludau 1897: 31). Chs. 1–3 and 7 displayed a certain elegance and a search for *ad sensum* equivalence, succeeded by a very literal rendering of chs. 8–12. All in all, it was 'an achievement worthy of admiration' (Bludau 1897: 87). However, in ch. 3 the divergences became more frequent, while in chs. 4–6 the rendering varied between translation, paraphrase, and abridgement. A relatively rapid analysis led him to the conclusion that these chapters were a reworking of the original Aramaic carelessly carried out, displaying an unbridled freedom ('*effranta licentia*') towards the *Vorlage*. This judgement also applied to chs. 13 and 14 (Susanna, Bel and the Dragon) where the divergences between Dan-*o*' and Dan-*θ*' result from the liberties that Dan-*o*' took towards his *Vorlage*, reflected in Dan-*θ*' (Bludau 1897: 143–54, 206). Bludau thought it implausible that the translator of the other chapters had altered and rewritten what he found in the *Vorlage* of chs. 3–16 and 13–14. These chapters would therefore have been incorporated by the translator of the other chapters, even though he had not been responsible for translating them himself (Bludau 1897: 218). This study was perhaps the most complete and the most precise, and has the merit of formulating the principal problems in Greek Daniel, though it did not go beyond the level of description.

Subsequent research has posed two major questions: whether Dan-*o*' reflects a non-Masoretic text, and whether in the chapters where Dan-*o*' diverges from Dan-*Th*' it is based on a *Vorlage* written in Hebrew or in Aramaic. In Riessler's view, Bludau underestimated the late character of MT Daniel, compared with the textual form reflected in the Greek versions and also the Peshitta, the Vulgate, and the citations of Josephus. If the Septuagint diverges more from MT in the Aramaic section than in the Hebrew chapters, this does not result from a 'targumic paraphrase' but from a difference in the *Vorlagen*. Apart from corruptions in the Greek text as well as the translators' errors of interpretation, Dan-*o*' presents a superior form and one should regard MT as a revision compared to the *Vorlage* of LXX, which would have been entirely written in Hebrew (Riessler 1899: 52, 44, 50). Riessler was the first to think of the diversity of the data provided by the Hebrew–Aramaic and the versions in terms of redaction history.

Some years later, Jahn (1904) independently came to identical conclusions. He used Dan-*o*' to reconstruct in Hebrew what he took to be the authentic form of the Aramaic chapters; he also reformulated the Hebrew chapters according to the text of Dan-*o*'. For Montgomery (1927: 35–55), the Greek could not illuminate the archaeology of the Semitic text: the two Greek versions were based with very rare exceptions on MT (1927: 28). The importance of the Greek was reduced to its relationship to the rabbinic exegesis

of the second century CE, which, at least in the case of Aquila, it attests in an ‘invaluable’ way (1927: 28). The text of Dan-*o*’ and sometimes that of Dan-*θ*’ were full of glosses and doublets in the period before Origen: originally marginal notes, they were inserted into the text, sometimes in an appropriate place, sometimes incorrectly. The original text of Dan-*o*’ was to be reconstructed by removing these secondary additions. In contrast to Jahn’s perspective, Dan-*o*’ was aimed at ‘Jewish *literati*’ (Montgomery 1927: 37) and this author no longer saw the task as the reconstruction of the Hebrew from the Greek, but Greek from the Hebrew–Aramaic text. In Daniel chs. 4–6, the Hebraisms or Aramaisms identified by Bludau led Montgomery to consider that this narrative was *probably* based on a Semitic form, but that this was, in comparison with MT, replete with mid-rashic additions. So in Daniel ch. 4, the account of the dream is ‘sadly confused and absurdly amplified’ (1927: 247), and this observation was valid for the other differences in chs. 4–6.

In a remarkable swing of the pendulum, two years later Charles argued that the textual model of Dan-*o*’ was superior to that of MT: in the chapters where Dan-*o*’ departs from the Aramaic, particularly in ch. 4, its formulation permits ‘the recovery of the original text over against the late redacted text of the MT’ (Charles 1929: lvii). In the other chapters Dan-*o*’ reflected a Semitic form that coexisted with the MT shortly before the Christian era, and which was superior to it, in spite of various corruptions. The two Greek translations were based on a form where the first and last chapters, originally composed in Aramaic, had been translated into Hebrew. Charles drew up a typology of cases where in comparison to MT Dan-*o*’ alone or along with another version presents an uncorrupted form (Charles 1929: lx–lxi). Montgomery’s reaction, that Charles’s theories were ‘entirely baseless’ (Montgomery 1927: 38), contributed to the relative disinterest shown towards Dan-*o*’ over the next fifty years.

In contrast to these pioneering studies, subsequent work can be surveyed more rapidly: like Riessler and Jahn, in the last of his articles on Dan-*o*’, Grelot held chs. 4–6 to be the literal translation of a Hebrew *Vorlage*, this latter being itself the Hebrew translation of an original work that included chs. 2–7 in Aramaic. The principal argument in favour of a redaction into Hebrew (*κύριος* for the Tetragrammaton, Grelot 1995: 115) has been criticized by Collins (2001: 6); Dan-*θ*’ reflects a stage of the Semitic text that is older than MT but not necessarily preferable to it. Like Charles, Albertz believes that chs. 4–6 in Dan-*o*’ can restore a tradition older than MT (1988: 159–70). Bruce sees in Dan-*o*’ ‘a Greek Targum’ (Bruce 1977: 37–40) and Meadowcroft also emphasizes that the translator sometimes clarifies his Semitic text (1995: 223–34). Some studies have supposed a textual mix: according to Jeansonne (1988) and McLay (1996), the *o*’ and *θ*’ texts have been contaminated, and McLay restores the authentic content in line with their ‘translation technique’ (McLay 1996: 245–8). More cautiously, Lust combines the textual and literary data to study the evolution of the Semitic *Vorlage*: for the text and the chapter order, Dan-*o*’ presents the oldest form that we possess (Lust 1978; 1993).

RESEARCH PERSPECTIVES

In Daniel, critical scholarship has focused on two places: in Dan. 7:13, ‘one like a son of man’ (*kě-bar ʿēnāš*; Dan-*o*’ and Dan-*θ*’ *ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου*) who according to the three manuscript witnesses of Dan-*o*’ comes ‘like an ancient of days,’ *ὡς παλαιὸς ἡμερῶν*, in contrast to MT and Dan-*θ*’ ‘up to an ancient of days’ (*ʿad, ʿēws*). As was noted first by C. Segaar (1775), the manuscript tradition of Dan-*o*’ has the transcription error ΩΣ for ΕΩΣ, which must be particularly ancient since this reading inspired the text of Rev. 1:14 where the figure *ὄμοιον υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου* has white hair. In contrast to Rahlfs, who maintained the majority manuscript reading, Ziegler in his first edition (1954), followed by Munnich, adopted the conjectural emendation. Lust (1978), Bogaert (1984: 206), and Di Lella criticized this decision, Di Lella in virulent terms (‘Ziegler’s eclectic edition,’ 2001: 591). The investigation should be reopened in a less polemical way and take into account elements overlooked by scholars. Whether one accepts or rejects the conjecture, in Dan. 7:13 Dan-*o*’ presents a rather vaguely defined figure (‘an ancient of days,’ not ‘the ancient of days’ as in MT), whose connection with the expression ‘an ancient of days’ (*παλαιὸς ἡμερῶν*) in Dan. 7:9 is problematic. On the other hand, the double calculation of the Weeks of Years (Dan. 9:26–7) has sparked historical interpretations such as the double restoration of the Temple suggested by Bogaert (1984: 215), whereas this instance should be considered among the other doublets that Dan-*o*’ reflects. Regardless of their importance to theologians, these two places must be placed within the context of a literary history of the Semitic text of Daniel which the Greek versions document precisely.

Carefully edited and compared with the Greek texts of Daniel, the nine fragments found at Qumran (one of them, 4QDan^f, recently identified by Puech) present a state of the Hebrew–Aramaic text whose agreements with MT have been highlighted by the specialists, namely the transition from Hebrew to Aramaic and Aramaic to Hebrew, the absence of the deuterocanonical odes (ch. 3), and lack of agreement in chs. 4–6 with the narrative of Dan-*o*’ in its major divergences from MT. Nevertheless, the data can be interpreted in the opposite direction: the Qumran fragments share some qualitative and quantitative variants with Dan-*o*’, and more rarely with Dan-*θ*’. This shows that the differences between the Greek and MT can be explained not by the translators’ freedom in rendering but by differences in their *Vorlagen*. The study of the Qumran fragments is valuable in two types of case: in the introductory verses where the versions and MT differ from each other, the Qumran texts sometimes introduce a supplementary variant (as in Dan. 11:1); in the conclusion to the chapter, where Dan-*o*’ has an expansion compared to MT, only its long text can fill a lacuna in the Qumran manuscript (e.g. at Dan. 1:21). In short, the witness of certain fragments from Qumran confirms the significance of the Greek versions for the study of the literary prehistory of the book of Daniel (Henze 1999: 204; Collins 2001).

The witness of Dan-*o*’ also helps us understand how the Danielic collection took form from pre-existing narratives. One could draw this conclusion from MT, where Daniel is

absent from ch. 3, while his companions play only a tangential role in ch. 2 and disappear from the story from ch. 4. However, the witness of Dan-*o'* allows us to go further: the dream of the great tree that is felled forms an independent story (Daniel ch. 4), while the account in MT connects it—probably secondarily—to ch. 3 (it starts with the encyclical letter of Nebuchadnezzar/Nabuchodonosor, which closes ch. 4 in Dan-*o'*) and to ch. 5 (Belshazzar/Baltazar's offence is paralleled to that of Nebuchadnezzar/Nabuchodonosor, a motif lacking in Dan-*o'*). This trait of joining stories together in a collection can also be found in the deuterocanonical parts. While in Dan-*o'* the account of Bel and the Dragon is presented as an independent story, the reworking of Dan-*θ'* rewrites the introduction to it (v.1) by borrowing the end of ch. 6 in the version of Dan-*o'* (6:28b). Dan-*θ'* places the story of Susanna before the canonical chapters and introduces at the end of the account a formula that links it to these (v. 64: 'and Daniel became great in in the presence of the people from that day onward'). In addition, a comparison of the different accounts reveals a gradual enhancement of Daniel's character. While in ch. 4 MT mentions him at the beginning of the episode (Dan. 4:5) and emphasizes his divine inspiration and his ability to solve every mystery, Dan-*o'* introduces him later (v. 15) and only refers to his position as chief of the scholars and dream-interpreters. Ch. 5 in Dan-*o'* is preceded by a narrative, reduced to a few lines, that does not mention Daniel at all. Of course, its brevity means that it can only cover the beginning (Baltazar's feast) and the end (the writing on the wall and its interpretation) of an episode that mentions Daniel in the middle of it, but this short text could also correspond to a story which had not yet been linked to the figure of Daniel.

The collection has been made more coherent by the generalization of certain themes. For instance, in Daniel ch. 2, where the magicians must recount the king's dream to him prior to interpreting it (Dan-*o'* 2:2–11), MT introduces a similar duplication in ch. 4 (where the king asks Daniel for his dream and its interpretation) and ch. 5 (Daniel not only interprets the writing on the wall but recounts its enigmatic terms [MT Dan. 5:25–8]). In ch. 5 the theme of the Temple vessels is introduced by assimilation to the account in Daniel ch. 1 (the pillage of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar/Nabuchodonosor), in a narrative that, like that of the short text, did not include this motif: the divergences between the Greek versions and the MT in Dan. 5:2–3 show that the reference to the Temple vessels arose from a secondary expansion. From a literary point of view, one can see how a book takes its definitive form by strengthening the connections between previously independent stories, by enhancing the role of the central character, and by extending narrative schemes such as the reduplication of dream and interpretation. The study of the Greek versions therefore enables research into the Hebrew–Aramaic Urtext. An investigation conducted on these lines raises afresh the question of links between an ancient state of the Danielic text and the parabiblical writings found at Qumran (conveniently collected in DJD vol. XXII [Brooke et al. 1996]: Prayer of Nabonidus, pseudo-Danielic writings, apocalypse of Daniel, and other fragments also discovered in Cave 4). For Danielic research this offers some interesting perspectives.

The most original line of research involves the problem of the doublets, already identified by Montgomery (1927). Ziegler devoted a few pages to it in the first Göttingen

edition of Greek Daniel (1954: 15–18) and Munnich several more in the second edition (Ziegler, Munnich, and Fraenkel 1999: 50–63). Doublets may involve one word or an entire phrase; in some cases in Papyrus 967 it is introduced by the conjunction η , ‘or’. Is it, as in the Lucianic text of Historical and Prophetic books, a matter of two separate translations of a single Semitic element, or of a single translation of a Hebrew–Aramaic phrase followed by its reformulation? In their critical editions of Greek Daniel, Ziegler and Munnich opted for the first solution since it is impossible to establish a Greek text on a theoretical hypothesis (namely, that the Hebrew–Aramaic text had not been fixed). The second solution should now be explored, and the possibility that Dan- θ can restore a process of rewriting at the level of the Semitic text itself. In Dan. 10:13, 967 reads ‘one of the first rulers or (η) one of the holy angels’, whereas Ziegler knew and edited the reading ‘one of the first rulers’; Munnich’s second edition placed the first expression between square brackets and relegated the conjunction to the critical apparatus, out of a concern for readability. In fact a figure who first appears anonymously (‘one of the holy rulers’) is replaced by a second who is personalized: ‘Michael, one of the first rulers’ (MT). Dan- θ preserves the old wording and, in an incomplete form, its Masoretic rewriting. The reformulation introduces a major element, the name of the angel Michael. Examination of the first Greek version shows that, like that of Gabriel, the proper name represents an addition to a first narrative in Hebrew that did not mention either Gabriel or Michael. Finally, in some cases the study of the Greek versions shows that the doublet extends to a narrative of several verses which coexist with another, older, one.

Given the evolution of the Hebrew–Aramaic *Vorlage*, the extent of which is demonstrated by Dan- θ , in its divergence from the other two versions the text of Dan- θ sometimes offers information of primary importance. In ch. 2 it allows us to locate an expansion of the Aramaic text that is probably secondary in nature (Daniel’s prayer, Dan. 2:10–23); in chs. 5–6, a rewriting of the Aramaic text there; and at the end of the book, different redactional phenomena in those Hebrew chapters. In the introductory notes to chs. 7, 8, and 9, which are so important for the question of the chapter order, Dan- θ reflects a resolution of the difficulties posed by the *Vorlage* of Dan- θ and by MT, helping us to understand the origin of the problem they contain. Yet an identical phenomenon occurs at the place where the canonical text and the first deutero-canonical hymn join (Dan- θ 3:91–2). In conclusion, the witness of Dan- θ also provides information about the literary evolution of the Semitic text and on the question of the *Vorlage* of the additions.

SUGGESTED READING

The most recent edition of both the Greek texts is that of Ziegler, Munnich, and Fraenkel (1999). Munnich (2015) discusses the difficulties of Daniel chs. 4 and 5, and Ulrich (2012) the differing texts of ch. 5. The various Syriac witnesses to Daniel are relatively unexplored: Marsh examines those for ‘Theodotion’ (2019a) and for the story of Susanna (2019b).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Albertz, R. (1988). *Der Gott des Daniel: Untersuchungen zu Daniel 4–6 in der Septuagintafassung sowie zu Komposition und Theologie des aramäischen Danielbuches*. Stuttgarter Bibelstudien 131. Stuttgart: Verlag Katholisches Bibelwerk.
- Barthélemy, Dominique (1963). *Les Devanciers d'Aquila : Première publication intégrale du texte des fragments du Dodécaphéton trouvés dans le Désert de Juda*. SupVT 10. Leiden: Brill.
- Bludau, A. (1897). *Die alexandrinische Übersetzung des Buches Daniel und ihr Verhältniss zum massoretischen Text*. Freiburg i. Br.: Herder Verlag.
- Bogaert, P.-M. (1978). 'Le Témoignage de la Vetus Latina dans l'étude de la tradition des Septante: Ézéchiel et Daniel dans le Papyrus 967'. *Biblica* 59: 384–95.
- Bogaert, P.-M. (1984). 'Relecture et refonte historicisantes du livre de Daniel attestées par la première version grecque (Papyrus 967)', in R. Kuntzmann and J. Schlosser, eds., *Études sur le judaïsme hellénistique*. Paris: Cerf, pp. 197–224.
- Brooke, G. J., et al., eds. (1996). *Qumran Cave 4—XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3*. DJD XXII. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Bruce, F. F. (1977). 'The Oldest Greek Version of Daniel', in H. A. Brongers et al., eds., *Instruction and Interpretation: Studies in Hebrew Language, Palestinian Archaeology and Biblical Exegesis: Papers Read at the Joint British–Dutch Old Testament Conference Held at Louvain, 1976, from 30 August to 2 September*. Oudtestamentische Studiën 20. Leiden: Brill, pp. 22–40.
- Charles, R. H. (1929). *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Collins, J. J. (2001). 'Current Issues in the Study of Daniel', in J. J. Collins et al., eds., *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception*. VTSup II. Leiden, Boston, MA, and Cologne: Brill, pp. 1–15.
- Di Lella, A. (2001). 'The Textual History of Septuagint-Daniel and Theodotion-Daniel', in J. J. Collins et al., eds., *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception*. VTSup II. Leiden, Boston, MA, and Cologne: Brill, pp. 586–607.
- Engel, H. (1985). *Die Susanna Erzählung*. OBO 61. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Fraenkel, D. (1999). 'Nachtrag zur 1. Auflage von 1954', in J. Ziegler, O. Munnich, and D. Fraenkel, eds., *Susanna–Daniel–Bel et Draco*. *Septuaginta* Vol. XVI/2. *Editio secunda*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 170–214.
- Grelot, P. (1995). 'Daniel VI dans la Septante', in G. Dorival and O. Munnich, eds., *KATA TOYΣ O': Selon les Septante*. Paris: Cerf, pp. 103–18.
- Hanhart, R. (1981). 'Die Übersetzungstechnik der Septuaginta als Interpretation: Daniel 11,29 und die Ägyptenzüge des Antiochus Epiphanes', in P. Casetti, ed., *Mélanges Dominique Barthélemy*. OBO 38. Fribourg: Éditions universitaires; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, pp. 135–57.
- Henze, M. (1999). *The Madness of King Nebuchadnezzar: The Ancient Near Eastern Origins and Early History of Interpretation of Daniel 4*. Leiden: Brill.
- Jahn, G. (1904). *Das Buch Daniel nach der Septuaginta hergestellt, übersetzt und kritisch erkält*. Leipzig: Verlag von Eduard Pfeiffer.
- Jeanstone, S. P. (1988). *The Old Greek Translation of Daniel 7–12*. CBQ Monograph Series 19. Washington, D.C.: The Catholic Biblical Association of America.
- Lust, J. (1978). 'Daniel 7,13 and the Septuagint'. *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovaniensis* 54: 62–9.
- Lust, J. (1993). 'The Septuagint Version of Daniel 4–5', in J. J. Collins et al., eds., *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception*. VTSup II. Leiden, Boston, MA, and Cologne: Brill, pp. 39–53.

- Marsh, Bradley J., Jr (2019a). 'Jacob of Edessa's Witness to the "Theodoton" Daniel Text: Preliminary Observations.' *JSCS* 52: 197–216.
- Marsh, Bradley J., Jr (2019b). 'The Story of Susanna in Syriac: A Preliminary Survey of Diversity.' *Aramaic Studies* 17: 1–24.
- McLay, T. (1996). *The OG and Th Versions of Daniel*. SCS 43. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.
- Meadowcroft, T. (1995). *Aramaic Daniel and Greek Daniel: A Literary Comparison*. Sheffield: JSOT Press.
- Montgomery, J. A. (1927). *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel*. ICC. Edinburgh: T & T Clark.
- Munnich, O. (2014). 'Un Dossier d'Origène: Les Notes marginales de la Syro-hexaplaire de Daniel', in S. Morlet, ed., *Lire en extraits: Une Contribution à l'histoire de la lecture et de la littérature, de la fin de l'Antiquité à la fin du Moyen Âge*. Paris: Presses de l'université Paris-Sorbonne, pp. 167–98.
- Munnich, O. (2015). 'The Masoretic Rewriting of Daniel 4–5: The LXX as Witness', in C. Werman, ed., *From Author to Copyist: Essays on the Composition, Redaction and Transmission of the Hebrew Bible in Honor of Zipi Talshir*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, pp. 149–72.
- Puech, É. (2017). 'Un Nouveau Manuscrit de Daniel: 4QDn^f = 4Q116^a', in A. Feldman, M. Cioata, and C. Hempel, eds., *Is There a Text in This Cave? Studies in the Textuality of the Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of G. J. Brooke*. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 119. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, pp. 123–32.
- Rahlfs, A. (1914). *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments*. Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse. Berlin: Weidmann.
- Riessler, P. (1899). *Das Buch Daniel, Textkritische Untersuchung*. Stuttgart and Vienna: Jos. Roth.
- Schmitt, A. (1966). *Stammt der sogenannte 'θ': Text bei Daniel wirklich von Theodoton?* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Segaar, Carolus (1775). *Daniel secundum Septuaginta ex tetraplis Origenis, ex Chisiano codice Romae primum, deinde Gottingae, nunc denuo ed., animadversiones et praefationem adiecit C. Segaar*. Trajecti ad Rhenum: apud viduam I.I. à Poolsum, Abraham à Paddenburg, et Ioh. Van Schoonhoven.
- Segal, M. (2016). *Dreams, Riddles, and Visions: Textual, Contextual, and Intertextual Approaches to the Book of Daniel*. BZAW 455. Berlin and Boston, MA: De Gruyter.
- Ulrich, E. Ch. (2012). 'The Parallel Editions of the Old Greek and Masoretic Text of Daniel 5', in E. F. Mason, ed., *A Teacher for All Generations: Essays in Honor of James C. VanderKam*, Leiden and Boston, MA, pp. 201–17.
- Ulrich, E. Ch., F. M. Cross, and J. A. Fitzmeyer (2000). *Qumran Cave 4. XI, Psalms to Chronicles*. DJD 16. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Walde, B. (1913). *Die Esdrasbücher der Septuaginta: Ihr Gegenseitiges Verhältnis untersucht*. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder Verlag.
- Ziegler, J. (1954). *Susanna–Daniel–Bel et Draco. Septuaginta*, Vol. XVI.2. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Ziegler, J., O. Munnich, and D. Fraenkel (1999). *Susanna–Daniel–Bel et Draco. Septuaginta*, Vol. XVI.2. *Editio secunda Versionis iuxta LXX interpretes texte plane novum constituit Olivier Munnich. Versionis iuxta 'Theodotionem' fragmenta adiecit Detlef Fraenkel*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

CHAPTER 21

THE TWELVE MINOR PROPHETS

CÉCILE DOGNIEZ

INTRODUCTION

THE series of twelve books of the Greek Bible running from Hosea to Malachi forms a single collection which from antiquity was given various different titles. Augustine was the first to use the expression ‘the Minor Prophets,’ *Prophetae Minores* (*Civ.* XVIII.29), so called, he says, because they wrote much less compared with the prophets referred to as the four Major Prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, and Ezekiel, whose works are much longer (*Doct. chr.* 2.13). The term ‘Minor’ is far from pejorative, and certainly does not mean that these twelve books have less authority than the others: it merely qualifies their modest size—the longest, Zechariah, has fourteen chapters (211 verses), and the shortest, Obadiah, consists of a single chapter of twenty-one verses.

Since the beginning of the second century BCE, in his famous ‘Praise of the Fathers’—‘As for the twelve prophets, may their bones flourish in the tomb!’ (Sir. 49:10)—Ben Sira has employed another term, a numerical one this time, ‘the Twelve Prophets.’

Jewish tradition has preserved the title ‘Minor Prophets’ alongside that of the ‘Major Prophets.’ These two collections are joined in the category ‘Latter Prophets,’ in contrast to the ‘Former Prophets,’ which consists of the historical books Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings. Yet the numerical expression turns up again in the name that later Judaism gives to this group of books, in the Aramaic expression *tre ‘asar*, sometimes shortened to *tresar*, ‘twelve’ (Muraoka 2002: i).

In LXX manuscripts, the title *To Dodekapropheton* does not appear. In the uncial manuscripts we find only the ‘Sixteen Prophets.’ Each book of the Twelve has the name of the prophet as its title, followed by the number indicating the book’s order in the corpus, for example, ‘Malachi, twelfth.’

These twelve short prophetic books are always joined together and form a single collection, but their position varies. However, it should be noted that a passage in *Midrash Rabbah* (*Numbers Rabbah* 18:21) treats the book of Jonah as separate from the collection of the Minor Prophets. In the Hebrew Bible, in the heart of the tripartite division into Law, Prophets, and Writings, the Twelve form part of the Latter Prophets but are placed after the three Major Prophets. In the LXX, some manuscripts such as *Sinaiticus* follow the order of the Masoretic Text and place the Twelve after Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel. But most other Greek manuscripts place the Minor Prophets before the Major Prophets. In the patristic and synodical lists, the Twelve are included among the Prophets but their place varies: they precede them or follow them; or sometimes they are even inserted in the middle of the Major Prophets, as in Melito's list (as cited by Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* IV.26), bishop of Sardis in the second century CE (Swete 1902: 203).

The order of the twelve books within the collection is inconsistent, varying even within the Hebrew tradition. Some Hebrew manuscripts from Qumran do not follow the order of the Masoretic Text (Muraoka 2002: iv): for example, 4QXII^a, dated to the second century BCE, does not end with Malachi but with Jonah (Steck 1996). On the other hand, the Hebrew scroll found in the caves of Murabba'at, which goes back no further than 135 CE, has the same order as MT.

In the LXX, the sequence of the six last books, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, follows the order of MT, while the first six books (Hosea, Amos, Micah, Joel, Obadiah, and Jonah) differ in order from MT, which has Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, and Micah. Yet the Greek scroll found at Naḥal Hever (Tov et al. 1990), dating from the end of the first century BCE and thus witnessing to the antiquity of the corpus of the Twelve as a single book, gives the same order as MT.

This fluidity in the arrangement of the Minor Prophets has given rise to debates on the priority of one order or another. Most critics opt for the Masoretic order (e.g. Nogalski 1993: 2), whereas some consider that the order in LXX is older (Jones 1995: 218–19; Sweeney 2000a). However, it remains very difficult to decide in favour of MT rather than LXX.

Certain clues raised recently (Dines 2012), such as lexical and thematic links between the books, suggest that the Greek translators rendered a scroll of the Minor Prophets that followed an order like MT's. Moreover, this Masoretic order of the Twelve in LXX endured among Christian writers of the fourth and fifth centuries such as Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyrrhus, and Cyril of Alexandria. Yet there must have circulated very early a 'Greek' order of the books of the Minor Prophets, most likely in Egypt. Origen may have been familiar with this alternative arrangement of the books, which was probably Jewish rather than Christian in origin, and then transmitted it in Palestine. The Greek order Hosea, Amos, Micah, Joel, Obadiah, and Jonah appears for the first time in Papyrus Washington (W) in the third century CE, and probably also in a Greek–Coptic glossary of the third century CE (Ra 829) for Amos and Hosea. It is this Greek order which then predominates, so to speak, in the major Christian manuscripts (Dines 2012: 355).

Regarding the manuscripts of MT, apart from the texts from the Judean desert, the Masoretic order makes its appearance in the Cairo Codex of the Prophets, dated to 896 CE. It remains unclear whether the translators of the Twelve deliberately chose the Masoretic order from the outset, or whether it was fortuitous. Be that as it may, it is often tempting to justify the ordering. For some scholars, the Greek order attested in the LXX manuscripts seems more logical compared with the order of MT, since it starts with Hosea and Amos in the Northern Kingdom, then in Judah with Micah, and then finishes with the foreign nations.

In contrast, by inserting Joel between Hosea and Amos, MT breaks the historical and logical order, and by separating Joel and Obadiah, makes it more difficult to understand the possible citation of Obad. 18 in Joel 2:32 (MT 3:5) (Sweeney 1999: 592). The LXX order reflects the situation in Judah during the end of the monarchy and the exilic and post-exilic periods, whereas the MT order is more concerned with the late Persian period, in the times of Ezra and Nehemiah (Sweeney 2000b: I.xxxv, xxxvii; Sweeney 2012: 27–31).

Starting with the structure of the great prophetic collections in three sections, namely the oracles against Israel, the oracles against the nations, and promises, Bogaert (1989: 148–9) has defined a tripartite organization of the Dodekapropheton: a first trio made up of Hosea, Amos, and Micah concerning Israel and Judah in particular; a second group of four books aimed at a specific nation (Obadiah towards Edom, Jonah and Nahum towards Nineveh, and Habakkuk towards the Chaldeans); and finally a last trio composed of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi which represents promises of restoration. The books of Joel and Zephaniah, both of them contemporary prophecies of the Lord to the nations, frame the second section.

DATING

It is very difficult to date with precision the translation of the Twelve. According to Thackeray (1903: 585) the book of Isaiah would have been the first Prophetic book to be translated. However, on the basis of agreements between the two corpuses, Seeligmann (1948: 226) stated that the translator of Isaiah was familiar with the Greek Dodekapropheton. So the Dodekapropheton would date from the first half of the second century BCE, being translated after Psalms but before Isaiah (Harl et al. 1988: 97). Some have tried to give a more specific dating, in the Hasmonean period after 135 (Sawyer 1970–1), or even during the Maccabean revolt, more precisely around 150 BCE (Glenny 2009: 265).

Yet a more complete investigation of the points of contact between the Greek of Isaiah and that of the Twelve would appear to show that the translation of Isaiah preceded that of the Twelve. On this basis the hypothesis of an inversion of the chronology has been put forward (Siegert 2001: 42; Muraoka 2002: xi; Dogniez 2007; Loiseau 2011). As for an Alexandrian origin for the translation of the Minor Prophets, rather than a Palestinian one, Thackeray (1921: 13, 28) suggested this theory, which is still largely accepted today (Harl et al. 1988: 105; Glenny 2009: 264). However, the debate remains open (Tov 2010).

NUMBER OF TRANSLATORS

The question of the unity of the Minor Prophets in the LXX is essentially whether the translation was made by a single individual or by a group of translators. For Herrmann and Baumgärtel (1923), taking into account the disparities in the translation, the Twelve in Greek is the work of two translators: the first was responsible for Hosea, Amos, Micah, Joel, Obadiah, and Jonah, the second for Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. As for Nahum, located between the two groups, attributing it to one translator or the other was difficult.

This theory called into question the commonly held opinion, defended by Thackeray in particular (1903: 579), that the Twelve had a single translator. In 1934 Ziegler argued strongly again for the unity of the translation of the Twelve (Ziegler 1971), emphasizing that one cannot conclude that there was a plurality of translators merely on the basis of the stylistic variation within the Twelve: such flexibility could actually be due to a single translator. However, some years later, observing that the rendering of Amos 8:12–9:10 forms a separate unit compared with the rest of the Greek book of Amos, Howard (1970) renewed the notion of several translators, an idea that was defended afresh sometime later by Harrison (1988). Refuting some of the examples set out by Ziegler, Harrison took as a sample the renderings of Nahum and Joel and, taking account of certain translational features found in one book and not the other, such as a much greater lexical variation in Joel, or more errors in Nahum, he found it hard to accept that the same translator could have been responsible for both these books, let alone for the whole corpus, in view of the divergences between the translations.

Finally, the successive responses of Muraoka (1970; 1989) to Howard and then to Harrison closed the debate on the unity of the translation of the Minor Prophets. Howard (2007: 781) went back on his original judgement, without however excluding the possibility that a corrector revised the original translation somewhat haphazardly, hence the presence of certain stylistic discrepancies. In short, as Tov has demonstrated (1976: ch. 6), it seems likely that the translation of the Twelve is from the same translator or group of translators as the renderings of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, even if the latter books underwent some revision.

THE NAḤAL ḤEVER SCROLL

The fragments of the Greek Dodekapropheton scroll discovered in the Judean desert at Naḥal Ḥever (8ḤevXIIgr = Rahlfs 943) and brought to the French École Biblique in Jerusalem in 1952 have rounded off the history of the text of the Twelve, just as Ziegler has shown in the introduction to his edition of the Twelve in 1943, and then in other works subsequently published together as a collection (Ziegler 1971).

Initially edited by Barthélemy (1963), and then by Tov et al. (1990), the text of this scroll displays close agreement with Aquila, Symmachus, Quinta (the fifth Greek version, placed in the seventh column of the Hexapla), Justin's biblical text, the Hebraisms of the Coptic versions, and Codex Washingtonensis which contains adjustments towards the Hebrew. Barthélemy has thus convincingly shown that this recension does not constitute another translation, but a recension of the Old Greek, carried out to bring it closer to the Hebrew text. Earlier than Aquila's version, this recension belongs to the Kaige group, all of whose features it demonstrates, and it must date from the end of the first century BCE rather than in the 50s CE. It contains the Tetragrammaton in Paleo-Hebrew. Nothing remains of this leather scroll of the Dodekapropheton apart from fragments from the following six books: Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, and Zechariah, in the same order as MT. Even though this recension follows the Hebrew text scrupulously, for example in Jon. 3:3, 4, 8, 9 or in Zeph. 1:3 and 1:4, at times it preserves LXX, even when another more literal equivalent could have been found, for example in Jon. 2:6 $\text{8}\text{H}\text{ev}\text{XII}\text{gr}$ appears to keep the word $\text{\textepsilon}\text{\textsigma}\text{\textchi}\text{\textalpha}\text{\texttau}\eta$ of LXX; in Jon. 4:1 this revision preserves the LXX text $\text{\textepsilon}\text{\textlambda}\text{\textupsilon}\text{\textpi}\text{\texttheta}\eta \dots \text{\textlambda}\text{\textupsilon}\text{\textpi}\eta\nu$; in Nah. 3:12 it has $\text{\textsigma}\text{\textkappa}\text{\textomicron}\text{\textpi}\text{\textomicron}\text{\textupsilon}\text{\textvarsigma}$ as in LXX; in Hab. 2:6 the three terms of LXX, $\text{\textpi}\text{\textalpha}\text{\textrho}\text{\textalpha}\text{\textbeta}\text{\textomicron}\text{\textlambda}\text{\textiota}$, $\text{\textpi}\text{\textrho}\text{\textbeta}\text{\textlambda}\eta\text{\textmu}\text{\textalpha}$, and $\text{\textdelta}\text{\textiota}\text{\textgamma}\gamma\eta\text{\textmu}\text{\textalpha}$, are preserved; in Hab. 3:14 the verb $\text{\textsigma}\text{\textepsilon}\text{\textiota}\omega$ found in LXX is repeated.

For the book of Habakkuk, and solely for this book of the Twelve, alongside the majority tradition of the LXX there is another complete Greek version of chapter 3, called the Barberini version after one of the six manuscripts dated between the eighth and thirteenth centuries that preserve it. Fernández Marcos (1976) has shown that it represents not a revision but a translation that probably belongs to the same school as that of Symmachus. No doubt born out of liturgical needs, this alternative Greek text has been little studied (Meiser 2010; Dogniez 2012).

Apart from these Greek witnesses of the text of the Minor Prophets, we also have Hebrew documents to assist analysis of the LXX text. In the first instance this means the fragments from Qumran Cave 4 (4QXII^{a–g}), dated from 150 BCE to the second half of the first century CE (Brooke 2004; Fuller 2000). Fuller considers that 'the majority of Hebrew manuscripts of the XII discovered in Cave IV are closer to the Greek tradition or family than to the tradition or family of M' (Fuller 1992: 253). Another text cited as a witness to support either MT or LXX is the Hebrew scroll from Murabba'at (Mur 88), probably a luxury copy from the end of the first century CE. It is thought to be a proto-Masoretic or proto-rabbinic text and offers a form of the Hebrew relatively close to that of MT, with minor differences (Barthélemy 1992; Fuller 2000: 556).

The combined testimony of these witnesses is important for ascertaining the transmission of the text of the Twelve in this period, and can help us to evaluate certain variants between the Greek and the Hebrew. Nevertheless, given that the LXX of the Twelve differs very little from MT and that it is a rather literal rendering of the Hebrew *Vorlage*, when there are divergences between the texts there is not always good reason to suppose another *Vorlage*, except perhaps in a few cases such as in Hos. 13:4 (Fuller 1991); Obad. 7; Mic. 1:11; and Hag. 2:5, 9, 14 (Dogniez 2005a), nor a translation error (Dogniez 2001). The variants may be the result of exegetical traditions differing from those accepted in

the period of the Masoretes, whether because they were current in the translator's time—for example, cases of converse translation in Zechariah are found in other witnesses (Dogniez 2008)—or whether because the translator willingly innovated in order to render the text more clearly for the reader—unless in certain cases one ought to posit a MT corrected for theological reasons (Himbaza 2007).

TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE

The Hebrew of the Minor Prophets is unanimously regarded as a difficult and sometimes hopeless text, as much from a textual point of view as a literary one. In fact, to the readings of MT that are often discussed and corrected, perhaps with the aid of the Greek text of LXX, one could add the passages whose content is enigmatic, lacking any structure or any obvious unity, and in different styles. It is easy to imagine the translator's perplexity when confronted with such a text. If he could usually reproduce as faithfully as possible the sense of the original, sometimes he had to show skill and even creativity at the risk of occasionally deviating from the text that he had in front of him to translate. Moreover, the Greek version of the Twelve is generally categorized among what are termed the 'mixed' translations, in other words those renderings that are neither completely literal nor completely free. Yet, compared to other books of the LXX, such as Isaiah, the LXX of the Twelve is even considered a very literal translation. In the word-for-word translation of the Twelve, one Greek word generally corresponds to one Hebrew word, the word order of the Hebrew is respected, and there are numerous Hebraisms which mirror the expressions or constructions of the original text.

Such fidelity in the translation process rests above all on the idea that the text to be translated is sacred and that the translator's sole task is to transmit its meaning into another language, however difficult that may be. Additions or omissions are therefore rare in the Twelve, compared to other books of the LXX. Nonetheless, in spite of the translator's literal approach, the corpus of the Twelve has numerous divergences between LXX and MT, though these are qualitative rather than quantitative. The Greek renderings of Amos, Joel, Jonah, Obadiah, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi are relatively close to the Hebrew source text, while those of Hosea, Micah, Nahum, and Habakkuk are sometimes far removed from the Hebrew. Yet when the Greek of the Twelve is a long way from MT it is very rare that one has to conclude that this is due to a textual variant. In fact, the history of the Hebrew text of the Minor Prophets displays a high quality of textual transmission coupled with great stability of the consonantal text.

Apart from the differences already mentioned, which are apparently rooted in another *Vorlage*, the nature of other divergences between LXX and MT varies. In the first place, since the translator's Hebrew text may have been in *scriptio continua*, it is no surprise to find in the LXX of the Twelve certain word divisions of the Hebrew that differ from those usually adopted for MT. Thus one can explain in this way Nah. 1:12 *κατάρχων ὑδάτων* ('commanding waters': < **mšl mym*; MT *'m šlmym*); Zech. 11:7 *εἰς τὴν Χαναανίτιν*

(‘for the Canaanite woman’: < **lknʹnyy*; MT *lkn ʹnyy*) or *οἱ Χαναανῶι* (‘the Canaanites’: < **knʹnyy*; MT *kn ʹnyy*) in Zech. 11:11.

In the same way, owing to an alternative division of the Hebrew text, the LXX has syntactical constructions and sense units differing from those in MT. For example, in Joel 1:9–10, the two verses follow one another in Greek whereas they are independent in MT: in Nah. 1:14, the two final words of the verse, *ὄτι ταχεῖς* ‘for swift’, are attached to what follows (LXX 1:15), and not what precedes as in MT (MT 2:1). Conversely, in Nah. 2:3 *τὰ κλήματα ἀπτῶν* ‘their shoots’ are to be read in Greek with what precedes and not, as in MT, with what follows. However, it could be that the translator modified the structure of the Hebrew phrase without necessarily changing the order of Hebrew words, probably because he was confronted with passages that were particularly difficult, such as Hab. 1:11 or Hab. 3:10–11.

Other divergences may be due to a vocalization of the Hebrew *Vorlage* differing from that adopted later by the Masoretes. Of course, it could involve an erroneous interpretation of obscure Hebrew, where the Greek translator had no help regarding the reading tradition. This may have been the case in Hos. 13:1 or 9:12 (Joosten 1998). But it is frequently very difficult to distinguish between lack of knowledge of the vowels which were needed to read the text, an oral tradition which may have been current in the translator’s day but was later abandoned, and a purely personal, free interpretation on the part of the translator. Examples of this type of different reading can be found at Mic. 7:18 (*εἰς μαρτύριον* ‘for a witness’ < **lēʹēd* instead of MT ‘forever’, *lāʹad*); Joel 1:11 (*κητήματα* ‘farms’ < **kērāmīm* instead of MT ‘vine dressers’, *kōrmīm*); Obad. 12 (*ἀλλοτριῶν* ‘foreigners’ < **nokrī*; MT ‘his misfortune’, *nokrō*); Nah. 3:3 (*τοῖς ἔθνεσιν* ‘for the nations’ < **la-gōyīm*; MT ‘for the corpse’, *la-gēwiyāh*); Hab. 2:15 (*τὰ σπήλαια ἀπτῶν* ‘their caves’ < **mēʹārēhem*; MT ‘their nakedness’, *mēʹōrēhem*); Hab. 3:5 (*λόγος* ‘word’ < **dābār*; MT ‘plague’, *deber*); Hagg. 1:11 (*ρόμφαίαν* ‘sword’ < **ḥereb*, instead of MT ‘drought’, *ḥōreb*).

Other differences between LXX and MT could be due to graphic confusion between two consonants: between *daleth* and *resh*, for example: Hos. 9:2 *οὐκ ἔγνω αὐτούς* ‘did not know them’ < **ydʹm*, instead of ‘will not feed them’, MT *yrʹm*; Amos 4:5 *νόμον* ‘law’, < **twrh*, in place of MT ‘thanksgiving offering’, *twdh*; Obad. 5 *ἀπερρίφης* ‘you were thrown aside’, < **nrmyth* rather than MT ‘you have been destroyed’, *ndmyth*; Hab. 1:12 *παιδείαν αὐτοῦ* ‘his discipline’ < **ysrtw*, for MT ‘you established it’, *ysdtw*; Zeph. 3:9 *εἰς γενεάν αὐτῆς* ‘to its descendants’ < **bdwrh*, instead of MT ‘pure’, *brwrh*; between *yod* and *waw*, for example in Zeph. 3:7 *ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῆς* ‘from her eyes’ < **mʹynh*, versus MT ‘her dwelling place’ *mʹwnh*; or between *kaph* and *resh*, for example in Nah. 1:6, *ἀρχάς* ‘powers’ < **rʹš*, instead of MT ‘like the fire’, *kʹš* (Kaminka 1928: 246–54; for Amos, see Gelston 2002).

However, confusion in reading sometimes rests on the metathesis of consonants, as in Amos 2:16 *καὶ εὐρήσει τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ* ‘and he will find his heart’ < **w-mšʹlbw* instead of MT ‘and stout of heart’, *w-ʹmys lbw*; Joel 1:7b *ἐρευνῶν ἐξερεύνησεν* ‘searching, it has searched out’ < **ḥpsʹ ḥpsh* instead of MT *ḥsp ḥśph* ‘it stripped off completely’, or Zech. 12:10 *κατωρχήσαντο* ‘they danced derisively’ < **rqdw* instead of MT ‘they pierced’ < **dqrw*.

There are also cases where the translator of the Twelve read the same consonants as those found in MT, but associated these letters with another root than that the one in MT, for example in Nah. 1:9 *tqwm* is understood as ἐκδικήσει ‘will take vengeance’ instead of MT ‘arise’, and in Nah. 1:15 (MT 2:1) *bly^l* is treated as εἰς παλαίωσιν ‘to becoming old’ instead of MT ‘scoundrel’. Sometimes it seems that he read another Hebrew word deliberately because the written forms are close, such as Zech. 5:1 *mglh* as δρέπανον ‘sickle’ instead of MT ‘scroll’.

Such divergences, which can be explained by one means or another, cannot all be attributed to the incompetence of the translator. The solely consonantal and unvocalized Hebrew text that the translator had in front of him was sometimes so difficult that his quandaries are easily understood.

Moreover, there is no choice but to accept that these differences, which can be explained in certain cases by the context or by a conscious wish to say something else, usually make good sense in the passage in question. In fact, one can assume that certain modifications are deliberate on the part of the translator. For instance, in Hos. 4:16 the translator preferred to speak of ‘an enraged heifer’, δάμαλις παροιστρῶσα, rather than the ‘stubborn cow’, *prh srrh*, of MT, alluding to the image of the calf stung by the horsefly widely attested in Classical and Hellenistic literature (Bons 2005). In Joel 1:15 the expression *ταλαιπωρία ἐκ ταλαιπωρίας* ‘misery from misery’ is an interpretation which appears to try to tone down the destructive will of God (*šd mšdy*, ‘calamity from the Almighty’). In Obad. 18 the translator certainly knew the Hebrew *šryd* meaning ‘survivor’ but he used a military term typical of the lexicon of Greek historians, *πυροφόρος*, ‘fire bearer’, to describe someone who because of his sacred role, does not flee: here a modification of the literary sequence endows the biblical text with a neat Greek image. In Nah. 1:7 even though the Hebrew text does not present any particular problem, the Greek translator gives a new orientation to the verse and emphasizes Jewish piety by substituting the idea of the Lord being good to those who ‘wait patiently’ (*ὑπομένειν*) instead of God being a ‘fortress’ (*m^{wz}*), and that he knows those who ‘reverence’ (*ἐὐλαβεῖσθαι*) him, rather than those who ‘take refuge’ (*hsh*) in him. In Hab. 1:5 the reading *οἱ καταφρονηταί* ‘the despisers’ referring to Judah (< **bgdym?*; contrast MT *b-gwym*, ‘among the nations’), could be considered a deliberate interpretative rendering that justifies theologically the divine chastisement of Judah by the Chaldeans. In Zech. 2:11 (MT 2:15) by a simple change of person, *κατασκηνώσουσιν* ‘they will dwell’ instead of MT ‘I will dwell’ (*w-šknty*), the translator replaces the idea of God’s dwelling in the midst of his people with the coming of the nations to Jerusalem, anticipating the final gathering of Zech. 14:12–21.

Other divergences from MT could come under the heading of a literary process, namely intertextuality. Thematic or lexical links with other passages within the book or other books have been noted in the LXX of the Twelve (Dogniez 2005b; Theocharous 2012). However, it remains difficult to assert that every case involves conscious borrowings from other LXX translations: most commonly they testify simply to a good knowledge of the Hebrew text, while at the same time they unify the Greek text to a greater extent compared with MT.

All the same, the specificity of the Greek version of the Minor Prophets does not rest solely in its differences from MT but also in the translator's lexical choices. Naturally, there are Hebrew words that are rare, obscure, or unknown, which the translator did not always understand. For example, in Amos 1:1 he was happy merely to transliterate the Hebrew word *nqdy*m (referring to shepherds) as a proper name, *νακκαριμ* (also reading *resh* for *daleth*). Often he had to guess, and some of his improvisations seem absurd. In fact, most of the time these renderings based on conjecture do take account of the context and make sense in Greek. For example, several times in Amos (1:4, 7, 10, 14; 2:5; 3:9, 10, 11; 6:8), the Hebrew word *'armōn* meaning 'palace' must have posed a problem for the translator, but he did his best and rendered it several different ways, according to the context (Glenny 2009: 78–9). In Joel 2:6 and Nah. 2:11 the rendering *πρόσκαυμα χύτρας* 'singeing of a pot' is a free translation of difficult and obscure Hebrew (*qḇšw p'rwr*), but it creates an evocative image to describe the colour of faces affected by suffering or fear. In Nah. 3:1, in order to translate the unknown Hebrew word *prq* generally rendered as 'pillage', the translator used the all-purpose word *ἀδικία* 'injustice'. In short, faced with twenty-four hapax legomena in the Hebrew of the Minor Prophets, the translator had to demonstrate such creativity (Muraoka 1991).

Since Ziegler (1971: 37) it has been accepted that the translator of the Twelve used certain preferred terms, *in bevorzugter Weise*, such as *εὐλαβέομαι* 'revere', *ἐξάλλομαι* 'leap', *ὀλιγώω* 'lessen', *ὀρμάω* 'rush headlong', or *φθέγγομαι* 'groan'. In order to tighten up the narrative of a story such as Jonah, he also used a more uniform vocabulary than that of MT. But such repetition or lexical uniformity does not exclude variations in terms. For instance, the use of *μεγιστάν* 'noble' next to *δυνάστης* 'mighty'; *μεστός* 'full' next to *πλήρης* 'full up'; *σκοπός* 'guard' along with *πρωτόγονος* 'first-born'; *νήπιον* 'infant' next to *ὑποτίθιον* 'infant at the breast' testifies to this lexical flexibility.

The reuse of favourite words, the standardization of vocabulary, or conversely variety in expression, indicate a preoccupation with style (Dines 2011). In fact the translator of the Twelve paid attention to such things, even if his major concern remained the deciphering of the sense of the Hebrew original and the most faithful reproduction possible in Greek, without neglecting the demands of the target language. Thus, out of respect for Greek style, he eliminated a certain amount of repetition (Joosten 2005), and some Hebraisms that were too odd for a Greek reader (for example in Jon. 4:8, 'to ask his soul to die'). Nevertheless, mindful of literalism as well, he tried to reproduce as best he could the stylistic effects of his Hebrew sources—assonance, alliteration, chiasm, word-play, etymological features, parallelism, images, or metaphors found in a number of poetic passages in the Hebrew of the Minor Prophets. Sometimes, by exploiting all the resources of the Greek language, the translator even created new stylistic effects and made use of vocabulary that was literary, elegant, technical, expressive, or rare, in particular in the books of Nahum, Habakkuk, and Zephaniah (Dines 2013). This is an area of study that has not been made much use of and is worth researching further, in order to complete the portrait of the Greek translator of the Twelve.

Since the translator of the Twelve generally endeavoured to give a close rendering of the Hebrew *Vorlage*, it is hard to be certain that there is a consistent theology, present

throughout the Greek version of the Twelve. Apart from his desire to convey the message of the Hebrew in Greek, the translator of the Twelve did not have a specific theological aim and we do not find any systematic developments of particular themes. Of course, in some places, the translator lets theological intentions filter through, for example in the employment of the divine epithet *παντοκράτωρ*, used extensively in the Twelve and probably for the first time in the whole LXX, in order to stress both creation by God and also his universal sovereignty (Dogniez 1997; Glenn 2009: 186–9). In Zephaniah one can see here and there an intensification of the universalistic perspective of the oracles. Yet it is unlikely that in choosing the term *ἀνατολή*, for example, in Zech. 3:8 and 6:12 to render the Hebrew word *šemaḥ* ‘shoot’, the translator added a messianic connotation to the Hebrew of Zechariah, even if in the first Christian writings this *ἀνατολή* would become the messianic title par excellence.

Although the books of the Minor Prophets have not received equal treatment in the ancient commentators, whether Jewish or Christian, this corpus was extensively interpreted in antiquity. The Minor Prophets are certainly cited less often by New Testament authors than a prophet like Isaiah, but citations or allusions to Hosea or Zechariah, for instance, feature prominently in the New Testament. Furthermore, they were the subject of continuous commentaries among the fathers of the Church, from the lost work of Origen on the Twelve, through the Antiochians Theodore of Mopsuestia and Theodoret of Cyrillus, to the Alexandrian father Cyril. This gives us a clear indication of the interest that must have been stimulated by these Prophetic books termed ‘Minor’.

SUGGESTED READING

Apart from the titles mentioned in the Bibliography, the recent translations of the LXX Twelve into English, French, Italian, Spanish, and German are very useful for the introductions and notes they provide for the Twelve in general and for each of the books separately. The volume of articles in Dogniez and Le Moigne (2019) covers many aspects of the Greek versions of the Minor Prophets.

- Bons, E., J. Joosten, and S. Kessler, eds. (2002). *La Bible d’Alexandrie, Les Douze Prophètes 23.1: Osée*. Paris: Cerf.
- Casevitz, M., C. Dogniez, and M. Harl, eds. (2007). *La Bible d’Alexandrie, Les Douze Prophètes 23.10–11: Aggée, Zacharie*. Paris: Cerf.
- Dogniez, Cécile, and Phillippe Le Moigne, eds. (2019). *Les Douzes Prophètes dans la LXX: Protocoles et procédures dans la traduction grecque*. VT Sup 180. Leiden: Brill.
- Harl, M., C. Dogniez, L. Brottier, M. Casevitz, and P. Sandevour, eds. (1999). *La Bible d’Alexandrie, Les Douze Prophètes 23.4–9: Joël, Abdiou, Jonas, Naoum, Ambakoum, Sophonie*. Paris: Cerf.
- Kraus, W., and M. Karrer, eds. (2009). *Septuaginta Deutsch: Das griechische Alte Testament in deutscher Übersetzung*. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft.
- Pietersma, A., and B. G. Wright, eds. (2007). *A New English Translation of the Septuagint*. Oxford and New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Vianès, L. (2011). *La Bible d’Alexandrie, Les Douze Prophètes 23.12: Malachie*. Paris: Cerf.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Barthélemy, Dominique (1963). *Les Devanciers d'Aquila: Première publication intégrale du texte des fragments du Dodékaprophéton*. VTSup 10. Leiden: Brill.
- Barthélemy, Dominique (1992). *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament*, Vol. 3: *Ézéchiel, Daniel et les Douze Prophètes*. OBO 50/3. Fribourg and Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Bogaert, Pierre-Maurice (1989). 'L'Organisation des grands recueils prophétiques', in J. Vermeylen, ed., *The Book of Isaiah—Le livre d'Isaïe: Les Oracles et leurs lectures. Unité et complexité de l'ouvrage*. BETL 81. Leuven: University Press, pp. 147–53.
- Bons, Eberhard (2005). 'Une Vache folle dans la Bible? La Comparaison *ὡς δάμαλις παροιστρῶσα παροίστησεν* Ισραηλ (Os 4,16^{LXX}) et son arrière-fond littéraire', in D. Böhler, I. Himbaza, and Ph. Hugo, eds., *L'Écrit et l'esprit: Études d'histoire du texte et de théologie biblique en hommage à Adrian Schenker*. OBO 214. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 30–7.
- Brooke, George J. (2004). 'The Twelve Minor Prophets and the Dead Sea Scrolls', in A. Lemaire, ed., *XVIII Congress of the IOSOT, Leiden 2004*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 19–43.
- Dines, Jennifer M. (2011). 'Stylistic Invention and Rhetorical Purpose in the Book of the Twelve', in E. Bons and T. J. Kraus, eds., *Et Sapienter et Eloquentes: Studies on Rhetorical and Stylistic Features of the Septuagint*. FRLANT 241. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 23–48.
- Dines, Jennifer M. (2012). 'Verbal and Thematic Links between the Books of the Twelve in Greek and Their Relevance to the Differing Manuscript Sequence', in R. Albertz, J. D. Nogalski, and J. Wöhrle, eds., *Perspectives on the Formation of the Book of the Twelve: Methodological Foundations—Redactional Processes—Historical Insights*. BZAW 433. Berlin: de Gruyter, pp. 355–70.
- Dines, Jennifer M. (2013). 'Was LXX Pentateuch a Style-Setter for LXX Minor Prophets?', in M. K. H. Peters, ed., *XIV Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Helsinki, 2010*. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, pp. 397–411.
- Dogniez, Cécile (1997). 'Le Dieu des Armées dans le Dodekaprophéton: Quelques remarques sur une initiative de traduction', in B. A. Taylor, ed., *IX Congress of the IOSCS, Cambridge 1995*. SCS 45. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, pp. 19–36.
- Dogniez, Cécile (2001). 'Fautes de traduction ou bonnes traduction? Quelques exemples pris dans la LXX des Douze Petits Prophètes', in B. A. Taylor, ed., *X Congress of the IOSCS, Oslo 1998*. SCS 51. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, pp. 241–61.
- Dogniez, Cécile (2005a). 'Aggée et ses suppléments (TM et LXX) ou le développement littéraire d'un livre biblique', in J. Joosten and Ph. Le Moigne, eds., *L'Apport de la Septante aux études sur l'antiquité*. Lectio Divina. Paris: Cerf, pp. 197–218.
- Dogniez, Cécile (2005b). 'L'Intertextualité dans la LXX de Zacharie 9–14', in F. García Martínez and M. Vervenne, eds., *Interpreting Translation: Studies on the LXX and Ezekiel in Honour of Johan Lust*. BETL 192. Leuven: University Press, pp. 81–96.
- Dogniez, Cécile (2007). 'Le Traducteur d'Isaïe connaissait-il le texte grec du Dodekaprophéton?' *Adamantius* 13: 29–37.
- Dogniez, Cécile (2008). 'Les Traductions "inverses" dans la Septante de Zacharie', in H. Ausloos, B. Lemmelijn, and M. Vervenne, eds., *Florilegium Lovaniense: Studies in Septuagint and Textual Criticism in Honour of Florentino García Martínez*. BETL 224. Leuven, Paris, and Dudley, MA: Peeters, pp. 171–82.

- Dogniez, Cécile (2012). 'La Version Barberini: Éléments pour une étude littéraire d'un autre texte grec d'Habacuc 3', in S. Kreuzer, M. Meiser, and M. Sigismund, eds., *Die Septuaginta: Entstehung—Sprache—Geschichte*. WUNT 286. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 295–310.
- Fernández Marcos, N. (1976). 'El texto Barberini de Habacuc III Reconsiderato'. *Sefarad* 36: 3–36.
- Fuller, R. E. (1991). 'A Critical Note on Hosea 12:10 and 13:4'. *RB* 98: 343–57.
- Fuller, R. E. (1992). 'Textual Traditions in the Book of Hosea and the Minor Prophets', in J. Trebelle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner, eds., *The Madrid Qumran Congress*, Vol. 1. Leiden: Brill, pp. 247–56.
- Fuller, R.E. (2000). 'Minor Prophets', in L. H. Schiffman and J. C. Vanderkam, eds., *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Vol. 1. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, pp. 554–7.
- Gelston, Anthony (2002). 'Some Hebrew Misreadings in the Septuagint of Amos'. *VT* 52: 493–500.
- Glenny, W. Edward (2009). *Finding Meaning in the Text: Translation Technique and Theology in the Septuagint of Amos*. VTSup 126. Leiden: Brill.
- Harl M., G. Dorival, and O. Munnich (1988). *La Bible grecque des Septante: Du judaïsme hellénistique au christianisme ancien*. Initiations au christianisme ancien. Paris: Cerf. 2nd edn. 1994.
- Harrison, C. R. Jr (1988). 'The Unity of the Minor Prophets in the LXX: A Reexamination of the Question'. *BIOSSCS* 21: 55–72.
- Herrmann, J., and F. Baumgärtel (1923). *Beiträge zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Septuaginta*. BWANT 5. Berlin: Kohlhammer.
- Himbaza, Innocent (2007). 'Texte massorétique et Septante en Habaquq 1, 5a: Réévaluation des témoins textuels en faveur de l'antériorité de la LXX', in I. Himbaza and A. Schenker, eds., *Un Carrefour dans l'histoire de la Bible: Du texte à la théologie au IIe siècle avant J.-C.* OBO 233. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 45–57.
- Howard, G. E. (1970). 'Some Notes on the Septuagint of Amos'. *VT* 20: 108–12.
- Howard, G. E. (2007). 'To the Reader of the Twelve Prophets', in A. Pietersma and B. G. Wright, eds., *A New English Translation of the Septuagint*. Oxford and New York, NY: Oxford University Press, pp. 777–81.
- Jones, Barry A. (1995). *The Formation of the Book of the Twelve: A Study in Text and Canon*. SBLDS 149. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.
- Joosten, Jan (1998). 'Exegesis in the Septuagint Version of Hosea', in J. C. de Moor, ed., *Intertextuality in Ugarit and Israel*. OTS 40. Leiden: Brill, pp. 62–85, repr. in J. Joosten, *Collected Studies on the Septuagint*. FAT 83. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012, pp. 123–45.
- Joosten, Jan (2005). 'A Septuagintal Translation Technique in the Minor Prophets: The Elimination of Verbal Repetitions', in F. García Martínez and M. Vervenne, eds., *Interpreting Translation: Studies on the LXX and Ezekiel in Honour of Johan Lust*. BETL 192. Leuven: University Press, pp. 217–23.
- Kaminka, A. (1928). 'Studien zur Septuaginta an der Hand der zwölf kleinen Prophetenbücher'. *MGWJ* 72: 49–60; 242–73.
- Loiseau, Anne F. (2011). 'Deux arguments en faveur de l'antériorité de la traduction grecque d'Isaïe par rapport à celle des XII'. *Adamantius* 17: 257–61.
- Meiser, Martin (2010). "'Der Herr macht meine Schritte sicher" (Hab 3, 19 Barb.): Die Versio Barberini, eine liturgische Sondertradition von Hab 3?', in W. Kraus and M. Karrer, eds., *Die Septuaginta: Texte, Theologien, Einflüsse*. WUNT 252. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 223–37.

- Muraoka, Takamitsu (1970). 'Is the Septuagint Amos VIII 12-IX 10 a Separate Unit?' *VT* 20: 496-500.
- Muraoka, Takamitsu (1989). 'In Defence of the Unity of the Septuagint Minor Prophets.' *Annual of the Japanese Biblical Institute* 15: 25-36.
- Muraoka, Takamitsu (1991). 'Hebrew Hapax Legomena and Septuagint Lexicography', in C. E. Cox, ed., *VII Congress of the IOSCS, Leuven 1989*. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, pp. 205-22.
- Muraoka, Takamitsu (2002). 'Introduction aux Douze Petits Prophètes', in E. Bons, J. Joosten, and S. Kessler, eds., *Les Douze Prophètes: Osée*. La Bible d'Alexandrie 23.1. Paris: Cerf, pp. i-xxiii.
- Nogalski, J. D. (1993). *Literary Precursors to the Book of the Twelve*. BZAW 218. Berlin and New York, NY: De Gruyter.
- Sawyer, John F. A. (1970-1). "'Those Priests in Damascus": A Possible Example of Anti-Sectarian Polemic in the Septuagint Version of Amos 3,12' *ASTI* 8: 123-30.
- Seeligmann, Isaac L. (1948). *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah: A Discussion of Its Problems*. Leiden: Brill, repr. R. Hanhart and H. Spieckermann, eds., *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah and Cognate Studies*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004.
- Siegert, Folker (2001). *Zwischen Hebräischer Bibel und Altem Testament: Eine Einführung in die Septuaginta*. Münsteraner Judaistische Studien 9. Munster: Lit Verlag.
- Steck, O. H. (1996). 'Zur Abfolge Maleachi-Jona in 4Q76 (4QXII*)' *ZAW* 108: 249-53.
- Sweeney, Marvin A. (1999). 'The Place and Function of Joel in the Book of the Twelve', in *Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers 1999*. SBLSP 38. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, pp. 570-95; revised version with same title, in P. L. Redditt and A. Scharf, eds., *Thematic Threads in the Book of the Twelve*. BZAW 325. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2003, pp. 133-54; = [same title], in M. A. Sweeney, *Form and Intertextuality in Prophetic and Apocalyptic Literature*. FAT 45. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005, pp. 189-209.
- Sweeney, Marvin A. (2000a). 'Sequence and Interpretation in the Book of the Twelve', in J. D. Nogalski and M. A. Sweeney, eds., *Reading and Hearing the Book of the Twelve*. SBL 15. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, pp. 49-64.
- Sweeney, Marvin A. (2000b). *The Twelve Prophets*, 2 vols. Berit Olam. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press.
- Sweeney, Marvin A. (2012). 'Synchronic and Diachronic Concerns in Reading the Book of the Twelve Prophets', in R. Albertz, J. D. Nogalski, and J. Wöhrle, eds., *Perspectives on the Formation of the Book of the Twelve: Methodological Foundations—Redactional Processes—Historical Insights*. BZAW 433. Berlin: De Gruyter, pp. 21-33.
- Swete, Henry B. (1902). *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, repr. New York, NY: Ktav Publishing House, Inc., 1968.
- Thackeray, Henry St. J. (1902-3). 'The Greek Translators of the Prophetic Books.' *JTS* 4: 578-85.
- Thackeray, Henry St. J. (1921). *The Septuagint and Jewish Worship*. London: British Academy.
- Theocharous, Myrto (2012). *Lexical Dependence and Intertextual Allusion in the Septuagint of the Twelve Prophets: Studies in Hosea, Amos and Micah*. LHBOTS 570. London: T&T Clark.
- Tov, Emanuel (1976). *The Septuagint Translation of Jeremiah and Baruch: A Discussion of an Early Revision of Jeremiah 29-52 and Baruch 1:1-3:8*. HSM 8. Missoula, MT: Scholars Press.
- Tov, Emanuel (2010). 'Reflections on the Septuagint with Special Attention Paid to the Post-Pentateuchal Translations', in W. Kraus and M. Karrer, eds., *Die Septuaginta: Texte, Theologien, Einflüsse*. WUNT 252. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 3-22.

- Tov, E., R.A. Kraft, and P. J. Parsons (1990). *The Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Nahal Hever (8HevXIIgr)*. The Seiyāl Collection I. DJD VIII. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Ziegler, Josef (1971). 'Die Einheit der Septuaginta zum Zwölfprophetenbuch.' *Beilage zum Vorlesungsverzeichnis der staatlicher Akademie zu Braunsberg* (1934–5): 1–16; repr. In *Sylloge: Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Septuaginta*. MSU 10. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971, pp. 29–42.

CHAPTER 22

MEGILLOT (RUTH, SONG OF SONGS, ECCLESIASTES, LAMENTATIONS, ESTHER)

ROBERT J. V. HIEBERT

INTRODUCTION

THE term *mēgillôt*, a Hebrew word that means ‘scrolls’, is used to designate a group of five books within the third section of the canon of the Hebrew Scriptures known as the *kētûbîm* or Writings. In Codex Leningradensis, an eleventh-century text that constitutes the oldest extant copy of the complete Hebrew Bible, these five books appear in the following order: Ruth, Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations, and Esther. One aspect of their significance for Judaism is that each book is read in conjunction with a commemorative event in the annual liturgical calendar: Ruth—the Feast of Weeks or Pentecost; Song of Songs—the Feast of Passover or Unleavened Bread; Ecclesiastes—the Feast of Booths/Tabernacles or Ingathering; Lamentations—the Ninth of Ab, the day on which the destruction of Jerusalem and its Temple by the Babylonians (586 BCE) and the Romans (70 CE) is memorialized; Esther—the Feast of Purim.

In the Septuagint corpus, these books are not grouped together nor is their functional significance as Greek texts the same as it is for the Hebrew originals. The order of the appearance of these books varies in the extant portions of early Greek Bible codices:

Vaticanus (fourth century CE): Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, *Ruth*, 1–4 Reigns (= 1–2 Samuel, 1–2 Kings), 1–2 Supplements (= 1–2 Chronicles), 1–2 Esdras, Psalms, Proverbs, *Ecclesiastes*, *Song of Songs*, Job, Wisdom of Solomon, Sirach, *Esther*,

Judith, Tobit, Twelve ‘Minor’ Prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Baruch, *Lamentations*, Epistle of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel.

Sinaiticus (fifth century CE): Genesis, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, 1 Supplements, 2 Esdras, *Esther*, Tobit, Judith, 1 Maccabees, 4 Maccabees, Isaiah, Jeremiah, *Lamentations*, Nine of the Twelve ‘Minor’ Prophets, Psalms, Proverbs, *Ecclesiastes*, *Song of Songs*, Wisdom of Solomon, Sirach, Job. [NB: Ruth is absent in Sinaiticus.]

Alexandrinus (fifth century CE): Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, *Ruth*, 1–4 Reigns, 1–2 Supplements, Twelve ‘Minor’ Prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Baruch, *Lamentations*, Epistle of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, *Esther*, Tobit, Judith, 1–2 Esdras, 1–4 Maccabees, Psalms, Odes, Job, Proverbs, *Ecclesiastes*, *Song of Songs*, Wisdom of Solomon, Sirach.

As might be expected, there are distinctive features of the Greek books in comparison to their Hebrew counterparts, some of which will be discussed below.

RUTH

The standard critical edition of Septuagint (LXX) or Old Greek (OG) Ruth was prepared by Udo Quast for the Göttingen Septuaginta series (2006). As a translation of the original Hebrew version of the book, Greek Ruth may be characterized as quite literal. The translator’s source text appears to have been essentially the same as the MT (LaMontagne 2013: 59–60). This is manifested by translator’s reproduction of the typical paratactic syntax of the Hebrew source text by employing *καί* ‘and’ as his default rendering for the conjunction *wě* ‘and’ close to 90 per cent of the time, even in situations where this results in stilted Greek (Knobloch 2007: 239). Likewise there are isomorphic renderings of Hebrew expressions that result in odd turns of phrase for Greek readers. In Ruth 4:4, the Hebrew idiom *’egleh ’oznēkā* ‘I will inform you’ (*HALOT*) is rendered as ἀποκαλύψω τὸ οὖς σου, which reproduces the literal meaning of the individual words ‘I will uncover your ear.’¹ Greek Ruth also exhibits some of the features that characterize the so-called Kaige (*καίγε*) tradition in other Septuagint books. These include *καίγε* as the translator’s choice for *wěgam/gam* ‘also, even’ (Ruth 1:5; 2:15, 16, 21; 3:12; 4:10), ἀνήρ as the equivalent for *’iš* when the Hebrew word means ‘someone’ (Ruth 3:14), and ἐγὼ εἰμι as the counterpart to *’ānōkī* ‘I’ (Ruth 4:4). The characteristic Kaige equivalences do not, however, appear consistently: Ruth 1:12 *gam*—no Greek equivalent; 1:12 *wěgam*—*καί*; 2:8 *wěgam*—*καὶ* *σύ*; 2:13, 3:13 *’ānōkī*—ἐγὼ (Quast 2006: 124–5). Other kinds of variety in translation equivalences also occur. For example, when used in connection with Ruth, the term *na’ārā* ‘young woman’ is rendered by νεάνις ‘young woman’ (Ruth 2:5), παῖς ‘lass’

¹ Translations of Hebrew biblical quotations are taken from the NRSV while translations of Greek biblical quotations come from NETS.

(2:6), and παιδίσκη ‘maidservant’ (4:12), whereas when referring to Boaz’s female workers, κοράσιον ‘girl’ (Ruth 2:8, 22, 23; 3:2) is employed (Knobloch 2007: 239).

Although OG Ruth is, for the most part, a relatively faithful representation of the underlying Hebrew text, at times there are departures from the source text. Sometimes the Greek text is longer than the Hebrew one. In certain cases, this appears to be due to the translator’s desire to ensure the comprehensibility of the text. For example, in Ruth 3:14 the speaker is named in the OG but not in the Hebrew: καὶ εἶπεν Βόος ‘And Boos said’; wayyōmer ‘for he said.’ In other contexts, it is difficult to decide whether Greek pluses in comparison to the MT represent the translator’s clarifications or reflect a different Hebrew *Vorlage*. This is the case in Ruth 4:8 where the Greek reads καὶ ὑπέλυσατο τὸ ὑπόδημα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ ‘and he took off his sandal and gave it to him’, while the MT has simply wayyišlōp na‘ālō ‘he took off his sandal’. Among the cases of a shorter OG text vis-à-vis the MT are some that may have been occasioned by the translator’s desire to eliminate potentially scandalous scenarios. There are two such examples in Ruth 3:7: wayyōkal bō‘az wayyēšt ‘When Boaz had eaten and drunk’—καὶ ἔφαγεν Βόος ‘And Boos ate’; wattābō ballāt wattēgal margēlōtāyw wattiškob ‘Then she came stealthily and uncovered his feet, and lay down’—ἡ δὲ ἦλθεν κρυφῆ καὶ ἀπεκάλυψεν τὰ πρὸς ποδῶν αὐτοῦ ‘Then she came stealthily and uncovered the place at his feet.’ A Greek text that is shorter than the MT may, however, also be due to a different Hebrew *Vorlage*. A case in point is found in Ruth 1:1, where the OG temporal clause ἐν τῷ κρίνειν τοὺς κριτάς ‘when the judges were judging’ is a reflection of *bišpōt haššōpēṭīm* rather than of the MT’s *bimē šēpōt haššōpēṭīm* ‘in the days when the judges ruled’ (Quast 2006: 125–6).

Among the terms and expressions found in Ruth that occur infrequently in the Hebrew Bible is *pēlōnī ’almōnī* ‘friend.’ In Ruth 4:1 this Greek translator renders it in a contextually sensitive fashion as κρύφιε ‘Hidden One.’ This equivalent is indicative of the translator’s attempt to convey the sense of the Hebrew expression that signifies ‘a certain someone who shall remain nameless.’ In the other two occurrences of this expression (1 Sam. 21:3[2]; 2 Kings 6:8), the Hebrew is either wholly or partially transcribed (Quast 2006: 127).

All in all, though the work of the OG translator is often closely aligned with the Hebrew, this does not mean that the translator was intent on simply producing as literal a translation of his source text as possible. Where necessary for facilitating understanding, averting misunderstanding, or even for the sake of variety of expression, he seems not to have been averse to deviating from his Hebrew *Vorlage* (Quast 2006: 127; Knobloch 2007: 239).

ESTHER

The standard critical edition of OG Esther was prepared by Robert Hanhart for the Göttingen Septuaginta series (2nd edn. 1983). Another Greek version of Esther was also published in that edition along with the OG—namely the so-called Lucianic recension,

designated as *L*. This text is found in manuscripts (19, 93, 108) that attest to the recension in the books of Reigns (Swete 1968: 83; Hanhart 1983: 95). Scholars now universally agree that it does not constitute a Lucianic recension (Moore 1967: 351–8; Hanhart 1983: 92–5; Jobes 2007: 424). Hanhart distinguishes between the recensional adaptation (*Bearbeitung*) of the Lucianic text in other Septuagint books in accordance with specific and familiar principles, and the kind of redesign (*Neugestaltung*) of an existing text on the basis of an older tradition, as is the case with what was originally referred to as the *L* text of Esther but which has since come to be known as the Alpha-Text (AT). He observes that the most prominent feature of the AT—at least in comparison with the OG—is textual abbreviation, which is precisely the opposite of what characterizes the Lucianic recension (*L*) in other parts of the Septuagint corpus. He goes on to assert that, although *L* and the AT share some characteristics (e.g. syntactical simplification), in nature and scope they are quite different (Hanhart 1983: 92). A number of scholars have argued that the OG was the original Greek translation and the AT a revision of it (Hanhart 1983: 87–8; Tov 1982: 1–25; De Troyer 2000: 396–7). Others, however, are now convinced that neither is a recension of the other one, or, to put it another way, that each is a distinctive translation of either a source text that was quite similar to the MT (Jobes 1996: 219–21; Jobes 2007: 424–5) or that featured some significant differences from it (Moore 1971: lxi–lxiii; Clines 1984: 71–3, 85–92; Fox 1990: 27, 32–3, 52–4; Fox 1991: 10–38). Victoria Spottorno, while agreeing that the source text for the OG was much like the MT, seems uncertain as to whether the AT is in fact a translation from some Hebrew source text or what the nature of its relationship with the OG might be (Spottorno 2013: 53–5).

Undoubtedly the two most significant differences between the MT and the two above-mentioned Greek versions are that 1) the deity is never mentioned in this Hebrew story—an anomaly that is remedied in the Greek versions, and 2) the Greek versions contain six substantial Additions that have no counterpart in the MT. These Additions, which are commonly assigned the letters A–F, were inserted at particular spots in the story but were moved by Jerome to the end of the book when he created the *iuxta Hebraeos* version. Their contents and original and subsequent locations are as follows:

- A. Mordecai's apocalyptic dream and his discovery of a plot against the king (vv. 1–17 inserted prior to Esth. 1:1 = 11:2–12:6);
- B. The king's edict against the Jews issued at Haman's instigation (vv. 1–7 inserted after Esth. 3:13 = 13:1–7);
- C. The prayers for deliverance by Mordecai and Esther (vv. 1–30 inserted after Esth. 4:17 = 13:8–14:19);
- D. The description of Esther's appearance before, and reception by, the king (vv. 1–16 follow Addition C as an alternative to MT Esth. 5:1–2 = 15:1–16);
- E. The king's edict on the Jews' behalf issued at Mordecai's instigation (vv. 1–24 inserted after Esth. 8:12 = 16:1–24);
- F. The interpretation of Mordecai's apocalyptic dream (vv. 1–10 follow Esth. 10:3 = 10:4–11:1).

Scholars disagree on whether some or all of the Additions are original Greek compositions or translations of Semitic originals. Moore and Clines, for example, argue that Additions A, C, D, and F were part of a Semitic version of the book of Esther before the Greek translations were produced, while Additions B and E are Greek compositions that were added sometime after the appearance of the Greek translations (Moore 1992: 630; Clines 1984: 69). Jobes, on the other hand, contends that the style and syntax of the Additions suggest that they are Greek compositions, ‘with the possible exception of addition D’ (Jobes 2007: 424; see also Hanhart 1983: 96). Whatever the textual history with respect to their inclusion in the narrative might be, they do not constitute ‘trivial alterations to the Esther story, but substantial reshapings of the material; in extent they together increase the “canonical” (MT or “original” LXX) Esther by more than two-thirds’ (Clines 1984: 70).

Cameron Boyd-Taylor finds striking similarities between OG Esther and Greek romantic novels such as Chariton’s *Chaereas and Callirhoe* and Xenophon’s *An Ephesian Tale*. He makes the intriguing suggestion that ‘a deliberate revision of the source narrative’ at OG Esther 2:7—where the OG source text and the MT are likely in agreement—is ‘consistent with other alterations, omissions and additions’ in the OG and is indicative of ‘a coherent redactive strategy, one which serves to assimilate the underlying Semitic narrative to certain literary trends prevalent in the Hellenistic period’ (Boyd-Taylor 1997: 89, 101 and n. 50).

Esther 2:7

OG: ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταλλάξαι αὐτῆς τοὺς γονεῖς ἐπαίδευσεν αὐτὴν ἑαυτῷ εἰς γυναῖκα.

NETS OG: And when her parents died, he trained her for himself as a wife.

MT: *ûbêmôt ’ābihā w’immāh lēqāhāh mordōkay lô lēbat*

NRSV: . . . and when her father and her mother died, Mordecai adopted her as his own daughter.

Boyd-Taylor argues that this intentional alteration of the source text is one of a series of moves by the OG translator designed to recast Esther and Mordecai as a betrothed couple who, when the king takes Esther into his harem, become part of a narrative scheme that is termed ‘the “frustrated betrothal”, a stock scenario from Greek romance in which the resolution of a marriage is indefinitely delayed through various plot complications’ (Boyd-Taylor 1997: 96). That resolution, he maintains, is implied in Esth. 10:3 where the OG states: *ὁ δὲ Μαρδοχαῖος διεδέχετο τὸν βασιλέα Ἀρταξέρξην* ‘And Mardocheios took over from King Artaxerxes’. This would seem to indicate that Mordecai succeeded Artaxerxes on the throne and that ‘Mordecai and Esther ultimately ruled as King and Queen’ (Boyd-Taylor 1997: 108 n. 65). The MT, on the other hand, says merely that *mordōkay hayyēhūdi mišneh lammelek ’āhašwērōš* ‘Mordecai the Jew was next in rank to King Ahasuerus.’ The product of the OG translator’s ‘creative appropriation’ of the Semitic Esther story, therefore, ‘stands as a fresh retelling of a nationalist romance for an audience who expected a sentimental treatment of this traditional subject’, readers whom Boyd-Taylor opines ‘were likely to have been members of the massive entrepreneurial and administrative

apparatus which arose within the imperial hierarchies' who 'shared the new values of urban existence in the imperial context' (Boyd-Taylor 1997: 105). It is Bickerman's contention that the OG translator would have felt 'free to adapt the original to the needs and requirements of the Greek-speaking Jews' because Hebrew Esther was not regarded by him as 'sacred writing' (Bickerman 1951: 113–14).

A colophon attached to the OG version provides information that appears to link this Greek translation with 'the fourth year of the reign of Ptolemy and Kleopatra' (F 11). Since there were several such ruling pairs in Egypt in the second and first centuries BCE, three possible dates have been suggested: 114/113 BCE (Ptolemy IX), 78/77 BCE (Ptolemy XII), or 48 BCE (Ptolemy XIV) (Jobes 2007: 424; Schürer 1986: 505–6).

As indicated above, the translation profile of the OG, which is closer to the MT than the AT is, is not rigidly isomorphic. While most of the time the OG does follow the MT, this is not to the extent that word order is a particular concern for the translator. There is also variety in the choice of translation equivalents (e.g. Esth. 1:17: *dābār* 'deed'—τὰ ῥήματα 'the words'; 1:18: *dābār* 'behaviour'—τὰ λεχθέντα 'what was said'; 4:9: *dibrê* 'said'—τοὺς λόγους 'things'; 5:14: *haddābār* 'this advice'—τὸ ῥῆμα 'this advice') and freedom to preserve the sense of the source text without necessarily mirroring the wording or idiom (Esth. 2:11: 'et-šēlōm 'estēr ūmah-yē'āšeh bāh 'how Esther was and how she fared'—τί Ἐσθηρ συμβήσεται 'how Esther would fare'; Esth. 4:5: *mah-zeh w'almah-zeh* 'what was happening and why'—τὸ ἀκριβές 'the facts') (Moore 1971: lxi). Hebrew synonyms or redundancies often have only one counterpart in the OG, while common and proper nouns are frequently omitted or replaced by pronouns (Jobes 2007: 425).

The AT 'represents only about half the text found in the MT' and is about 20 per cent shorter than the OG (Jobes 2007: 425). The kinds of elements that are frequently lacking in comparison to the OG include names, numbers, dates, and various types of repetitions. Thus in Esth. 1:19 the OG mentions a βασιλικόν 'royal order' that is to be written κατὰ τοὺς νόμους Μήδων καὶ Περσῶν 'according to the laws of the Medes and Persians', whereas the AT says nothing about a βασιλικόν or the Medes and Persians but speaks simply about something being written εἰς πάσας τὰς χώρας καὶ πρὸς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη 'to all the lands and to all the nations' (Esth. 1:18[19]). OG 2:12–14 provides an extended description of the twelve-month regimen involved in preparing a maiden to be presented to the king and the protocol associated with her visit, while the AT makes no mention of a preparatory regimen and says of the visit: καὶ ὅταν ἐγένετο ἑσπέρα, εἰσήγετο, καὶ τὸ πρωὶ ἀπελύετο 'When nightfall came, she was led in, and in the early morning she was dismissed' (Esth. 2:14).

Most of the substantive differences between the AT and the MT occur in Esther chs. 8–10 and seem to have been occasioned by a determination in the AT to magnify Mordecai's role at the expense of Esther's, to reduce the amount of space devoted to the origin and commemoration of Purim, and to emphasize the role of Jews in safeguarding the king against the danger of assassination arising from political intrigue in the court. The differences between the OG and the AT in these chapters are such that the relationship between them seems unlikely to have been one of literary dependence in either direction (Jobes 2007: 425).

ECCLESIASTES

A preliminary edition of OG Ecclesiastes was prepared by Alfred Rahlfs (1935), but a full critical edition in the Göttingen Septuaginta series has been published by Peter Gentry (2019).

The title of this book is the Greek translator's rendering of Hebrew *qōhelet*, which appears to mean something like 'Leader/Speaker of the Assembly [*qāhāl*]' (*HALOT*). The Greek equivalent that was chosen, Ἐκκλησιαστής, is related to the term ἐκκλησία 'assembly', and means 'member of the assembly' (LSJ).

Gentry, the translator of the book for NETS, characterizes OG Ecclesiastes in terms of 'extreme formal equivalence' (Gentry 2007a: 648). Heinrich Graetz, in fact, proposed that the translator of OG Ecclesiastes was Aquila, whom he suggested subsequently produced a second translation that ended up in the third column of Origen's Hexapla (Graetz 1871: 177–9). A classic example of a construction that both Aquila and Greek Ecclesiastes exhibit involves the *σύν*—'*et*' equivalence, even when the Hebrew term is the *nota accusativi* rather than the Hebrew preposition signifying 'with': *'et-hā'îš—σύν τοῦ ἀνδρός* (Eccl. 9:15); *'et-kol-hamma'ăšîm—σύν πάντα τὰ ποιήματα* (Eccl. 1:14). Graetz's ideas resonated with some (McNeile 1904: 115–34; Barton 1908: 8–11) but not so much with others (Dillmann 1892: 14; Klostermann 1892: 52). In his provocative and stimulating *tour de force* on the Greek Minor Prophets Scroll, Dominique Barthélemy concluded that OG Ecclesiastes is to be associated with Aquila but that the readings attributed to him in the third column of the Hexapla do not constitute his work (Barthélemy 1963: 21–30). This proposal too was challenged in subsequent studies that involved comparisons between OG Ecclesiastes and Aquilanic readings from elsewhere in the Septuagint corpus (Hyvärinen 1977: 88–99; Jarick 1990: 131–9). The fact of the matter is that while some translation patterns in this book are classically Aquilanic, others are not. To be sure, there is a great deal of consistency and uniformity in the establishment of translation equivalents, so that the Greek counterpart in all forty-nine occurrences of *'ādām*, for example, is ἄνθρωπος, and in all ten cases of *'îš* it is ἀνήρ. But not all equivalences are so rigid that the same Greek terms are consistently employed to render Hebrew terms, or that only one Greek stem is used for Hebrew lexemes that are based on the same root, as is the case in Aquila's version (Gentry 2007a: 649–50). In fact, Gentry has argued, in part on the basis of evidence preserved in readings in the margins of the Syrohexapla, that OG Ecclesiastes shows closer affinities with readings attributed to Theodotion than to Aquila (Gentry 2004b: 68, 83; Gentry 2004a: 171). What can additionally be said about Greek Ecclesiastes in terms of its textual profile is that it should be grouped with the so-called Kaige tradition of translations because this is the distinctive equivalent for *gam* or *wĕgam* everywhere throughout the book except for Eccl. 7:22b where, Gentry reports, the equivalent is καί (Gentry 2007a: 649). In the light of all the preceding, the only thing that one can say at this point about the translator's identity is that it remains uncertain.

As for the characterization of the Greek translation as isomorphic in the extreme, 'a candidate to load with all the sins of literalism', investigation of the technique

exhibited in the book ‘reveals that there is a greater depth to the translator of LXX Ecclesiastes than his portrayal as a hyper-literalist’ would lead one to believe (Debel and Verbeke 2013: 313, 316, 330). James Aitken maintains that OG Ecclesiastes in fact contains evidence of sensitivity to literary concerns, which suggests that the translator ‘was in good command of Greek and a subtle translator’ (Aitken 2005: 56). Aitken does acknowledge ‘that there are many apparently rhetorical features that derive from a close translation of the Hebrew’ (Aitken 2005: 58), and those could not be cited as instances of intentional rhetorical or poetic flourish on the part of the translator. But he goes on to discuss what he regards to be possible examples of rhetorical devices (*variatio, polyptoton* [variation of forms], *anaphora* [repetition of forms], *parechesis* [alliteration], assonance, *isocola* [equal-length cola], *homoeoteleuton* [end rhyme]) and poetic features (rhythm, metre, rare forms, and invented words) that are specifically attributable to the translator (Aitken 2005: 61–72). Whether or not one is ultimately convinced by his argument, it can at least be said that he provides evidence for creativity in the translator’s approach to rendering his source text.

SONG OF SONGS

The standard edition of OG Song of Songs was published by Alfred Rahlfs (1935). However, an edition was also prepared by Jay C. Treat for his dissertation (Treat 1996), and it is this text upon which his translation for NETS is based. He acknowledges, however, that the text of his edition is, except for punctuation, essentially the same as that of Rahlfs (Treat 2007: 657).

The work of the Greek translator may be described as frequently isomorphic, exhibiting a strategy of formal equivalence characterized by an atomistic, rather than a contextualized, representation of the source text. The following examples are illustrative: Song 4:9 *bēʾahad ʾānāq miṣṣawwērōnāyik* ‘with one jewel of your necklace’—*ἐν μιᾷ, ἐνθέματι τραχήλων σου* ‘in one, with an emplacement of your necks’; Song 7:9 *wērēah ʾappēk* ‘and the scent of your breath’—*καὶ ὀσμὴ ῥίνος σου* ‘and your nose’s fragrance’. To a degree of consistency reminiscent of OG Ruth and Ecclesiastes, this translation involves the kind of correspondence with the underlying Hebrew that features quantitative equivalence, agreement in word order, and stereotypical and etymologically based renderings. Rare or unique Hebrew words with which the translator is unfamiliar give rise to guesses as to their meaning based on context (e.g. Song 7:2 *hammūq* ‘curve’—*ῥυθμός* ‘shape’) or on presumed etymological connections (e.g. Song 7:6 *rahaṭ* ‘tress’—*παραδρομή* ‘retinue’ [literally ‘running beside’], an equivalent that seemingly reflects the Aramaic root *rāhaṭ/rēhaṭ* ‘run’). At times the strategy of last resort is transliteration (e.g. Song 4:4 *talpiyyōt* ‘courses’—*θαλιπιώθ*; 4:14 *ʾāhālōt* ‘aloes’—*ἀλώθ*). In more than twenty contexts, the OG reading seems to be the result of a vocalization of the underlying Hebrew that differs from the MT. Thus, for example, the translation of the term *dd* as *μαστός* ‘breast, nipple’ would appear to be

based on the vocalization *dad* rather than *dôd* ‘love’ as it is found in the MT (Song 1:2, 4; 4:10; 7:13[12]) (Treat 2007: 657–60).

The work of the Greek translator is not, however, uniformly atomistic or focused on attempts at making etymological connections between the source and target texts. Occasionally, there is evidence of ‘clever mastery of Greek vocabulary or even a flash of brilliance’ (Treat 2007: 657). An example of a creative interpretative strategy may be found in the translator’s handling of the adjuration formula that appears in Song 2:7 and 3:5: *hišba’tî ’etkem . . . bišēbā’ôt ’ô bē’ayēlôt haššādē* ‘I adjure you . . . by the gazelles or the wild does’—*ὤρκισα ὑμᾶς . . . ἐν ταῖς δυνάμεσιν καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἰσχύσεσιν τοῦ ἀγροῦ* ‘I have adjured you . . . by the powers and by the forces of the field.’ Treat observes that the terms *šēbā’ôt*, *’ayēlôt*, and *šādē* exhibit similarities to the divine epithets *šēbā’ôt* (which appears frequently in the formula *yhwh šēbā’ôt*, signifying Yahweh in his role as commander of military forces), *’ēlōhîm* (the generic term for deity or deities), and *šadday* (one of the names by which the Israelite deity was known), and suggests that the translator plays on the similarities between those two sets of terms in producing a rendering that alludes to the mysterious divine forces at work in nature (Treat 2007: 658). Hans Ausloos and Bénédicte Lemmelijn too argue for a nuanced assessment of the translator’s style in their studies on the rendering of *hapax legomena* and the nomenclature for flora, concluding that the translator exhibits competence and creativity in dealing with these kinds of terms (Ausloos and Lemmelijn 2008: 60–1; Lemmelijn 2008: 31, 50–1).

Among the terms that the Greek translator has apparently coined is *ἀδελφιδός* ‘brotherkin’. This is a diminutive form of the common term *ἀδελφός* ‘brother’, and as such it is both a term of relationship and one of endearment that serves as the counterpart to *dôd* ‘beloved’ some thirty-three times in the book (Song 1:13, 14, 16; 2:3, 8, 9, 10, 16, 17; 4:16; 5:2, 4, 5, 6[2×], 8, 9[4×], 10, 16; 6:1[2×], 2, 3[2×]; 7:10[9], 11, 12, 14; 8:5, 14) (Treat 2007: 660; Auwers 2010: 698–700).

OG Song exhibits some of the characteristics of the so-called Kage group of translations, though not as consistently as in the book of Ecclesiastes. The counterpart to *gam* in Song 8:1 is *καί γε*, but in 7:14 it is *πρός*. When *’iš* is used in the sense of the distributive pronoun ‘each’, it is rendered *ἀνὴρ* in Song 3:8 and 8:11, though the same is true in 8:7 where the sense is not specifically distributive. It would appear as though this translation represents either the partial adoption of the principles of this distinctive approach to rendering the Hebrew or a transitional stage in the history of that process (Treat 2007: 659).

LAMENTATIONS

The standard critical edition of OG Lamentations was prepared by Joseph Ziegler for the Göttingen Septuaginta series (1957). Peter Gentry, the translator of this book for NETS, has, however, identified four contexts in which he argues the OG diverges from Ziegler’s edition (Gentry 2007b: 932–4).

The first such departure involves the matter of alphabetic headings in the first four chapters of the book which, in the Hebrew, are constructed according to an acrostic pattern. Lamentations chapters 1, 2, and 4 each consist of twenty-two verses, each of which begins with a successive letter of the Hebrew alphabet. Chapter 3 is comprised of sixty-six verses, with each verse in every three-verse unit beginning with a successive letter of the Hebrew alphabet. Chapter 5 consists of twenty-two verses which do not, however, conform to an acrostic pattern. In the textual history of the Greek version, the acrostic nature of the first four chapters is marked by the provision of labels that consist of the Greek transcription of the name of the relevant Hebrew letter for each acrostic unit. These labels are not included in either Ziegler's edition or in Rahlfs's *Handausgabe* (1935) because Ziegler and Rahlfs did not consider them to have been part of the OG, though they do appear in Henry Swete's edition of the so-called shorter Cambridge Septuagint (1909–12). Albert Pietersma has, however, argued persuasively on the basis of widespread and early manuscript support and of the parallel situation in Psalm 118(119) that they do constitute the work of the Septuagint translator (Pietersma 1995: 183–95).

Second, although Ziegler, Rahlfs, and Swete have not included Lam 3:22–4 (i.e. the complete *hêt* unit in Hebrew), Pietersma has made a compelling case for the likelihood that these verses were omitted during the course of the transmission of the Greek text due to parablepsis: *διὰ τοῦτο ὑπομενῶ* (end of v. 21)—*διὰ τοῦτο ὑπομενῶ αὐτόν* (end of v. 24); the presumed alphabetic labels *ηθ* (beginning of v. 22)—*τηθ* (beginning of v. 25) (Pietersma 1995: 195–9).

Third, the text of Lam. 3:29, which is absent in the editions of Rahlfs, Ziegler, and Swete but which would constitute the second strophe of the three-strophe *ιωθ* unit, could well have been omitted due to homoioarcton because both this verse and v. 30 begin with *yittēn* in the Hebrew version. The question is whether this omission occurred during the course of the Hebrew textual history or that of the Greek, where the counterpart would be *δῶσει*. Gentry notes that most of the textual support for v. 29 is found in witnesses that also attest Lam. 3:22–4. If v. 29 does constitute OG, the parablepsis that resulted in its absence from a portion of the Greek textual history would have occurred prior to the time of Origen, since his quotation of Lam. 3:27–30 (*Contra Celsum* 7.25) does not contain it. It is, however, attested in Hexaplaric witnesses (O-Q^{ms}), and the editors of the above-mentioned editions clearly considered this verse to be a secondary, Hexaplaric plus. Yet on the basis of both textual and literary evidence, that conclusion is judged by Gentry to be far from certain. He therefore translates the verse for NETS but encloses it in square brackets: *δώσει ἐν χόματι στόμα αὐτοῦ εἰ ἄρα ἐστὶν ἐλπὶς* 'he will give his mouth in a heap of earth, if perhaps there is hope' (Gentry 2007b: 932–3).

Fourth, there is lack of unanimity amongst various parts of the Greek textual history and the MT regarding Lam. 3:42:

MT: *nahnû pāša'nû ûmārînú 'attâ lô' sālāhtā*

NRSV: We have transgressed and rebelled, and you have not forgiven.

Rahlfs, Swete: *Ἠμαρτήσαμεν, ἡσεβήσαμεν, καὶ οὐχ ἰλάσθης.*

Ziegler: *Ἠμαρτήσαμεν ἡσεβήσαμεν καὶ παρεπικράναμεν, καὶ οὐχ ἰλάσθης.*

Gentry's careful investigation of translation technique in Lamentations determines that the *ἀμαρτ*-root is typically the counterpart to words derived from *hāṭṭāʾ*, the *ἀσεβ*-root is normally used to render words derived from *pāšaʿ*, and *παραπικραίνω* is the equivalent for *mārā* in all three of its occurrences (Lam. 1:18a, 2ob[2x]). Furthermore, the Greek translator consistently rendered first- and second-person Hebrew pronouns. Thus Gentry concludes that the likely text of the OG is *Ἡμεῖς ἡσεβήσαμεν καὶ παρεπικράναμεν, καὶ σύ οὐκ ἰλάσθης* 'We have acted impiously, and we embittered you, and you were not appeased' (Gentry 2007b: 933–4, 939).

The translation profile of Greek Lamentations can be described in terms of formal equivalence. Specifically it is to be grouped with translations and revisions of the Kaige tradition. In conformity with that approach to rendering the Hebrew text, *καί γε* is employed as the counterpart to *gam* (Lam. 1:8; 2:9; 4:3, 15, 21), *οὐκ ἔστιν* is the counterpart to *'ên* in future or past contexts (Lam. 1:9, 17; 2:9; 4:4; 5:8), and the translator shows little inclination for making use of the historical present. On the other hand, the use of *οὐκ ὑπάρχω* to render *'ên* (Lam. 1:2; 5:3, 7) and of a present verb *πάρεστιν* (4:19[18]) as the counterpart to the perfect form *bāʾ* 'had come' is indicative of the fact that this translation is not completely systematic in adhering to the principles that characterize the Kaige tradition as is the case in a book like Greek Ecclesiastes (Gentry 2007b: 934). Furthermore, the OG translator exhibits evidence of attempting to create intelligible translations of certain textually and semantically problematic Hebrew passages (Kotzé 2012: 282–95).

On the basis of Origen's statement that there was no edition of Aquila and Theodotion for the book of Lamentations (*Ἐκδοσις Ἀκύλα καὶ Θεοδοτίωνος ἐν τοῖς Θρήνοις οὐ φέρεται, μόνου δὲ Συμμάχου καὶ τῶν Ὁ'* [Field 1875: II.743, 748]) and the fact that Ziegler's edition of Lamentations attributes a handful of readings to Aquila but none to Theodotion, the possibility that OG Lamentations is, in fact, the work of Theodotion has been mooted (Gentry 2008: 326–7; Kotzé 2012: 277; Assan-Dhôte 1996). A comparison of Greek Lamentations with other materials in the Kaige-Theodotion tradition by Kevin J. Youngblood has demonstrated that, while there are similarities to the version attributed to Theodotion, there are enough differences to indicate that he was not responsible for OG Lamentations (Youngblood 2004; Gentry 2008: 326–7). As for the statement by Origen cited above, Field argues that Origen's statement means only that the texts of Aquila and Theodotion do not appear in the Hexapla, not that such texts did not exist. He goes on to point out that there is evidence of these versions of Lamentations at 1:8, for example, where, in place of the OG's *εἰς σάλον*, 'the Three' (i.e. Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion) are cited as attesting *ἀνάστατον* (Field 1875: II.743, 748).

FUTURE RESEARCH

A number of trajectories for ongoing research on this group of books may be suggested. First, the completion of a fully critical edition of the book for which none currently exists (Song of Songs) remains a desideratum. The value of such editions is to be

found not only in the critically reconstructed, eclectic texts of the OG but also in the textual data gathered and preserved in the apparatuses. This kind of information, along with any other material that may come to light in due course, can be used by scholars in the continuing quest to refine and expand our knowledge of the textual histories of these books. The same can, of course, be said of those books for which critical editions already do exist. Second, in this same vein, it should be evident in the light of the preceding discussion that the interdependent relationships among the OG and the versions attributed to 'the Three' (along with the textual traditions preceding them that culminated in their appearance) remain something of an enigma for four of the five books surveyed here (Ruth, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Lamentations), an enigma that requires further work to sort out. Third, more needs to be done to untangle the complex textual history of the various Greek and Hebrew versions of Esther and the question of their relatedness to, or independence from, one another. Fourth, investigations described above regarding the genre of OG Esther point up the importance of carrying out comparative analysis of Septuagint texts and other contemporaneous Greek literature in order to understand better the nature of the translation processes and other creative strategies that gave rise to the particular products that comprise this corpus.

SUGGESTED READING

The following volumes of the series *La Bible d'Alexandrie* provide full introductions, French translations, and notes on the Greek text.

Assan-Dhôte, Isabelle, and Jacqueline Moatti-Fine (2005). *La Bible d'Alexandrie 25.2: Baruch, Lamentations, Lettre de Jérémie*. Paris: Cerf.

Assan-Dhôte, Isabelle, and Jacqueline Moatti-Fine (2009). *La Bible d'Alexandrie 8: Ruth*. Paris: Cerf.

Auwers, J.-M. (2019). *La Bible d'Alexandrie 19: Le Cantique des Cantiques*. Paris: Cerf.

Cavalier, Claudine (2011). *La Bible d'Alexandrie 12: Esther*. Paris: Cerf.

Vinél, Françoise (2002). *La Bible d'Alexandrie 18: L'Ecclésiaste*. Paris: Cerf.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aitken, James K. (2005). 'Rhetoric and Poetry in Greek Ecclesiastes.' *BIOSCS* 38: 55–77.

Assan-Dhôte, Isabelle (1996). 'La Version grecque des Lamentations de Jérémie.' Ph.D. diss. Université de Paris-Sorbonne. Paris.

Ausloos, Hans and Bénédicte Lemmelijn (2008). 'Rendering Love: Hapax Legomena and the Characterisation of the Translation Technique of Song of Songs,' in H. Ausloos et al., eds., *Translating a Translation: The Septuagint and Its Modern Translations in the Context of Early Judaism*. BETL 213. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 43–61.

Auwers, Jean-Marie (2010). 'Les Désignations des bien-aimés dans le Cantique des cantiques et leur traduction dans les langues modernes,' in W. Kraus and M. Karrer, eds., *Die Septuaginta: Texte, Theologien, Einflüsse*. WUNT 252. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 689–701.

Barthélemy, Dominique (1963). *Les Devanciers d'Aquila*. VTSup 10. Leiden: Brill.

- Barton, George A. (1908). *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Ecclesiastes*. ICC. Edinburgh: T&T Clark.
- Bickerman, Elias J. (1951). 'Notes on the Greek Book of Esther'. *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 20: 101–33.
- Boyd-Taylor, Cameron (1997). 'Esther's Great Adventure: Reading the LXX Version of the Book of Esther in Light of Its Assimilation to the Conventions of the Greek Romantic Novel'. *BIOCS* 30: 81–113.
- Chariton (1989). *Chaereas and Callirhoe*. Trans. Bryan P. Reardon, in Bryan P. Reardon, ed. *Collected Ancient Greek Novels*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, pp. 17–124.
- Chariton (2004). *De Callirhoe narrationes amatoriae*. Ed. Bryan P. Reardon. Munich: K. G. Saur.
- Clines, David J. A. (1984). *The Esther Scroll: The Story of the Story*. JSOTSup 30. Sheffield: JSOT Press.
- Debel, Hans and Elke Verbeke (2013). 'The Greek Rendering of Hebrew Hapax Legomena in the Book of Qoheleth', in M. K. H. Peters, ed., *XIV Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Helsinki, 2010*. SBLSCS 59. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, pp. 313–31.
- De Troyer, Kristin (2000). *The End of the Alpha Text of Esther: Translation and Narrative Technique in MT 8:1–17, LXX 8:1–17, and AT 7:14–41*. SBLSCS 48. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature.
- Dillmann, August (1892). *Über die griechische Übersetzung des Qoheleth*. Sitzungsberichte der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Berlin: Reichsdruckerei.
- Field, Frederick (1875). *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt*. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Fox, Michael V. (1990). 'The Alpha Text of the Greek Esther'. *Textus* 15: 27–54.
- Fox, Michael V. (1991). *The Redaction of the Books of Esther: On Reading Composite Texts*. SBLMS 40. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.
- Gentry, P. J. (2004a). 'Propaedeutic to a Lexicon of the Three: The Priority of a New Critical Edition of Hexaplaric Fragments'. *Aramaic Studies* 2.2: 145–74.
- Gentry, Peter J. (2004b). 'The Relationship of Aquila and Theodotion to the Old Greek of Ecclesiastes in the Marginal Notes of the Syro-Hexapla'. *Aramaic Studies* 2.1: 63–84.
- Gentry, P. J. (2007a). 'Ecclesiast', in A. Pietersma and B. G. Wright, eds., *A New English Translation of the Septuagint*. New York, NY and Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 648–56.
- Gentry, P. J. (2007b). 'Lamentations', in A. Pietersma and B. G. Wright, eds., *A New English Translation of the Septuagint*. New York, NY and Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 932–41.
- Gentry, P. J. (2008). 'Old Greek and Later Revisors: Can We Always Distinguish Them?', in A. Voitila and J. Jokiranta, eds., *Scripture in Transition: Essays on Septuagint, Hebrew Bible, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of Raija Sollamo*. JSJSup 126. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, pp. 301–27.
- Gentry, P. J. (2019). *Ecclesiastes*. VTG 11.2. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Graetz, Heinrich (1871). *Kohélet [Qhlt] oder der salomonische Prediger übersetzt und kritisch erläutert*. Leipzig: C. F. Winter'sche Verlagshandlung.
- HALOT = Koehler, Ludwig, Walter Baumgartner, et al. (1994–2000). *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*. 5 vols. Trans. and ed. M. E. J. Richardson et al. Leiden: Brill.
- Hanhart, Robert (1983). *Esther*. VTG 8.3. 2nd edn. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

- Harl, Marguerite (1995). 'La Version LXX du Cantique des Cantiques et le groupe Kaige-Théodotion: Quelques remarques lexicales.' *Textus* 18: 101–20.
- Hyvärinen, Kyösti (1977). *Die Übersetzung von Aquila*. ConBOT 10. Lund: Gleerup.
- Jarick, John (1990). 'Aquila's Koheleth.' *Textus* 15: 131–9.
- Jobes, Karen H. (1996). *The Alpha-Text of Esther: Its Character and Relationship to the Masoretic Text*. SBLDS 153. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.
- Jobes, Karen H. (2007). 'Esther', in A. Pietersma and B. G. Wright, eds., *A New English Translation of the Septuagint*. New York, NY and Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 424–40.
- Klostermann, Erich (1892). *De libri Coheleth versione Alexandrina*. Kiel: Schmidt & Klaunig.
- Knobloch, Frederick W. (2007). 'Routh', in A. Pietersma and B. G. Wright, eds., *A New English Translation of the Septuagint*. New York, NY and Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 239–43.
- Kotzé, Gideon R. (2012). 'Two Difficult Passages in the Hebrew Texts of Lamentations 5: Text-Critical Analyses of the Greek Translation', in J. Cook and H.-J. Stipp, eds., *Text-Critical and Hermeneutical Studies in the Septuagint*. VTSup 157. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, pp. 275–95.
- LaMontagne, Nathan (2013). 'LXX Ruth: Translation, Interpretation, Characterization', in Melvin K. H. Peters, ed., *XIV Congress of the IOSCS, Helsinki, 2010*. SBLSCS 59. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, pp. 59–71.
- Lemmelijn, Bénédicte (2008). 'Flora in Cantico Canticorum: Towards a More Precise Characterisation of Translation Technique in the LXX of Song of Songs', in A. Voitila and J. Jokiranta, eds., *Scripture in Transition: Essays on Septuagint, Hebrew Bible, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of Raija Sollamo*. SupJSJ 126. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, pp. 27–51.
- Liddell, Henry G., Robert Scott, and Henry S. Jones (1996). *A Greek-English Lexicon*. 9th edn. with Supplement. Oxford: Clarendon.
- McNeile, Alan H. (1904). *An Introduction to Ecclesiastes*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Moore, Carey A. (1967). 'A Greek Witness to a Different Hebrew Text of Esther.' *ZAW* 79: 351–8.
- Moore, Carey A. (1971). *Esther*. The Anchor Bible, Vol. 7B. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- Moore, Carey A. (1992). 'Esther, Additions to', in *Anchor Bible Dictionary*. New York, NY: Doubleday, Vol. 2, pp. 626–33.
- Pietersma, Albert (1995). 'The Acrostic Poems of Lamentations in Greek Translation', in L. Greenspoon and O. Munnich, eds., *VIII Congress of the IOSCS, Paris, 1992*. SBLSCS 41. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, pp. 183–201.
- Quast, Udo (2006). *Ruth*. VTG 4.3. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Rahlfs, Alfred (1935). *Septuaginta: Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes*. 2 vols. Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt.
- Rahlfs, Alfred (2004). *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments*, Vol. 1/1: *Die Überlieferung bis zum VIII. Jahrhundert*. Bearbeitet von Detlef Fraenkel. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Schürer, Emil (1986). *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.–A.D. 135)*, Vol. 3/1. Revised English edn. by G. Vermes, F. Millar, and M. Goodman. Edinburgh: T&T Clark.
- Spottorno, Victoria (2013). 'Beyond Genre and Style: Notes on the Greek Esther', in M. K. H. Peters, ed., *XIV Congress of the IOSCS, Helsinki, 2010*. SBLSCS 59. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, pp. 51–8.

- Swete, Henry B. (1909–12). *The Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint*. 3 vols. 4th ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Swete, Henry B. (1968). *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*. Richard R. Ottley, rev. edn. New York, NY: Ktav.
- Tov, Emanuel (1982). ‘The “Lucianic” Text of the Canonical and Apocryphal Sections of Esther: A Rewritten Biblical Book.’ *Textus* 10: 1–25.
- Treat, Jay C. (1996). ‘Lost Keys: Text and Interpretation in Old Greek Song of Songs and Its Earliest Manuscript Witnesses.’ Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA.
- Treat, Jay C. (2007). ‘Song of Songs,’ in A. Pietersma and B. G. Wright, eds., *A New English Translation of the Septuagint*. New York, NY and Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 657–66.
- Xenophon of Ephesus (1926). *Les Éphésiaques ou le roman d’Habrocomès et d’Anthia*. Ed. Georges Dalmeyda. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
- Xenophon of Ephesus (1989). *An Ephesian Tale*. Trans. Graham Anderson in Bryan P. Reardon, ed., *Collected Ancient Greek Novels*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, pp. 125–69.
- Youngblood, Kevin J. (2004). ‘Translation Technique in the Greek Lamentations.’ Ph.D. diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, KY.
- Ziegler, Joseph, ed. (1957). *Ieremias, Baruch, Threni, Epistula Ieremiae*. VTG 15. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

CHAPTER 23

THE PSALTER

STAFFAN OLOFSSON

DATE AND PROVENANCE

THE Septuagint Psalter—or LXX Psalms—is one of the most interesting and most frequently discussed books of the Septuagint corpus. During the twenty-first century in particular, the study of Psalms has gained prominence, with several conferences focused on the LXX Psalms. Historically speaking, the Psalter has been the most popular text of the LXX, being attested in well over a thousand surviving Greek manuscripts. In comparison, Genesis, the next most popular book in the LXX, is found in fewer than two hundred Greek manuscripts.

Although the origin of LXX Psalms has been frequently researched, not least in recent years, no consensus has been reached so far. Consequently, it is difficult to give a date and place of origin for the translation. However, most scholars (for example, Dorival, Harl, Munnich 1988: 111; Schaper 1994: 60–1, 1995: 45; Williams 2001; Munnich 1987: 198) favour a date in the second century BCE, which the present writer also accepts. Nevertheless, other scholars have argued for the first century BCE, for example, van der Kooij (1983) and Clancy (2002) (see Olofsson 2011: 16 n. 1). Although we have no indisputable facts that can help to determine the date of the original translation, a text passage from the LXX Psalms was probably quoted by the translator of 1 Maccabees, Ps. 78 (79):2–3 in 1 Macc. 7:17. (van der Kooij 2001; Williams 2001; Brucker 2006). There are also allusions to Psalm texts, that is, Ps. 68 (69):23 in 1 Macc. 5:4, Ps. 91 (92):8 in 1 Macc. 9:23, Ps. 105 (106):1 etc. in 1 Macc. 4:24, and Ps. 109 (110):4 in 1 Macc. 14:41. This would at least give a *terminus ante quem* for the translation of around the beginning of the first century BCE (see Williams 2001; van der Kooij 2001; Brucker 2006).

A few scholars determine the origin of the translator of the LXX Psalms quite distinctively. For example, Gzella seems to argue that the translator was part of a circle of pious poor scribes from the second major period of apocalyptic literature (Gzella 2001:

34; Smith 2011: 13 n. 50). Schaper defines the LXX Psalms as ‘a document of proto-Pharisaic theology’ (1995: 20). However, it is precarious to place the LXX Psalms in a specific cultural or religious milieu since precise information is lacking and the translation gives few clues (Smith 2011: 13).

There is a lively debate as to whether an Egyptian or a Palestinian background is indicated by the LXX Psalms, and it has been located variously in both regions. Although most books in the Septuagint were probably translated in Egypt, scholars often associate the translation of the Psalter with Palestine, partly because it has lexical choices in common with the so-called Kaige group (see Chapter 30 in this volume), a movement of revision that, according to the ground-breaking studies of Barthélemy, was carried out in Palestine (Barthélemy 1963: 4–10; Venetz 1974: 72–84, esp. 80). However, the argument for Palestine as the geographical milieu, based solely on the use of *βάρις* and *πυργόβαρις* in the sense ‘fortress’ which according to Jerome only occurs in Palestine, as opposed to the Egyptian meaning ‘flat-bottomed boat’ (Venetz 1974), is hardly a convincing one (Munnich 1987; Pietersma 2001b).

Some scholars argue that the cumulative weight of the evidence still favours Egypt as the place of the translation (for example Pietersma 2001b; and Dorival, Harl, Munnich 1988: 105). Pietersma refers especially to the lexical work of Montevecchi (Pietersma 2001b). The employment of *κοπρία* in Ps. 112 (113):7 for all kinds of rubbish corresponds to the usage of the word later in Egypt, and may point to an Egyptian location for the translation (Smith 2011: 277 and n. 46).

FUNCTION

The function of the LXX Psalms has also been variously understood. The most influential option in recent years is that the LXX Psalms are ‘texts for study’, and reflect an ‘interlinear’ approach to translation to be understood in conjunction with the Hebrew, implying a kind of school setting similar to Homeric school translations. But the school setting as the historical background for the translation is challenged by some scholars, for example Joosten (2008b), Troxel (2008: 62–72), Muraoka (2008), and Rösel (2012). Joosten argues that ‘no bilingual Hebrew–Greek manuscripts have been found, proving that the Septuagint was used in Jewish schools for teaching the Hebrew Bible. There are no ancient testimonies regarding such a usage’ (2008b: 170). However, Pietersma, an important representative of scholars espousing the ‘Interlinear Paradigm’, emphasizes that it is to be conceived as a heuristic tool, a working hypothesis based on the Greek text’s constitutive character, rather than a sociolinguistic explanation of the origins of the Septuagint translation. Thus, the historical background, suggested by the comparison with the Homeric school system, ought not to be addressed at the present, because of lack of conclusive historical evidence (Pietersma 2010).

Although an educational background is probable for the LXX Psalms, there are some features that are congruent with a cultic *Sitz im Leben*, which could explain the

appearance of stylistic features that create new literary patterns and resonances not strictly needed for the elucidation of the Hebrew (Schaper 1995: e.g. 31, 82; Austermann 2001).

This does not, however, imply that the book of Psalms was primarily translated into Greek to fulfil the needs of Greek speakers in public worship outside the Temple in Hasmonean Palestine (Schaper 1995: 131–3, 175). Some scholars, for example Rösel, interpret the Greek Psalter as a prophetic writing due to some of its superscriptions that were arguably part of the original translation (Rösel 2001). However, it is more appropriate to understand them partly as interpretive accretions, and as part of the text as well as the reception history (Pietersma 2001a; 2005).

TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE HEBREW AND GREEK TEXT

The LXX Psalter is a translation of a Hebrew *Vorlage*. Therefore, it is important to take into account the Hebrew textual traditions as well as the Greek, since textual criticism of the Septuagint is integral to textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible in general. The Hebrew text on which the LXX Psalms translation was based had no substantial deviations in scope or content from the consonantal Hebrew standard text, the so-called proto-Masoretic text, which may reflect a second edition of the Hebrew Psalms (Flint 2013: 17–18). But it is obvious that differences between the Greek and the Hebrew texts are not always the result of translation technique, interpretation, or revisions: they sometimes mirror a faithful translation of a different source text.

The discovery in Qumran of Hebrew manuscripts of most books of the Bible has opened up new avenues for detecting and analysing the Hebrew texts from which the LXX Psalms were translated. Since variants in manuscripts for the Psalter are represented only scantily among the fragments in Qumran (Flint 2000, 2013; Ulrich 2000) it is hard to demonstrate conclusively where variants in the LXX Psalms are based on a deviant Hebrew *Vorlage*. However, there are divergences in details, which are based on a different *Vorlage* evidenced by Hebrew manuscripts, for example Ps. 48 (49):13 *yālîn* ‘he stays the night’ translated by *συνῆκεν* ‘he understands’, which is mirrored by v. 21 *yābîn* and 4QPs^a.

Predictably, most of the variants depend on the confusion of similar consonants. The *Vorlage* of the LXX Psalms gives the impression that some similar letters in so-called square script have been interchanged. The most common changes are between *resh* and *dalet*, for example Ps. 73 (74):19 *tôrekā* ‘your turtledove, rendered by *ἐξομολογουμένην σοι*, reflecting **tôdekā* ‘that acknowledges you’, or between *wāw* and *yôd*, Ps. 121 (122):6, *yīšlāyû* ‘they shall prosper’, by *καὶ εὐθηνία* reflecting **wēšalwāh* ‘and abundance’; or between *kaf* and *bet* Ps. 36 (37):20 *be‘āšān* ‘with smoke’, translated by *ὡσεὶ καπνός*, reflecting **kē‘āšān* ‘as smoke’, which is supported by 4QPs and many Hebrew Masoretic manuscripts. There are

also examples of metathesis, for example Ps. 15 (16):4 ‘pour out’ \sqrt{nsk} (MT) and ‘gather’ \sqrt{kns} (LXX), Ps. 19 (20):6 ‘set up a banner’ \sqrt{dgl} (MT) and ‘to glory’ \sqrt{gdL} (LXX) (BHS).

The *Vorlage* of the LXX Psalms frequently reflects the Kethib, for example Ps. 58 (59):11 τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ, that is, *hasdô* ‘his mercy’, while the Qere has *hasdî* ‘my mercy’. But it as often mirrors the Qere, for example Ps. 139 (140):10 καλύψει αὐτούς rendering *yëkassēmô* ‘he will cover them’, while Kethib has *yëkassûmô* ‘they will cover them’. Thus, the LXX does not only represent the reading tradition reflected in the Masoretic text (Qere).

The *Vorlage* was not identical with the fully vocalized Masoretic text (MT), which is based on a Jewish synagogal reading tradition, standardized a long time after the translation of LXX Psalms. Because the translator had an unvocalized Hebrew text in front of him, certain deviations from MT may arise from alternative reading traditions of the Hebrew, rather than a different *Vorlage* in terms of the written consonants.

Rahlfs’s text of the LXX Psalms in the Göttingen edition, *Psalmi cum Odis* (hereafter *PCO*), was published in 1931 and reprinted in 1979 (Rahlfs 1979). Although *PCO* is the best available base text, represents a high standard of scholarship, and thus was an excellent accomplishment for its time, it may, in comparison with the later editions in the Göttingen series, be labelled a semi-critical edition (Gauthier 2010: 9, 31, 61).

The correspondence between Rahlfs’s text and the OG is thus open to discussion. The principles behind the edition of Rahlfs are well known. He relied upon a combination of manuscripts when he tried to establish the OG and based his edition primarily on three old text families, Upper Egyptian text (UE), Lower Egyptian text (LE), and Western text (WE), but also took into account their relation to MT (Rahlfs 1979). However, Rahlfs was not completely hamstrung by his own rules; some readings in Rahlfs’s text are contrary to the principles he laid down. Nowadays, translation-technical studies are of crucial importance for establishing the OG, but Rahlfs did not have systematic studies of translation technique to build on (Pietersma 2000: 24). *A New English Translation* (NETS) of the LXX Psalms is based on an improved version of Rahlfs’s edition.

The text critical situation has changed since *PCO*, because certain old and valuable LXX manuscripts unavailable to Rahlfs were discovered, for example Rahlfs 2149 and 2150 from the fourth century CE (Cordes 2001). However, the most significant finding since *PCO* is Rahlfs 2110, which is a valuable witness to the OG. It is not only the most complete papyrus of the LXX Psalter, containing approximately Psalms 17–118 (Pietersma 1990), it is dated to the third or fourth century CE by its editors (Kasser and Testuz 1967), and to the second century by Barthélemy (1969).

There has also been a reappraisal of the Lucianic manuscripts, at the present often labelled the Byzantine text, which are considered vital text witnesses for establishing the OG, even though they were not highly regarded by Rahlfs. Pietersma argues that a common denominator between Codex Vaticanus and the Byzantine text may be the OG itself. Pietersma’s research indicates that some variants, which have been perceived as corrections according to the Hebrew, could be equated with the OG (Pietersma 2000).

Barthélemy argued that LXX Psalms reflected a preliminary stage of the Kaige group (1963: 47). This was reinforced by Venetz (1974: 72–84), but rightly challenged by Munnich, who has shown that the LXX Psalms has no connection with the Kaige group.

Although the LXX Psalms has influenced subsequent revisions, the equivalents in the LXX Psalms identical with the Kaige group are OG readings, and are not signs of revision. However, the revisers used the vocabulary of the LXX Psalms, in the same way as the Psalms and other LXX books employed the Greek Pentateuch for their choice of vocabulary (Munnich 1983; Olofsson 2009: 168–9).

Some scholars dispute that it is possible to recover the text of the OG Psalms from the available manuscripts and argue that the conformity to the proto-MT reflects a recensional text (Ulrich 2000; Rösen-Weinhold 2001), which is only ‘secondarily brought into conformity with the proto-MT’ (Ulrich 2000: 334). However, the OG Psalter is more easily explained as a literal translation of the proto-MT text (Smith 2011: 3–6).

Most Psalms in the LXX are divided differently than in the Hebrew text, resulting in an altered numbering from Psalms 9 to 147 (MT 10–148), and there is an additional Psalm 151, quite different from the others (see Chapter 26 in this volume). There are a number of additional or expanded headings. Some of these may be liturgical, but most are historicizing, especially about David. However, these expansions in superscriptions may be subsequent to the original translation (Pietersma 2001a; 2005).

MODELS OF TRANSLATION

The adherents of the ‘interlinear’ model contend that the Psalms text was initially used as an aid to understanding the Hebrew *Vorlage* (Pietersma 2002; 2005; 2008; 2010; Boyd-Taylor 1998; 2006). Boyd-Taylor argues that the LXX Psalms translator as a rule used word-for-word counterparts, that he paraphrased difficult or obscure passages, and added glosses to the text to avoid misinterpretation. Thus, although word-for-word rendering was the dominant procedure in this model, difficult passages could be paraphrased (Boyd-Taylor 1998). The primary aim of the LXX Psalms was to render the Hebrew accessible. A modern translator could therefore interpret the Greek based on the meaning of the Hebrew, which was what the translator had intended. Thus, the basic premise behind the Interlinear Paradigm is that LXX translations were intended to be subservient to their Hebrew parent text and were only later, as the knowledge of Hebrew diminished still further, read as texts in their own right (Pietersma 2001b: 219). The translation was thus heavily source-oriented (Austermann 2003: 47–50) or reflects what is with a much-disputed metaphor named an ‘upstream perspective’, that is, a perspective close to the Hebrew original (Kraus 2006: 67–8, 79).

There are, however, literary features in the LXX text, which may modify the assumptions behind the ‘interlinear perspective’ (Dines 2004: 117). The bone of contention seems to be the position of the Hebrew text. A common supposition is that the LXX was intended from the beginning to be employed independently of the Hebrew texts from which it was translated (Dines 2004: 54). This is a ‘downstream’ perspective that looks upon OG as a text that could be interpreted apart from the Hebrew (Kraus 2006: 68, 79; see Chapter 11 in this volume on translation technique).

TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE

The Pentateuch obviously influenced the editors of the book of Psalms in Hebrew when they were shaping the five books of the Psalter. The translator of the LXX Psalms seems to have been dependent on the Greek Pentateuch for his choice of vocabulary, for example Ps. 77 (78):71 has taken over the unique and inadequate rendering of *‘ul* ‘to nurse’ by *λοχέειν* ‘give birth’ (Joosten 2008a), but the influence was more widespread (Tov 1999; Joosten 2008a). The translator did not simply reproduce what he found in his source text but was predisposed to read the Psalms in light of the Pentateuch (Tov 1999; Joosten 2008a; Austermann 2003: 208). However, there are also examples that point in the opposite direction, namely deliberate deviation from the choice of vocabulary in the Pentateuch (Olofsson 2009: 134–75; 2013).

The LXX Psalter appears to be the product of a specific effort, be it by a single translator, or by coordinated teamwork (Williams 2001). No significant differences in the vocabulary or style, as regards consistency of equivalents, the distribution of etymological renderings, or special differentiations of equivalents depending on context, can be seen within the Psalter (Smith 2011: 31). Thus, the unity of the LXX Psalms does not seem to be seriously in doubt.

As one might expect, the Hebrew text of the Psalter employs several words characteristic of poetical language, for example, *sātar*, *zēker*, *rānan* in Piel; *lēōm*, *šābar* in Piel; *hāsīd*, *hōlēlīm*, *mirmōt*, and phrases such as *hēkal-qodšēkā*, *pō‘ālē-‘āwen*. However, the translator was not prone to employing an equivalent kind of Greek poetic language: ‘Die Psalmen haben in sich eine sehr einheitliche Sprache, stark hebraisierend und völlig frei von allen typisch-griechischen Dichtervokabeln’ (Siegert 2001: 75).

The evaluation of the translation’s general character is unanimous. Nearly all scholars regard it as a more or less literal translation (see Pietersma and Wright 2007: 542). However, a literal translation is a combination of several features. Furthermore, the different aspects of literality could sometimes be adversely, rather than complementarily, related to each other, and the LXX Psalms also evinces traits that hardly can be labelled literal (Olofsson 2011: 18–22).

Several detailed systematic analyses based on grammar, which place the Psalms in relation to other LXX books in terms of literality, have been conducted. Sollamo, who studied the translation of semi-prepositions in the LXX, places the Psalms in the third out of four groups, but as one of the more literal books in this category. The first group comprises the least literal translations and the fourth group the most literal. LXX Psalms has nearly always the same position when viewed from the three different angles used by Sollamo, i.e. relative frequency of the free renderings, slavish renderings, and average intensity of the stereotyping tendency (Sollamo 1979: 281–3). Sollamo’s results are in line with those of Soisalon-Soininen (1965: 176–90) in his study of the infinitive. Tov and Wright have measured the literalness of some translation units, including LXX Psalms 30–65, according to specific criteria involving prepositions, conjunctions, suffixes, and

Greek post-position particles. The results are in a way inconclusive, since according to four of the selected criteria the Psalms are relatively literal, but not in relation to Greek post-positive particles (Tov and Wright 1985). The LXX Psalter is extremely literal as regards repetition and non-repetition of possessive pronouns in coordinate items (Sollamo 2001), but less so in relation to *min* used to express a comparison (Aejmelaeus 2001).

Martin uses the relative infrequency of certain prepositions as criteria to distinguish translated Greek from original Greek, and the Psalter was deemed to belong among the LXX books that are most influenced by 'translation Greek' (Martin 1960). Turner has also proposed criteria for detecting translation Greek: the function of ἐκεῖνος, attributive or independent, and the position of ἕνεκα and πᾶς in the sentence, which showed that the LXX Psalter is a book clearly influenced by the Hebrew in all respects (Turner 1955). Thus, the studies of translation technique in the book of Psalms and these studies of translation Greek point in the same direction.

In terms of word order the book of Psalms is one of the most literal books in the LXX with the exclusion of the frequent usage of post-positive particles. Most examples of inversion refer to the position of the personal pronoun, reflecting suffixes joined to prepositions, verbal suffixes, or noun suffixes, or they are inversions of post-positive particles, such as δέ, γάρ, οὐν, μέν, τέ, and ἄρα. However, the inversion of word order seldom involves the sequence of nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs. Some of the inversions are disputable since they may have been based on a different Hebrew *Vorlage*, or because Rahlfs's text does not always reflect the OG (Olofsson 2009: 105–33).

In Classical Greek, the verb in the singular nearly always occurs with a subject in neuter plural. The papyri from the last centuries BCE sometimes distinguish between a personal subject in neuter plural and an impersonal one. If persons were the subjects of the sentence, the verb was often used in the plural (Soisalon-Soininen 1979). This distinction was not made in the LXX Psalms, which as a rule strictly reflects the numbers of the Hebrew. In constructions involving impersonal nouns, however, the verbs were sometimes changed to singular in text transmission, which was not always recognized by Rahlfs (Jobs and Silva 2000: 277–8).

Austermann makes the most comprehensive contemporary investigation of the translation technique, when in the footsteps of Aejmelaeus he makes a distinction between qualitative and quantitative aspects of translation technique (Austermann 2003: 41–106). The translation is not extremely literal from the point of view of semantics. Although the translator has chosen a literal approach with consistency in the Hebrew–Greek equivalents, it is carried out in an unsystematic way. Sometimes he has two or more equivalents reflecting one Hebrew word. He did not systematically employ reciprocal consistency, that is 'an equivalent in Greek that is the only counterpart to a certain Hebrew word that is never employed for any other Hebrew term' (Olofsson 2011: 19 n. 21), as did Aquila. (For examples of reciprocally consistent renderings in the LXX Psalms, see Olofsson 2011: table 4.)

Occasionally the LXX translator used a single Greek equivalent for a number of non-synonymous Hebrew counterparts, that is he employed a so-called favourite word. This

applies to words related to the Law of Moses, νόμος (ἄνομος, ἀνομία, παράνομος, παρανομεῖν, νομοθετεῖν, παρανομία, ἀνόμημα, νομοθέτης), which may express a theological agenda on his part; but it also the employment of βουλή, ἐπιποθεῖν, εὐδοκία, καταγίς, ὀργή, σαλεύεσθαι, ταπεινοῦν, ταρασσεῖν along with their cognates, for several different Hebrew words that he had difficulty in rendering (Olofsson 2009: 224–76; 2011: 19).

The Psalter is a biblical book replete with stereotyped phrases and word pairs. The rendering of separate words seems to be nearly as consistent as the translation of word pairs or phrases and uses the same equivalents. However, sometimes a stricter consistency is employed for word pairs and phrases, for example when *šāmaʿ* is a word pair with *ʾāzan* (Hiphil), it is rendered by εἰσακούειν and *ʾāzan* by ἐνωτίζειν. When *ʾāzan* occurs separately, besides ἐνωτίζειν in Pss. 134 (135):17; 139 (140):7, it is translated by the synonymous term προσέχειν in 79 (80):2; 76 (77):2. The general experience is that the LXX Psalms had an identical translation of stereotyped phrases, and the variations in Hebrew are as a rule reflected in the translation.

There is a preference for changing original active verb forms in the Hebrew into passive forms in Greek, rather than the opposite. This may sporadically be a reflection of the tendency to describe theophanies of God in the passive rather than the active to preserve the transcendence of God, for example Ps. 16 (17):15 *ʾehēzeh* ‘I shall see’ is rendered by ὀφθήσομαι ‘I shall be seen.’ This is a tendency that also exists in the vocalization of MT in the Pentateuch (Exod. 23:15; 34:23; Deut. 16:16; 31:11).

Opinions regarding the translator’s knowledge of Hebrew vary. Some scholars emphasize that the translator was well-versed in the Hebrew language, others that his knowledge was less than adequate, which makes one question the criteria employed for the evaluation (Olofsson 2011: 19–24). However, it is probable that Hebrew was not the translator’s mother tongue, and he was sometimes dependent on the meaning in Aramaic. The combination of his quest for a literal translation and the fact that he sometimes did not understand the Hebrew sometimes resulted in ‘a purely mechanical translation of embarrassment’ (Rabin 1968: 24), which left it to the reader to discover the meaning of the phrase, a so-called *Verlegenheitsübersetzung*, a designation coined by Flashar (1912: 94, 252).

A certain lack of semantic precision may be disclosed when equivalents in the LXX Psalms do not distinguish between two Hebrew prepositions, although they are not synonymous in the Hebrew, for example *ʾel* ‘to’ is often rendered by ἐπί ‘on, at’ in the Psalter, or ὑπέρ ‘over, instead of’ (the normal rendering of *ʿal*), and *ʿal* is sometimes translated by πρὸς or εἰς ‘to’, which are the most common equivalents of *ʾel*. The LXX translator sometimes treats prepositions as negligible, and the addition of a personal pronoun is fairly common.

Etymology plays a part in a literal translation when etymological connections in the source language are also reflected in the target language, which is always the case, for example, in Aquila. However, there are few cases in the LXX Psalms where etymology seems to have been a factor in the choice of vocabulary, for example *tôrāh* rendered by νόμος and Hiphil of *yārāh* by νομοθετεῖν, *zāmar* by ψάλλειν and *mizmôr* by ψαλμός.

Homoeophony has been used to explain the choice of some equivalents in the LXX Psalms (Caird 1976), for example *qāhāl* translated by ἐκκλησία, ἄριγε by πηγαί, *rāgaz* by ὀργίζειν, *tōk* by τόκος, but the premise behind this supposition is rightly criticized by Barr (1985).

As a rule, the translator only used transliteration of personal names, and designations for rivers, mountains, geographical places, and so on. However, there are some cases where the counterparts are unexpected, for example *Hθαμ* and perhaps *Ιδιθουνί*, which may signal a deficient mastery of Hebrew.

Minor additions in relation to MT occur in great number as part of the translation process. The translator as a rule added εἶναι rather than using a phrase without a verb, a nominal phrase. It was possible to render nominal phrases with a similar construction in Greek, but in non-translation Greek it was restricted to certain types of expressions. According to Mayser, it was only the verb εἶναι in the infinitive or the third-person singular or plural that could be left out and the employment was limited to short general statements (Mayser 1934: 16–19). The usage seems, however, not to have been that limited, since nominal phrases were employed also in the first and second person, which is also evident in the LXX Psalms. Longer additions, on the other hand, may well reflect a Hebrew *Vorlage*.

The most common addition in *PCO* is κύριος. There are several possible explanations for this: it may be an effort to make explicit what is implicit in the *Vorlage*, an effect of the liturgical use of the Psalter, but it may also be interpreted as a way to reflect a *Vorlage* with *yhwh* or *ādōnāy*, for example Pss. 30 (31):20 (some MSS), 47 (48):12 (one MS), 118 (119):68 (11QPs^a), or the addition was absent from the OG, Pss. 87 (88):3; 93 (94):19; 118 (119):7 (Pietersma 1990; 1991). Pluses in the LXX Psalms extend to the level of the phrase, clause, and verse and they may have had a communicative function (Gauthier 2009).

THEOLOGICAL EXEGESIS

Discussions of methodological issues have been intense, not least concerning in what way the translators' theological background and milieu have influenced their translation work, so-called theological exegesis. At the centre of discussion of theological interpretation in the LXX Psalms is the question whether the understanding is based on the Greek text as interpreted by later readers without reference to the Hebrew, or whether it is interpreted with reference to the Hebrew and with the intention of the translator in focus (Smith 2011: 11–12).

Without being conscious of it, the translator was influenced by the religious situation of his time. This is true even regarding the philological analysis of his text, although this is hardly accessible to scholarly investigation, and it is not admissible as an example of theological exegesis, which implies a conscious choice of equivalents with a theological bias (Olofsson 2009: 26). Some scholars have argued that there are indications of a conscious, more or less systematic translation of a complete conceptual field in the LXX Psalms (see Chapter 7 in this volume).

This is probably the case when different terms for misbehaviour are systematically rendered by words related to law (Olofsson 2009: 224–76), although Austermann argues that an inclination towards the divine law can be elucidated with linguistic arguments and maintains that it is an understanding based on a reading of the LXX Psalter as a document of its own, and not a reflection of theological exegesis (Austermann 2003: 194–209).

Another aspect where theological exegesis has been rightly invoked refers to names and epithets for God that relate to material objects, for example rocks, shields, strongholds, which are all understood as expressions of confidence in God and translated by, for example, *θεός* ‘god’, *στερέωμα* ‘strength’, or *βοηθός* ‘helper’ and *ἀντιλήπτωρ* ‘supporter’ (Olofsson 1990: 11–14 and *passim*, pace Peters 2012). Theological motives may involve ‘a tendency to emphasize his [God’s] transcendence, and thereby free him from associations with material objects’ (Olofsson 1990: 151). Aejmelaeus considers this tendency evidence of the usage of oral tradition, which precedes the written translation, based on translation conventions that stem from religious convictions (2013: 10).

A further field of interest is the influence from messianism in the LXX Psalms, that is the anticipation of a future righteous king (Gzella 2001; Rösel 2001; essays by Knibb, Auwers, Bauks, Bons, Ausloos, and Cordes, in Knibb 2006a), an expectation that is conspicuous in later Jewish and Christian interpretations but is not as obvious in the LXX Psalms as produced. Thus, Schaper’s suggestion that a political as well as a transcendent messiah is prevalent in the LXX Psalms seldom meets with agreement (1995: 26–30). Although isolated examples of unexpected messianic interpretations can be found in the Septuagint, the LXX as a whole does not introduce messianic expectations that were not present in the Hebrew Bible (Fabry 2006).

Messianism is closely aligned to eschatology in general and some scholars have argued for an elaborated eschatological perspective in the LXX Psalms, which outgrows that of the Hebrew text (Gzella 2001; Rösel 2001). Although the Greek text is open to an eschatological understanding, one should strive to distinguish between the text *as produced* by the translator and the text *as received* by its early readers (Pietersma and Wright 2007; Cox 2001). It is true that the LXX corpus of books were influential in the Hellenization of Diaspora Judaism, even though this was hardly the intention of the translators (Olofsson 2009: 26).

RECEPTION HISTORY

The LXX Psalms was an influential book, often alluded to and quoted in Jewish literature, in apocryphal and pseudepigraphic writings, as well as in other ancient texts, especially Philo (Dines 2004: 135–42), and in other LXX books, for example, the LXX of Isaiah and Proverbs (Williams 2001). It was also important for the NT: quotations from the Psalter feature prominently throughout the Gospels and the Epistles. In the Synoptics the references are especially to be found in the Passion narrative, but they are

more evenly spread in the Gospel of John. The dependence on the LXX Psalms is clearly seen in, for example, Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, the Letter to the Hebrews, and in subsequent Christian writings, especially *1 Clement* and the *Epistle of Barnabas* and *Dialogue with Trypho* (Dines 2004: 142–51; Brucker 2006; Fernández Marcos 2000: 274–362). The LXX Psalms is the book of the Septuagint that is cited the most in Greek inscriptions. Furthermore, both Christian and non-Christian inscriptions which are independent of the LXX are rare (Fernández Marcos 2000: 267, with reference to the studies of Jalabert, Leclercq, and Feissel).

SUGGESTED READING

There are several important collections of essays on the Septuagint Psalter, edited by Aejmelaeus and Quast (2000), Zenger (2001), Hiebert, Cox, and Gentry (2001), and Kraus and Wooden (2006).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aejmelaeus, Anneli (2001). 'Characterizing Criteria for the Characterization of the Septuagint Translators: Experimenting on the Greek Psalter', in R. J. V. Hiebert, C. E. Cox, and P. J. Gentry, eds., *The Old Greek Psalter: Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma*. JSOTSSup 332. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, pp. 54–73.
- Aejmelaeus, Anneli (2013). 'The Septuagint and Oral Translation', in M. K. H. Peters, ed., *XIV Congress of the IOSCS, Helsinki 2010*. SBLSCS 59. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, pp. 5–13.
- Aejmelaeus, Anneli, and Udo Quast (2000). *Der Septuaginta-Psalter und seine Tochterübersetzungen: Symposium in Göttingen 1997*. Philologisch-historische Klasse. Dritte Folge Nr. 230. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Ausloos, Hans (2006). 'Psalm 45, Messianism and the Septuagint', in M. A. Knibb, ed., *The Septuagint and Messianism*. BETL 195. Leuven: Leuven University Press and Peeters Press, pp. 239–51.
- Austermann, Frank (2001). 'ἀνομία im Septuaginta-Psalter: Ein Beitrag zum Verhältnis Von Übersetzungsweise und Theologie', in R. Sollamo and S. Sipilä, eds., *Helsinki Perspectives on the Translation Technique of the Septuagint*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 99–137.
- Austermann, Frank (2003). *Von der Tora zum Nomos: Untersuchungen zur Übersetzungsweise und Interpretation im Septuaginta-Psalter*. MSU 27. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Auwers, Jean-Marie (2006). 'Une tente dans ou pour le soleil? Ps 18(19)₅ dans la LXX et le TM', in Michael A. Knibb, ed., *The Septuagint and Messianism*. BETL 195. Leuven: Leuven University Press and Peeters, pp. 195–202.
- Barr, James (1985). 'Doubts about Homoeophony in the Septuagint'. *Textus* 12: 1–77.
- Barthélemy, Dominique (1963). *Les Devanciers d'Aquila*. VTSup 10. Leiden: Brill.
- Barthélemy, Dominique (1969). 'Le Psautier grec et le papyrus Bodmer 24'. *RTP* 19: 106–10.
- Bauks, Michaela (2006). "'Auf die Hörner der Einhörner hin...": Hinweise auf eine messianische Relecture des Ps 21 (LXX)?', in M. A. Knibb, ed., *The Septuagint and Messianism*. BETL 195. Leuven: Leuven University Press and Peeters Press, pp. 203–15.

- Bons, Eberhard (2006). 'Le Psautier de la LXX est-il influencé par des idées eschatologiques et messianiques? Le cas des Psaumes 22LXX et 7LXX', in M. A. Knibb, ed., *The Septuagint and Messianism*. BETL 195. Leuven: Leuven University Press and Peeters Press, pp. 217–38.
- Boyd-Taylor, Cameron (1998). 'A Place in the Sun: The Interpretative Significance of LXX-Psalms 18:5c'. *BIOSCS* 31: 71–110.
- Boyd-Taylor, Cameron (2006). 'Toward the Analysis of Translational Norms: A Sighting Shot', in Melvin K. H. Peters, ed., *XII Congress of the IOSCS, Leiden, 2004*. SBLSCS 54. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, pp. 27–46.
- Boyd-Taylor, Cameron (2011) *Reading Between the Lines: The Interlinear Paradigm for Septuagint Studies*. Biblical Tools and Studies 8. Leuven: Peeters.
- Brucker, Ralph (2006). 'Observations on the "Wirkungsgeschichte" of the Septuagint Psalms in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity', in W. Kraus and R. G. Wooden, eds., *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures*. SCS 53. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, pp. 355–69.
- Caird, George B. (1976). 'Homoeophony in the Septuagint', in R. Hamerton-Kelly and R. Scroggs, eds., *Jews, Greeks and Christians: Religious Cultures in Late Antiquity. Essays in Honor of W. D. Davies*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 74–88.
- Clancy, Frank (2002). 'The Date of the LXX'. *SJOT* 16: 207–25.
- Cordes, Ariane (2001). 'Der Septuaginta-Psalter? Zur Geschichte des griechischen Psalmentextes und seiner Edition', in Erich Zenger, ed., *Der Septuaginta-Psalter: sprachliche und theologische Aspekte*. Freiburg, HBS Bd. 32. Göttingen: Herder, pp. 49–60.
- Cox, Claude E. (2001). 'Schaper's *Eschatology* Meets Kraus's *Theology of the Psalms*', in R. J. V. Hiebert, C. E. Cox, and P. J. Gentry, eds., *The Old Greek Psalter: Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma*. JSOTSup 332. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, pp. 289–311.
- Dines, Jennifer M. (2004). *The Septuagint*. London and New York, NY: T&T Clark.
- Dorival, G., M. Harl, and O. Munnich (1988). *La Bible Grecque des Septante*. Paris: Cerf.
- Fabry, Heinz-Josef (2006). 'Messianism in the Septuagint', in W. Kraus and R. G. Wooden, eds., *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures*. SCS 53. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, pp. 193–206.
- Fernández Marcos, Natalio (2000). *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Versions of the Bible*. Leiden: Brill.
- Flashar, Martin (1912). 'Exegetische Studien zum LXX-Psalter'. *ZAW* 32: 81–116, 161–89, 241–68.
- Flint, Peter W. (2000). 'Variant Readings of the Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls against the Masoretic Text and the Septuagint Psalter', in A. Aejmelaeus and U. Quast, eds., *Der Septuaginta-Psalter und seine Tochterübersetzungen: Symposium in Göttingen 1997*. Philologisch-historische Klasse. Dritte Folge Nr. 230. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 337–65.
- Flint, Peter W. (2013). 'The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls: Psalms Manuscripts, Editions, and the Oxford Hebrew Bible', in A. Rosen and S. Gillingham, eds., *Jewish and Christian Approaches to the Psalms: Conflict and Convergence*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 18–34.
- Gauthier, Randall X. (2009). 'Examining the "Pluses" in the Greek Psalter: A Study of the Septuagint Translation qua Communication', in J. Cook, ed., *Septuagint and Reception: Essays Prepared for the Association for the Study of the Septuagint in South Africa*. SupVT 127. Leiden: Brill, pp. 45–76.

- Gauthier, Randall X. (2010). *Psalms 38 and 145 of the Septuagint Version (Old Greek): An Inception Oriented Exegetical Study*. PhD diss., University of Stellenbosch.
- Gentry, Peter J. (1998). 'The Place of Theodotion-Job in the Textual History of the Septuagint', in A. Salvesen, ed., *Origen's Hexapla and Fragments*. TSAJ 58. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 199–230.
- Gzella, Holger (2001). 'Das Kalb und das Einhorn', in Erich Zenger, ed., *Der Septuaginta-Psalter: Sprachliche und theologische Aspekte*. Freiburg, HBS Bd. 32. Göttingen: Herder, pp. 257–90.
- Hiebert, R. J. V., C. E. Cox, and P. J. Gentry (2001). *The Old Greek Psalter: Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma*. JSOTSup 332. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- Jobs, Karen H. and Silva, Moisés (2000). *Invitation to the Septuagint*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic Press.
- Joosten, Jan (2008a). 'The Impact of the Septuagint Pentateuch on the Greek Psalms', in Melvin K. H. Peters, ed., *xiii Congress of the IOSCS. Ljubljana, 2007*. SBLSCS 55. Atlanta: Scholars Press, pp. 197–205.
- Joosten, Jan (2008b). 'Reflections on the "Interlinear Paradigm" in Septuagintal Studies', in A. Voitila and J. Jokiranta, eds., *Scripture in Transition: Essays on Septuagint, Hebrew Bible, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of Raija Sollamo*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 163–78.
- Kasser, Rodolphe, and Michel Testuz (1967). *Papyrus Bodmer XXIV: Psaumes XVII–CXVIII*. Coligny and Geneva: Bibliotheca Bodmeriana.
- Knibb, Michael A. (2006a). *The Septuagint and Messianism*. BETL 195. Leuven: Leuven University Press and Peeters.
- Knibb, Michael A. (2006b). 'The Septugint and Messianism: Problems and Issues', in Michael A. Knibb, ed., *The Septuagint and Messianism*. BETL 195. Leuven: Leuven University Press and Peeters Press, pp. 3–19.
- Kraus, Wolfgang (2006). 'Contemporary Translations of the Septuagint: Problems and Perspectives', in W. Kraus and R. G. Wooden, eds., *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures*. SCS 53. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, pp. 63–78.
- Kraus, Wolfgang, and R. Glenn Wooden (2006). *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures*. SCS 53. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.
- Martin, Raymond A. (1960). 'Some Syntactical Criteria of Translation Greek'. *VT* 10: 295–310.
- Mayser, Edwin (1934). *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit, mit Einschluss der gleichzeitigen Ostraka und der in Ägypten verfassten Inschriften*. Band II:3. Satzlehre. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Munnich, Olivier (1983). 'La Septante des Psaumes et le groupe kaige'. *VT* 33: 75–89.
- Munnich, Olivier (1987). 'Contribution à l'étude de la première révision de la Septante', in W. Haase and H. Temporini, eds., *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung* 20. Berlin: De Gruyter, pp. 190–220.
- Muraoka, Takamitsu (2008). 'Recent Discussions on the Septuagint Lexicography with Special Reference to the So-Called Interlinear Model', in M. Karrer and W. Kraus, eds., *Die Septuaginta: Texte, Kontexte, Lebenswelten*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 221–35.
- Olofsson, Staffan (1990). *God Is My Rock: A Study of Translation Technique and Theological Exegesis in the Septuagint*. ConBOT 31. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell.

- Olofsson, Staffan (2009). *Translation Technique and Theological Exegesis: Collected Essays on the Septuagint Version*. ConBOT 57. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- Olofsson, Staffan (2011). *As a Deer Longs for Flowing Streams: A Study of the Septuagint Version of Ps 42–43 in Its Relation to the Hebrew Text, De Septuaginta Investigationes* 1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Olofsson, Staffan (2013). 'The Non-Dependence of the Psalms Translator in Relation to the Translators of the Pentateuch', in M. K. H. Peters, ed., *XIV Congress of the IOSCS, Helsinki 2010*. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, pp. 625–43.
- Peters, Melvin K. H. (2012). 'Revisiting the Rock: Tsur as a Translation of Elohim in Deuteronomy and Beyond', in J. Cook and H.-J. Stipp, eds., *Text-Critical and Hermeneutical Studies in the Septuagint*. VTSup 157. Leiden: Brill, pp. 37–51.
- Pietersma, Albert (1990). 'Ra 2110 (P. Bodmer XXIV) and the Text of the Greek Psalter', in D. Fraenkel, U. Quast, and J. W. Wevers, eds., *Studien zur Septuaginta: Robert Hanhart zu Ehren*. MSU 20. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 262–86.
- Pietersma, Albert (1991). 'Articulation in the Greek Psalms: The Evidence of Papyrus Bodmer XXIV', in G. J. Norton and S. Pisano, eds., *Tradition of the Text: Studies Offered to Dominique Barthélemy in Celebration of his 70th Birthday*. OBO 109. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 184–202.
- Pietersma, Albert (2000). 'The Present State of the Critical Text of the Greek Psalter', in A. Aejmelaeus and U. Quast, eds., *Der Septuaginta-Psalter und seine Tochterübersetzungen: Symposium in Göttingen 1997*. Philologisch-historische Klasse. Dritte Folge Nr. 230. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 12–32.
- Pietersma, Albert (2001a). 'Exegesis and Liturgy in the Superscriptions of the Greek Psalter', in Bernard Taylor, ed., *X Congress of the IOSCS, Oslo 1998*. SBLSCS 51. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, pp. 99–138.
- Pietersma, Albert (2001b). 'The Place of Origin of the Old Greek Psalter', in P. M. Michèle Daviau, J. W. Wevers, and M. Weigl, eds., *The World of the Aramaeans I: Biblical Studies in Honour of Paul-Eugène Dion*. JSOTSSup 326. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, pp. 252–74.
- Pietersma, Albert (2002). 'A New Paradigm for Addressing Old Questions: The Relevance of the Interlinear Model for the Study of the Septuagint', in J. Cook, ed., *Bible and Computer: The Stellenbosch AIBI-6 Conference. Proceedings of the Association Internationale Bible et Informatique 'From Alpha to Byte'*. University of Stellenbosch 17–21 July, 2000. Leiden: Brill, pp. 337–64.
- Pietersma, Albert (2005). 'Septuagintal Exegesis and the Superscriptions of the Greek Psalter', in P. W. Flint and P. D. Miller, eds., *The Book of Psalms: Composition and Reception*. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, pp. 443–75.
- Pietersma, Albert (2008). 'Translating a Translation with Examples from the Greek Psalter', in Hans Ausloos, Johann Cook, et al., eds., *Translating a Translation: The LXX and Its Modern Translations in the Context of Early Judaism*. BETL 118. Leuven and Dudley: Peeters, pp. 169–82.
- Pietersma, Albert (2010). 'Beyond Literalism: Interlinearity Revisited', in R. J. V. Hiebert, ed., *'Translation is Required': The Septuagint in Retrospect and Prospect*. SBLSCS 56. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, pp. 3–21.
- Pietersma, Albert, and Benjamin G. Wright (2007). *A New English Translation of the Septuagint and Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included under That Title*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Rabin, Chaim (1968). 'The Translation Process and the Character of the Septuagint'. *Textus* 6: 1–26.
- Rahlf's, Alfred (1979³). *Psalmi cum Odis*. VTG 10. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Rösel, Martin (2001). 'Die Psalmenüberschrift des *Septuaginta-Psalter*s', in E. Zenger, ed., *Der Septuaginta-Psalter: Sprachliche und theologische Aspekte*. HBS 32. Freiburg: Herder, pp. 125–48.
- Rösel, Martin (2012). 'Translators as Interpreters: Scriptural Interpretation in the Septuagint', in M. Henze, ed., *A Companion to Biblical Interpretation in Early Judaism*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, pp. 64–91.
- Rüsen-Weinhold, U. (2001). 'Der Septuaginta-Psalter in seinen verschiedenen Textformen zur Zeit des Neuen Testaments', in E. Zenger, ed., *Der Septuaginta-Psalter: Sprachliche und theologische Aspekte*. HBS 32. Freiburg: Herder, pp. 61–87.
- Schaper, Joachim (1994). 'Der Septuaginta-Psalter als Dokument jüdischer Eschatologie', in M. Hengel and A. M. Schwemer, eds., *Die Septuaginta zwischen Judentum und Christentum*, WUNT 7. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 38–61.
- Schaper, Joachim (1995). *Eschatology in the Greek Psalter*. WUNT 2. Reihe 76. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Siegert, Folker (2001). *Zwischen Hebräischer Bibel und Altem Testament: Eine Einführung in die Septuaginta*. MJSt 9. Münster: Lit-Verl.
- Smith, Jannes (2011). *Translated Hallelujahs: A Linguistic and Exegetical Commentary on Select Septuagint Psalms*. Leuven: Peeters.
- Soisalon-Soininen, Ilmari (1965). *Die Infinitive in der Septuaginta*. AASF B 132:1. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia.
- Soisalon-Soininen, Ilmari (1979). 'Neutrum Plural im griechischen Pentateuch'. *VT* 29: 189–99.
- Sollamo, Raija (1979). *Renderings of Hebrew Semiprepositions in the Septuagint*. AASF. DHL 19. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia.
- Sollamo, Raija (2001). 'Repetition of Possessive Pronouns in the Greek Psalter', in R. J. V. Hiebert, C. E. Cox, and P. J. Gentry, eds., *The Old Greek Psalter: Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma*. JSOTSSup 332. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, pp. 44–53.
- Tov, Emanuel (1999). 'The Impact of the LXX Translation of the Pentateuch on the Translation of the Other Books', in E. Tov, ed., *The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint*. SupVT 72. Leiden: Brill, pp. 183–94.
- Tov, Emanuel, and Benjamin G. Wright (1985). 'Computer-Assisted Study of the Criteria for Assessing the Literalness of Translation Units in the LXX'. *Textus* 12: 158–87.
- Troxel, Ronald L. (2008). *LXX-Isaiah as Translation and Interpretation: The Strategies of the Translator of the Septuagint of Isaiah*. JSJSup 124. Leiden: Brill.
- Turner, Nigel (1955). 'The Unique Character of Biblical Greek'. *VT* 5: 208–13.
- Ulrich, Eugene (2000). 'The Dead Sea Scrolls and Their Implications for an Edition of the Septuagint Psalter', in A. Aejmelaeus and U. Quast, eds., *Der Septuaginta-Psalter und seine Tochterübersetzungen: Symposium in Göttingen 1997*. Philologisch-historische Klasse. Dritte Folge Nr. 230. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 323–36.
- van der Kooij, Arie (1983). 'On the Place of Origin of the Old Greek of Psalms'. *VT* 33: 67–74.
- van der Kooij, Arie (2001). 'The Septuagint of Psalms and the First Book of Maccabees', in R. J. V. Hiebert, C. E. Cox, and P. J. Gentry, eds., *The Old Greek Psalter: Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma*. JSOTSSup 332. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, pp. 229–47.

- Venez, Hermann-Josef (1974). *Die Quinta des Psalteriums: Ein Beitrag zur Septuaginta- und Hexaplaforchung*. PIRHT, Sect. Biblique et Masorétique 1:2. Hildesheim: Gerstenberg.
- Williams, Tyler F. (2001). 'Towards a Date for the Old Greek Psalter', in R. J.V. Hiebert, C. E. Cox, and P. J. Gentry, eds., *The Old Greek Psalter: Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma*. JSOTSSup 332. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, pp. 248–76.
- Zenger, Erich (2001). *Der Septuaginta-Psalter: Sprachliche und theologische Aspekte*. Freiburg, HBS Bd. 32. Göttingen: Herder.

CHAPTER 24

PROVERBS

LORENZO CUPPI

A SURVEY OF THE EVOLUTION OF THE DEBATES ON LXX PROVERBS

Text Critical Studies

FROM the Renaissance until the First World War scholarly interest in the LXX of the book of Proverbs was mainly inspired by its importance for textual criticism of the MT. The first comprehensive and still useful critical commentary on the Greek Proverbs was produced by Johann G. Jäger (1788). But it is with Paul de Lagarde (1863) that modern research on LXX Proverbs began. Although highly conjectural, his observations still deserve attention. The monograph is particularly important for Old Testament criticism since in it the author formulates his famous three axioms ('drei axiome') two of which are particularly important for the Greek Proverbs:

- 2) when a verse or a part of it is preserved in both a free and a slavishly accurate translation, the first one is to be regarded as authentic;
- 3) when two readings are found side by side, of which one renders the MT and the other one can be only explained by an original text divergent from it, the latter has to be taken as original

(Lagarde 1863: 3).

Lagarde (1863, *passim*) was convinced that a *Revisor* had interpolated the original text of Proverbs.

A critical commentary on the text of the book of Proverbs was also the subject of the doctoral thesis of Antoine J. Baumgartner (1890), the first scholar to have displayed and discussed most of the characteristic questions of the Greek translation. In his conclusions Baumgartner pointed to the difference between the Hebrew and Greek languages—especially insofar as the genre of the proverb is concerned—as the primary reason for the interpretational character of the translation and for its literary manner. Hence, in his opinion, the question of a different *Vorlage* for the Greek Proverbs cannot be posed in relation to the addition of a mere word or phrase, but only where an additional line or verse occurs (Baumgartner 1890: 249). Baumgartner also believed that certain passages in LXX Proverbs suggested the existence of a *Vorlage* that occasionally differed from the MT (1890: 250).

Baumgartner offers a list of 17 hermeneutical principles that drove the work of the translator. These include the use of two words to render a significant Hebrew term requiring particular stress (1890: 251). In addition, sometimes the translator seems not to have fully understood some terms in the Hebrew, leading to a rather approximate rendering (1890: 252). For Baumgartner, the translator was an educated man versed in a lexicon unfamiliar to the other LXX translators and conversant with classical references (1890: 253). He also tended to transform synthetical distichs in antithetical ones (1890: 253).

Baumgartner also offers a list of reasons for the faulty translations. He maintains that the *Vorlage* was written in *scriptio continua* since the translation sometimes reflects two words read as one, or one word divided in two; this may also be the cause of stichometric errors, since we find final or initial words in two different stichs in the MT and in the translation. Baumgartner posits the lack of vocalisation as another major cause of erroneous renderings. Another feature is metathesis, especially for the roots *'br* and *'rb*, which Baumgartner ascribes to carelessness. He accounts for the double translations as later insertions of glosses, or marginal readings. He also acknowledges that sometimes the translator may have understood a Hebrew root as if it were Aramaic or Syriac (1890: 254–7). Furthermore, against Lagarde, Baumgartner is the first to suggest that the text could have been amended by Jewish scribes, particularly in the Pharisaic tradition (1890: 257).

As for the additions, Baumgartner refers explicitly to Prov. 25:1: ‘These are also proverbs of Solomon, which the men of Hezekiah king of Judah *he'tiqû*.’ In Baumgartner’s view this verb is to be interpreted not only as ‘to collect’ or ‘to put in order’ but also as referring to a ‘selection’. Thus some of the fragments which the companions of king Hezekiah had left out could have reached the Greek translator and may be those now found in the Greek additions (1890: 260–1). In contrast, Baumgartner ascribed the ‘omissions’ to a faulty *Vorlage*, which also was the cause of the many reading errors encountered (1890: 263–4).

At the very end of the nineteenth century, Crawford H. Toy also argued for the utility of the Greek Proverbs for recovering the Hebrew text which ‘is not in good condition’ (Toy 1899: xxxi). Toy considers the different order of the chapters to reflect the translator’s Hebrew *Vorlage*, which was ‘manifestly inferior’ to that of the MT, rather than due to changes made by the Greek translator (1899: xxxiii).

In 1913 Giacomo Mezzacasa published a study on the Alexandrian additions found in some Greek and Sahidic manuscripts. His research is rooted in the theological question concerning the canonical status of the numerous LXX additions. The author claims that if the translation is taken in its own right it can be shown that its *Vorlage* did not differ substantially from MT Proverbs. In fact the differences and additions either originate from a variant reading of the same Hebrew text or from a (later?) inner Greek insertion (Mezzacasa 1913: 104–5). Mezzacasa also examines the additions found in Greek and Sahidic, including a number of doublets. He argues that some material may derive from Origen's Hexapla, or even from a pre-Hexaplaric recension (1913: 96–103, esp. 98).

Finally, Henry St. J. Thackeray devoted a paper to the prosody of the Greek Proverbs, particularly aiming to demonstrate how much the acknowledgment of the 'versification pervading the Greek version serves a practical purpose of some importance in textual criticism' (Thackeray 1912: 65). The contribution remains particularly persuasive in showing that hexametric endings (*versus paroemiaci*) and iambic trimeters, both employed for proverbs in Greek language, are 'largely represented in the Greek book of Proverbs' (Thackeray 1912: 47).

No further text-critical study was published until Charles T. Fritsch (1953) devoted a paper to the study of the double translations in the LXX of Proverbs. Fritsch pointed out 76 double translations, arguing that in each case the doublet nearer to the MT was inserted by the Hexaplaric recension (1953: 170). He noted that in 31 occurrences the Syro-Hexapla preserved some Origenian critical signs from the fifth column of the Hexapla coinciding with the double translations, leaving, however, 45 of them without any mark (1953: 171). From this he argued, against Swete (1914: 112), 'that [the] S[yro-] H[exaplar] did not "scrupulously" retain all of the Origenian signs' (1953: 171). Unfortunately, the main effect of this paper resulted in the common opinion that the text of the LXX of Proverbs edited by Alfred Rahlfs (1935) was unreliable, which is far from the case.

In the following decade an interesting paper by Hans Peter Rieger dealt with the doublet attested in Prov 31:30b–c, *γυνή γὰρ συνετὴ ἐυλογεῖται, φόβον δὲ κυρίου αὐτῆ ἀνείτω* (Rieger 1969–70). Stich b, according to Lagarde's axiom should be regarded as the older one because it is the farthest from the MT. As previously proposed by Toy (1899: 550), *nbwnh*, 'intelligent (woman)', may have been replaced by *yr't yhw* 'god-fearing'. Such a substitution is actually attested in Sir. 16:4a and in Sir. 9:15a. Rieger's article opens a small window onto the history of the Hebrew text in its formation, especially on the importance of scribal activity for the transmission of the text itself, and on the manner in which the translator worked. In fact, here we may be dealing with a double translation: it seems that the translator was aware of the two different readings and decided to render both of them.

Papyrological discoveries have not added relevant new data for the text-critical appraisal of the Greek Proverbs, with the significant exception of the peculiar readings of Antinoopolis Papyrus 8/210. These fragments of a papyrus codex (Ra 928) display the Greek text of the book of Proverbs, Wisdom of Solomon, and Sirach (Rahlfs and

Fraenkel 2004: 284–7). Due to the poor condition of the fragments, the text has been edited three times, by Roberts (1950), Zuntz (1956), and Barns (Barns and Zilliagus 1967: 177–80), and inspected again by Jenkins (1987) and by Cuppi (2012b: 22–6).

Roberts dated Ra 928 to the second half of the third century, and noted the significance of the text it exhibited. He noticed a particular agreement with Codex Venetus which, at least for Proverbs, constitutes our best Greek witness to the Hexaplaric text (Roberts 1950: 2–3). The papyrus is more generally dated to the third century by Eric G. Turner (1977: 179), and by Fraenkel (Rahlfs and Fraenkel 2004: 284). Daniela Colomo, Curator of the Oxyrhynchus Collection in the Sackler Library, prefers a later date, up to the beginning of the fourth century, since she detects in the hand some archaizing features. This is an important indication of the relation between 928 and the Hexaplaric text. In fact, due to its early dating, both Roberts and Günther Zuntz argued for its pre-Origenic origin (Roberts 1950: 3; Zuntz 1956: 181; see also Katz's review of Roberts, 1955: 738). To support this view they interpreted a number of readings unique to 928 as independent corrections toward the Hebrew.

John W. Wevers (1968) has convincingly argued against this contention. After an analysis of the nine important variant readings shown by the papyrus, he concludes that though there are signs of pre-Origenic revision, as Barthélemy indicated, this text is not clear proof of that, since these variant readings are either trivial, or already attested in some Hexaplaric witness (Wevers 1968: 59–60). If one considers that no independent correction toward the Hebrew is found, it seems difficult to believe that this codex is completely unrelated to the Hexapla. We are likely to be dealing here with a text-critical work based on it, partially independent of the fifth column.

The Cultural Ambience of the Translation

Between the two world wars, interest in the text-critical value of LXX Proverbs rather waned in favour of an investigation of the cultural environment in which the Greek version originated.

In 1929 Hans Lewy, in a long footnote, offered a short study of Prov. 9:1–6 (Lewy 1929: 14–17 n. 3). He accepts the reading of the most ancient codices in Prov. 9:6a, *ἵνα εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα βασιλεύσητε*, and introduces an interesting comparison with Wisd. 5:15. Lewy also rejects Lagarde's contention of Christian intrusions in the translation (Lewy 1929: 16). After noting the relevant additions of the words *κήρυγμα* 'proclamation' and *κρατήρ* 'wine bowl', he suggests that the oldest propaganda speech of the Jewish *Sophia*, intended for a Greek audience, might be in competition with the Greek mysteries. He adduces parallel texts which indicate that the contents of the *κρατήρ* might be *Sophia* itself, and that the libation has a sacramental value. He concludes: 'The translator of Proverbs... transfers... the themes from the Greek mystery cult to the portrayal of the Jewish banquet of Wisdom... Hence, this Greek translation represents the first stage of the path of the adaptation of Jewish sapiential teaching to the Hellenistic mind' (Lewy 1929: 17).

In his 1936 paper Georg Bertram accepts a different *Vorlage* for the Greek Proverbs on occasion, but stresses that the Greek sometimes ‘produces... a religious statement from a secular one’ (Bertram 1936: 160). He discerns also a concurrent tendency when ‘in the LXX many times radical theological statements of the MT are attenuated or neutralized in favour of an ethicized religiousness of the middle way (Durchschnittsreligiosität)’ (Bertram 1936: 160–1). The article frequently reflects the ideological Lutheran approach of the period, for instance when it detects the substitution of the Old Testament religion of grace (‘alttestamentlichen Gnadenreligion’) with the Jewish religion of effort (‘jüdische Leistungsreligion’) (Bertram 1936: 161, regarding MT Prov. 16:7 = LXX 15:28A). Noteworthy for the dating of the translation is also Bertram’s understanding of Prov. 9:6, based on the stich preserved in the most ancient codices: according to the author the passage shows an eschatological shift (1936: 164 and n. 63).

Twenty years later a major contribution was offered by Gillis Gerleman (1956). The author argued for the necessity of a clear exposition of the translator’s nature and aims in order to form an opinion of the text-critical value of the translation (1956: 5). Gerleman believed that that ‘the aesthetic value’ of Hebrew Proverbs, produced by various stylistic devices, was reproduced and reinforced by the Greek translator (1956: 14), and was convinced by Thackeray’s arguments for the existence of versification on the basis of the hexameter endings (1956: 15). Another important characteristic for Gerleman is ‘that the synonymous parallelisms of the Hebrew text have, to a large extent, had their places taken by antitheses’ (1956: 18). Thus he argued that divergences of this type between MT and LXX Proverbs were not from a non-MT *Vorlage* (1956: 25). Metaphors of the original are moderated or even weeded out (1956: 26), while there are numerous ‘echoes’ of Greek authors such as Homer, Plato, Aristotle, Aeschylus, Euripides (1956: 28). Gerleman noted that the translator distinguishes between *φρόνησις* and *σοφία* ‘in a manner which displays familiarity with the philosophical usage’ (1956: 52 n. 3). Regarding the religion and ethics of LXX Proverbs, Gerleman argues that the translator chose ‘to underline the religious character by slight changes of the wording in order to make the proverbs more explicitly religious and moralizing’, since he found the Hebrew of Proverbs ‘too secular’ (1956: 38). Nonetheless, in spite of what had been argued by Baumgartner, rabbinic midrashic treatments of Proverbs had little in common with those found in LXX Proverbs, and there was no trace of an identification of Wisdom and Torah (1956: 42). According to Gerleman, in contrast to the LXX of the Pentateuch, the Psalms, and the Prophets, LXX Proverbs failed to treat the word *tôrā* as a technical term. In fact, his favourite word is not *ἄνομος* or *παράνομος*, but *κακός* which translates here, in addition to its normal equivalent *raʿ* (‘evil’), ten other Hebrew words (1956: 44–5). Gerleman criticizes even more strongly Bertram’s ‘attempt to find mystical, ecstatic-gnostic features in the LXX Proverbs’ (cf. Bertram 1936: 162–3; Gerleman 1956: 43). Finally the author sees Stoic influence in the use of the term *ἀρμόζουσα* in LXX Prov. 8:30 (1956: 57). Gerleman’s monograph had considerable impact, and these opinions were to be widely debated in the following decades.

A rarely cited paper of Jacob Weingreen aims to show that the interpretations of the Greek translation, above all the moralizing ones, are an example of rabbinic-type

commentary which, along with editorial notes giving an official interpretation of a passage, he sees as 'as an element in the possible reconstruction of the cultural-religious life of Alexandrian Jewry' (Weingreen 1977: 407, 413). Weingreen concluded that LXX Proverbs 'may be described as a Targum' (1977: 413).

In 1984 Anna Passoni Dell'Acqua published a notable commentary which systematically compared the Hebrew and the Greek texts of Proverbs ch. 8. It may be relevant to mention her interpretation of *συμπαρήμην αὐτῶ* (Prov. 8: 27), which translates *šm 'ny*: 'This verb seems to underline a more substantial participation of Wisdom in Creation than the sentence "I was there" which one reads in Hebrew' (1984: 132). The observation that in Prov. 8:25b Wisdom is said to be 'generated' (*γεννᾶ με*) and not just 'created' seems to imply a warranty of Wisdom's higher status (1984: 144).

In 1986 Karl-Gustav Sandelin devoted a book to the characterization of Wisdom as a nourisher. He deals with the Greek version of Prov. 9:1–6 on account of its major deviations from the MT. He notes the difficulty of showing that the Greek translator 'deliberately used the words *κρατήρ* and *κήρυγμα* in order to guide the thoughts of his readers to the mysteries' (Sandelin 1986: 76; cf. Lewy 1929: 15 n. 3). Sandelin prefers to move the problem to the level of the reader who may have 'possessed the required frame of reference, as a parallel to some Hellenistic mystery religion' (1986: 76).

In the second part of a paper devoted to the Greek Job, John G. Gammie counters Gerleman's view that the LXX of Job and Proverbs had the same translator (1987: 15). Against the some 26 expressions proposed by Gerleman (1956: 59–60), Gammie illustrates a similar number of translational attitudes where the two versions are proved to run in a very different way. He also notes correspondences between Greek Proverbs and Sirach that might suggest that LXX Proverbs originated in Palestine (1987: 30). Finally Gammie argues against Gerleman's association of the Greek Proverbs with 'a circle sympathetic toward Stoicism', given that the translator's position concerning wealth seems far from a Stoic one (1987: 29).

THE PRESENT STATE OF THE QUESTION

Further Research on the Cultural Horizon of the Translation

Arguably, the contemporary debate opened at the beginning of the 1990s, after the discovery and the edition of the Dead Sea Scrolls had hugely widened scholarly perspectives on the late Second Temple period. The first contribution of the new tendency can be considered the relevant study published in 1990 by Michael B. Dick.

The article examines the ethics of the translation and therefore focuses 'on the tendencies of the Greek text both (a) towards an increased and more explicit moralizing and (b) towards de-emphasizing the theology of an afterlife' (Dick 1990: 20). Dick believes LXX Proverbs to be 'surprisingly innocent of Hellenistic Greek ethical language'

and that its moral evolution is consonant with ‘developments witnessed even within the Masoretic text’. Thus it may have originated not in Hellenistic Alexandria but from ‘a more conservative Greek-speaking Jewish school perhaps resident in Palestine’ (1990: 20). As for dating, Dick observes that although the translator of Ben Sira (132 BCE) does not cite Proverbs according to the LXX text, LXX Proverbs was probably translated ‘not later than the second century B.C.E.’ In fact, LXX Proverbs ‘both consciously plays down a theology of the afterlife and yet still has a universalistic outlook’: this arguably would indicate an early second century date. In any case, Philo of Alexandria’s five citations from LXX Proverbs also establish its *terminus ad quem* (Dick 1990: 21).

Dick also acknowledges that LXX Proverbs’s frequent conversion of Hebrew synonymous parallelism to antithetic parallelism reflects a preference in Greek for antithesis and dislike of synonymity (1990: 22). He also argues that these antitheses tend towards the moral dualism of contemporary Jews and Greeks. Eighteen occurrences, out of 95, use the lexeme *κακός* without any correspondence in the MT (1990: 22–3). Dick contends that the translator is aware of the philosophical distinction between *σοφία* and *φρόνησις* (1990: 46; cf. Gerleman 1956: 52), and, in general, technical philosophical vocabulary is lacking (Dick 1990: 49). In conclusion, he argues that LXX Proverbs highlights ‘natural retribution’, ‘conspicuously avoids much of the lexicon of Greek ethics’, ‘does not stress a transcendent eschatology’, and lacks ‘Torah-based ethics’ (Dick 1990: 49). He believes that such features, along with an ‘avoidance of the lexicon and theologumena most typical of the diaspora’, may indicate that the translation was made in Jerusalem before the Maccabean revolt (Dick 1990: 50).

In the last two decades Johann Cook has, more than anyone else, applied himself to the interpretation of LXX Proverbs, producing many articles, a monograph, and the NETS English translation of the book (2007). Cook’s monograph *The Septuagint of Proverbs* (1997) deals with the question of whether the Greek Proverbs share a Hellenistic *Weltanschauung*, a matter widely discussed since the contributions of Bertram and Gerleman. It concludes that LXX Proverbs ‘should not be seen as a Hellenistic document as suggested by Gerleman, nor even as Hellenistic-Jewish document as some would have it. The “weltanschauliche” position of the translator . . . is too conspicuously Jewish; therefore I interpret this translation unit as *Jewish-Hellenistic* writing’ (Cook 1997: 320).

Although Cook claims to be aware of the complex nature of the main concepts he uses, namely Hellenism and Judaism, he fails to define these concepts adequately, and implies a kind of dualistic opposition of the two concepts. However, such a dualistic filter is not the appropriate intellectual instrument to understand the world of the translator, as if the latter could only be either a liberal Hellenistic philosopher or a conservative Jewish theologian. Recent debate has satisfactorily proved that the real world in the second century was far more complex (Millar 1987; Collins and Sterling 2001; Bakhos 2005).

Yet, thanks to Cook’s analysis some light has been thrown on a debated question. The author is right in noting that the word *tôrā* is translated with the singular *νόμος* only if the law of God is referred to. Cook is also probably correct in avoiding, for LXX Proverbs, an identification between the law and wisdom, and marking in this way a distance from Ben Sira.

Cook also dealt with the delicate question concerning the reason for the impressive number of divergent renderings in the LXX of this book: if the translator was responsible for most of them, they may help in determining ‘the “theology” of this translation’ (1997: 2). The free rendering of the translator’s Hebrew *Vorlage* reflects ‘the drive to make the intention of his parent text, *as he understood it*, evident to his readers’ (1997: 316).

Nonetheless in Cook’s opinion the translator had a conservative, Jewish, theological view, attested by ‘the large number of dualisms’ (1997: 318), in contrast to Gerleman’s argument for Stoic perspectives in the translation. Cook connects the enthusiasm of the translator for creating antithetical parallelism to an alleged dualistic *Weltanschauung*, apparently overlooking the Greek preference for stylistic antithesis noted by Dick (1990: 22). Thus Cook ventures to identify in the translator’s propensity for contrasts the influence of ‘“apocalyptic” contexts’ (1997: 333).

It has been already suggested that the concepts of Hellenism and Judaism are not adequately defined in Cook’s work. If, in addition, the hypothesis of an apocalyptic influence on the translation stands unsubstantiated, not very much is left to support Cook’s proposal to locate the translation in Palestine at the time of the Maccabees (1997: 326–7). Moreover, a counterargument is valid: if the allegedly more conservative Greek Ben Sira was translated in Alexandria, then the same might be true, even more so, for the Greek Proverbs.

Dating, Location, and Authorship of the Translation

The question of provenance and date is thus still open. David-Marc d’Hamonville (2000), in his introduction to the French translation of LXX Proverbs, produces a number of philological arguments which suggest that the work is to be located in Egypt. First, he agrees with the results of Martin Hengel (1974: I.162–9) who proposed a date of composition in 170 BCE, since the philosophical conceptions of the book resemble those of Aristobulus and of the *Letter of Aristeas*. D’Hamonville judges that the beginning of the reign of Ptolemy VI Philometor (181–145 BCE) is the historical context which best suits the translation of Proverbs (d’Hamonville 2000: 23–4). Some geographical and climatic details represent captivating hints, such as absence of bears in LXX Prov. 17:12 and 28:15 (there are no traces of this animal below the 30th parallel). Moreover, there is an emphasis on political and juridical subjects, while agricultural and meteorological ones are treated somewhat imprecisely. D’Hamonville therefore concludes that LXX Proverbs originated in an elite environment, close to royal and political circles (2000: 25).

It is within this elite Jewish milieu that d’Hamonville suggests locating both the translator and the Jewish philosopher Aristobulus. Following Hengel (1974: I.163) he notes that the fragment of Aristobulus’s work preserved in Eusebius’s *Praeparatio Evangelica* (XIII.12.1–16) has interesting parallels with the Greek form of the poem of Creation (Prov. 8:21A–31) in comparison with the MT, which would suggest a date around 170 BCE (d’Hamonville 2000: 135).

D'Hamonville finds another common trait between Aristobulus and the translator of Proverbs, namely their approach to Greek culture: the translator regards Solomon in the same way that Aristobulus does Moses, as the true author of ways of thinking accepted by the Greeks: 'In both instances, a real knowledge of Greek culture is required, and the primacy of Judaism is affirmed' (2000: 136). D'Hamonville is also inclined to accept the notion in 2 Macc. 1:10 where Aristobulus is mentioned as the *διδάσκαλος τοῦ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ βασιλέως*. This appears confirmed by the tradition referred to by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* I.150.1, ed. Stählin) and Eusebius (*Praep. ev.* VII.13; VIII.9.38; IX.6.6–8, ed. Mras) that the philosopher dedicated to King Ptolemy a number of books in which he explained the law of Moses. Moreover, according to a paschal canon of Anatolius of Laodicea (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* VII.32.16, ed. Schwartz), Aristobulus is said to have been one of the Seventy translators of the Pentateuch. Even if Anatolius's chronological data are untenable, D'Hamonville argues for some substance to this tradition that regards Aristobulus not only as an exegete but also as a 'translator' of the Scriptures (2000: 138).

D'Hamonville's hypothesis is that in c.175 BCE Aristobulus, who was effectively tutor to the young Philometor, translated or commissioned a translation of the book of Proverbs for his pupil. He argues that LXX Proverbs hints at its royal addressee in its distinctive treatment of the figure of the king, a king's son, and of the character of the 'mother': the mother of Philometor (*Φιλο-μήτωρ*) acted as regent from 181 to 176 BCE. This gives added significance to expressions such as *θεσμοὶ μητρός σου*, 'the civil, administrative laws of your mother' (cf. Prov. 1:8; 6:20) (d'Hamonville 2000: 138).

James Aitken also addresses the theme of kingship (Aitken 2007). The study is mainly terminological and, according to the author, 'it may well be that Proverbs, on these criteria, is the most poetic of all the LXX books' (2007: 195). Aitken adds to d'Hamonville's observation on the word *θεσμοὶ* his own remarks on the use of *χρηματισμός* in Prov. 31:1 in connection with the king's mother. In his opinion here the term cannot mean 'oracle', but has 'to denote a "decree," "petition," or any form of legal "document" or "report"' (2007: 196). Aitken also notes that in Prov. 1:21 an additional line similar to 8:3 is added: 'It is striking... how the translator emphasizes the political role of the female figure of Wisdom, an image that could recall the role of Ptolemaic queens, of whom we might be reminded in the allusion to Philometor's mother' (2007: 197).

As can be seen, a certain agreement has been reached on locating the version in the cultural world of the second century BCE, but on the basis of few literary or historical arguments. Thackeray had suggested a date not earlier than 100 BCE on the ground of some orthographical peculiarities (1912: 58–9; cf. also his *Grammar* [1909: 13–16, 58–62]). Gerleman, after discussing and rejecting the dating proposed by Thackeray, demonstrated affinities with the Wisdom of Solomon and LXX Job, arguing that the date of the translation 'must be based upon its close relationship to Wisdom and the LXX Job' (1956: 60). Caterina Moro also observed that Thackeray's late dating is challenged by Aristobulus's allusion to Proverbs referred to also in Clement of Alexandria (Moro 2001: 392 n. 6; Thackeray 1912: 58–9; Clement, *Strom.* VI.138.4, ed. Stählin). Unfortunately, Moro does not offer any further comments. However, the present writer has also observed this phenomenon (Cuppi forthcoming), and may add that

Aristobulus's allusion to Prov. 8:22–7 (Eusebius of Caesarea, *Praep. ev.* XIII.12.11, ed. Mras) merely shows an agreement with our Greek version in its use of the adverb *πρό*, which is repeated numerous times in the LXX, whereas the MT prefers *variatio* in order to express time phrases. This obvious choice is too isolated a hint to prove that our translation of Proverbs had been already realized.

More convincing results have been obtained by attempting to find an inner Septuagint relative chronology. Emanuel Tov (1981), while treating the influence exerted by the Pentateuch on the later translations of the biblical books, indicated that the translator of Proverbs was aware of the Greek translation of the law of Moses.

Priscilla Turner (1978) has noted that the verb *στηρίξω* followed by the accusative of a part of the body is not idiomatic. This construction occurs twice in Proverbs (16:30; 27:20A), in Amos 9:4, and in Jer. 24:6. Whereas in Prov. 16:30 the verb does not supply a literal translation and Prov. 27:20A is even an addition, in the two Prophetic books it furnishes an accurate rendering of the parent text (1978: 481–2). This may indicate that Proverbs depends either on Amos or on Jeremiah, and, of course, implies a late date for the translation.

Jan Joosten (2016), in a recent contribution devoted to the intertextual connections between Greek Psalms and Greek Proverbs, offers valuable evidence that LXX Proverbs depends on the Greek Psalter. Although 'no single line of argument is entirely conclusive', he states, all the available data point in this direction (2016: 107).

In a recent paper the present writer draws attention to a quotation of the Greek Ben Sira (translated in Alexandria some time after 132 BCE) in LXX Proverbs. Sir. 4:21, a verse whose Hebrew original is preserved, occurs in nearly identical form in Prov. 26:11A, which has no Hebrew equivalent (Cuppi forthcoming). This simple fact points to a composition of the Greek Proverbs at least in the last quarter of the second century BCE. In addition, an Alexandrian provenance is indicated not only by this quotation of Ben Sira, but also by the early citations of LXX Proverbs in Philo and Wisdom of Solomon, both located in Alexandria, and by the tradition of the law of Moses as a wall shared with the *Letter of Aristeas* (§139 and Prov. 28:4), another work probably written in Alexandria.

Contemporary Debate on the Translation Technique

The investigation of the translation technique of the Greek translation of Proverbs has also been pursued over the last two decades. Tov (1999) argued that LXX Proverbs was based on a Hebrew copy of Proverbs which differed recensionally from that of the MT, in terms of both major and minor differences in sequence as well as in some pluses and minuses. Since different editorial stages of the growth of the book were represented in the texts in circulation, at the point when the Hebrew book of Proverbs was translated into Greek ('presumably in the second century BCE'), the *Vorlage* happened to contain a different editorial stage of the book from the one we find in MT Proverbs (Tov 1999: 431). In Tov's opinion the translation was accomplished 'in a geographically remote center of

Judaism'; a position quite different, as we have seen, from the ones held by Gammie, Dick, and Cook, but compatible with that of d'Hamonville.

Moro's 2001 article links the redactional differences between the Hebrew and the Greek with the late acceptance of the book in the Jewish canon. The author refers to the famous passage in *Avot de-Rabbi Nathan*, in which the book of Proverbs is listed among those which needed to be interpreted by the men of the Great Synagogue in order to be accepted. The LXX version of Proverbs would therefore be the only extant witness to a more ancient text (Moro 2001: 392), a position not so different from the one just mentioned by Tov. Moro points out that the author of LXX Proverbs had a different attitude to that of the LXX Pentateuch translators in terms of adhering closely to the Hebrew text, and his ambition was to create a literary text. This creates difficulties for reconstructing the Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX Proverbs (2001: 393). Moro also pays attention to Lagarde's proposal of a *Revisor* (Lagarde 1863: *passim*), and connects this question to that of the Kaige recension. Moro concludes that the *Revisor* does not belong to the Kaige group since the specific vocabulary used by the recension is absent in Proverbs, apart from passages under asterisk which derive from the Hexaplaric apparatus; 'hence, C. T. Fritsch's theory according to which all the doublets of the Greek version of Proverbs (with and without asterisk) depend on Origen's activity and derive from the Three translators has to be rejected' (Moro 2001: 395). Though the last statement is undoubtedly correct, Moro based her judgement only on the exclusive lexicon proposed for the Kaige recension: she explicitly refers to *καίγε* for *we-gam*, *ἀπάνωθεν* for *mē'al*, *νῆκος* for *neṣah*, and *βάρυς* for *'armôn*. She also fails to discuss more generally the translation technique observed in the doublets.

The issue has been treated by the present writer in his doctoral thesis (Cuppi 2012a) where most of the long doublets provided with obeli are dealt with (Prov. 2:21; 3:15; 14:22; 15:6). As seen above, these doublets have been traditionally regarded as additions inserted by an early Jewish *Revisor* (Lagarde 1863: *passim*) or via the Hexaplaric recension (Fritsch 1953: 170) in order to drive the version closer to the so-called proto-MT. The study has shown that in Prov. 3:15, 14:22, and 15:6 the translation technique of the first translator of Proverbs can be detected. He seems to be interested in preserving the polysemy of the Hebrew text by means of the double translation. However, in verse 2:21c–d the translation technique of Theodotion has been recognized, and this addition has been tentatively ascribed to an early contact with the Kaige recension rather than to a late insertion from the Hexapla, also because of the lack of the asterisks in the manuscript tradition. Thus, if in most of the cases an early Jewish *Revisor* cannot be proved to have existed, in a few instances the doublets may depend on an early exposure to the Jewish revision identified by modern scholars with the name of Kaige.

Gerhard Tauberschmidt's 2004 monograph connects a text-critical concern for the Hebrew text with the translation technique. Tauberschmidt's research shows the existence in the Greek translation of more symmetrical parallels, and the attempt at creating more cohesive textual units. However, Tauberschmidt demonstrates his unfamiliarity with the Greek textual tradition and its commentators. Michael V. Fox, in his review of the book, rightly observes that 'Scribal practices and errors should be

weighed simultaneously with translation “technique” and stylistic, exegetical, and ideological tendencies. No factor has inherent priority, but considered in combination they can help confirm or discount variants’ (Fox 2004: 10). Fox also notes that Tauberschmidt passes over many variants proposed and discussed in Baumgartner’s 1890 study (Fox 2004: 3 n. 1).

Fox devoted an article to the text-critical value of the LXX in which he reacts to the opinion expressed by Cook and Tauberschmidt for whom virtually all the changes in the translation depend on the translation technique and not on a Hebrew *Vorlage* different from the MT (Fox 2005). Fox argues that ‘the freedoms the translator takes are not anarchic, and when he has the MT or something like it, he almost always tries to address its essential meaning as he understands it’ (2005: 95–6). Moreover, according to Fox, ‘in numerous verses... the translation is mimetic... meaning that it maps the lower-level components of the Hebrew—at least its consonantal text—closely onto the Greek, with only a few touches of flexibility for the sake of Greek style (such as a preference for the postpositive δέ for *waw*)’ (2005: 97–8). Finally, Fox notes a few doublets found in Ben Sira’s Hebrew text in order to remind us that copyists could also introduce differences or make changes in the order of the material (2005: 121–2). Fox concludes with some observations on the malleability of wisdom literature that invites changes and embellishments of the text, since it does not claim to be the words of God but the teachings of sages which scribes were allowed to treat more creatively. ‘Nothing fundamentally different happens when one line of the textual tradition emerges as the *Vorlage* of LXX-Prov’ (Fox 2005: 121). Fox also locates LXX Proverbs in Alexandria (2005: 96). His comprehensive commentary on the Hebrew of Proverbs (2000; 2009) deals mainly with the MT, but two ample sections of textual notes (2000: 360–423; 2009: 977–1068) represent the major text-critical commentary since the time of Baumgartner. In another article devoted to the presentation of an eclectic edition of the Hebrew Proverbs, Fox (2006) explicitly agrees with Tov (1999: 431) by regarding ‘LXX-Prov and MT-Prov as different recensions’ (Fox 2006: 4). However, this position has recently been partially retracted (Fox 2015: 37–8).

PROMISING DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

With Fox’s reflections the debate has reached a sufficiently thorough and nuanced basis. As we have seen, the discussion throughout more than a century has basically observed the LXX of Proverbs through two lenses: using the translation as a key to the original Hebrew text, or as a key to inspect the cultural and historical settings of the translation.

There is no doubt that further investigation is still required in the field of translation technique. The most comprehensive attempt at depicting the translation technique of LXX Proverbs is still the one produced by Baumgartner well over a century ago. In the meantime, the witness of the nearly contemporary manuscripts from the Judean desert

has demonstrated that different Hebrew recensions of biblical books, and a Greek revision of the LXX, indeed existed in the first century CE. Therefore a thorough and exhaustive study should be carried out with the assistance of a database, in which every translational shift in comparison with the MT be analysed and recorded.

As Fox suggests, the primary concern of the translator was to render the Hebrew Proverbs plain to his Greek audience: chiefly, this is a faithful translation *ad sensum* in good literary Greek. Hence we may find plural for singular, especially in case of generic abstract nouns, or antithetic parallelisms for synonymous ones, or improved synonymous parallelisms; all of this belongs to the realm of translation technique. Nonetheless, in nearly every verse we encounter a different vocalization, *yod* for *waw* and vice versa, different ordering of the consonants in the same word, and double translations connected to these kinds of phenomena in which the translator shows an appreciation of the polysemy of the Hebrew, and avoids taking a single semantic option. All of this indeed indicates a different *Vorlage* or a different vocalization. Although found in Proverbs with greater frequency, these are all phenomena which one encounters in any other biblical book. The question, then, should *not* be dismissed by simply stating that the *Vorlage* of the Greek Proverbs was not substantially different from the MT.

An investigation is required which takes into account all the phenomena observed when comparing the MT and the LXX of Proverbs. The material should be appropriately ordered and systematized with the help of data processing systems such as those used in textual criticism to elaborate stemmata. This would finally give us a statistically reliable picture about what exactly is happening in the book of Proverbs. As a result, a certain number of shifts could be firmly ascribed to the *Vorlage*, while other variations could be plainly attributed to the translator.

Since the cultural identity of the translator may be manifested in proportion to his independence from his *Vorlage*, it is only by starting from this material that a reliable enquiry into the cultural and historical world of the translator could be produced. Such an enterprise is even more necessary since little information is available concerning the Hellenistic and Jewish world in the last centuries BCE.

Finally, a long-time desideratum is the publication of a critical text. Although the text edited by Alfred Rahlfs is reliable, a collection of all the variant readings is still necessary in order to provide a complete picture of the history of the textual tradition of the Greek Proverbs. This would be especially needed in order to facilitate the distinction between the Hexaplaric material and possibly earlier intrusions. Moreover the early versions, starting from the most ancient one, the *Vetus Latina*, have received little scholarly attention, even though they have proved on occasion to preserve original fragments completely lost in the Greek manuscript tradition (Cuppi 2016).

SUGGESTED READING

The following works examine various more specific aspects, both textual and thematic, in LXX Proverbs.

- Barr, James (1975). 'b'rs-μóλις: Prov. XI. 31, I Pet. IV. 18'. *JSS* 20: 149–64.
- Carmignac, Jean (1992). 'Critique textuelle de Proverbes 22, 8–9'. *Folia Orientalia* 21: 33–41.
- Clifford, Richard J. (1997). 'Observations on the Text and Versions of Proverbs', in M. L. Barré, ed., *Wisdom, You Are My Sister*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, pp. 47–61.
- Cook, Johann (1999). 'The Law of Moses in Septuagint Proverbs'. *VT* 49: 448–61.
- Forti, Tova, and Talshir, Zipora (2005). 'Proverbs 7 in MT and LXX: Form and Content'. *Textus* 22: 129–67.
- Fox, Michael V. (1996). 'The Strange Woman in Septuagint Proverbs'. *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 22.2: 31–44.
- Giese, Ronald L. (1992). 'Qualifying Wealth in the Septuagint of Proverbs'. *JBL* 111: 409–25.
- Giese, Ronald L. (1992). 'Strength through Wisdom and the Bee in LXX-Prov 6,8^{a-c}'. *Biblica* 73: 404–11.
- Goldingay, John E. (1977). 'Proverbs V and IX'. *RB* 84: 80–93.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aitken, James K. (2007). 'Poet and Critic: Royal Ideology and the Greek Translator of Proverbs', in J. Aitken et al., eds., *Jewish Perspectives on Hellenistic Rulers*. Hellenistic Culture and Society 50. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, pp. 190–204.
- Bakhos, Carol, ed. (2004). *Ancient Judaism in Its Hellenistic Context*. JSJSup 95. Leiden: Brill.
- Barns, John W. B., and Henrik Zilliacus (1967). *The Antinoopolis Papyri*, Vol. 3. London: Egypt Exploration Society.
- Baumgartner, Antoine J. (1890). *Étude critique sur l'état du texte du livre des Proverbes d'après les principales traductions anciennes*. Leipzig: Drugulin.
- Bertram, Georg (1936). 'Die religiöse Umdeutung altorientalischer Lebensweisheit in der griechischen Übersetzung des Alten Testaments'. *ZAW* 54: 153–67.
- Collins, J. J., and G. E. Sterling, eds. (2001). *Hellenism in the Land of Israel*. Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity 13. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press.
- Cook, Johann (1997). *The Septuagint of Proverbs: Jewish and/or Hellenistic Proverbs? Concerning the Hellenistic Colouring of LXX Proverbs*. VTSup 69. Leiden: Brill.
- Cook, Johann (2007). 'Proverbs', introduction and translation, in A. Pietersma and B. J. Wright, eds., *A New English Translation of the Septuagint*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, pp. 621–47.
- Cuppi, Lorenzo (2012a). 'Long Doublets in the Septuagint of the Book of Proverbs: With a History of the Research on the Greek Translations'. PhD diss., University of Durham.
- Cuppi, Lorenzo (2012b). 'The Treatment of Personal Names in the Book of Proverbs from the Septuagint to the Masoretic Text', in T. M. Law and A. G. Salvesen, eds., *Greek Scripture and the Rabbis*. CBET 66. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 19–38.
- Cuppi, Lorenzo (2016). 'Scribes and Translators: Text-Critical Use of Translations of a Translation; Proverbs 8:31 as a Case Study', in M. N. van der Meer et al., eds., *XV Congress of the IOSCS, Munich, 2013*. SBLSCS 64. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, pp. 99–108.
- Cuppi, Lorenzo (forthcoming). 'Dating and Locating the Septuagint of Proverbs in Its Jewish-Hellenistic Cultural Context', in Alison G. Salvesen, Sarah Pearce, and Miriam Frenkel, eds., with the assistance of Daniel Crowther, *Israel in Egypt: The Land of Egypt as Concept and Reality for Jews in Antiquity and the Medieval Period*. Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity 110. Leiden: Brill.

- Dick, Michael B. (1990). 'The Ethics of the Old Greek Book of Proverbs.' *Studia Philonica Annual* 2: 20–50.
- Fox, Michael V. (2004). Review of Tauberschmidt (2004) in *RBL* 11 http://www.bookreviews.org/pdf/4192_4111.pdf (accessed 11 March 2020).
- Fox, Michael V. (2005). 'LXX-Proverbs as a Text-Critical Resource.' *Textus* 22: 95–128.
- Fox, Michael V. (2006). 'Editing Proverbs: The Challenge of the Oxford Hebrew Bible.' *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 32: 1–22.
- Fox, Michael V. (2000; 2009). *Proverbs*. 2 vols. Anchor Bible 18A, 18B. New York, NY: Doubleday; New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Fox, Michael V. (2015). *Proverbs: An Eclectic Edition with Introduction and Textual Commentary*. The Hebrew Bible: A Critical Edition 1. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature.
- Fritsch, Charles T. (1953). 'The Treatment of the Hexaplaric Signs in the Syro-Hexaplar of Proverbs.' *JBL* 72: 169–81.
- Gammie, John G. (1987). 'The Septuagint of Job: Its Poetic Style and Relationship to the Septuagint of Proverbs.' *CBQ* 49: 14–31.
- Gerleman, Gillis (1956). 'The Septuagint Proverbs as a Hellenistic Document.' *OTS* 8 (1950): 15–27, expanded and repr. in G. Gerleman, *Studies in the Septuagint. III. Proverbs*, Lunds Universitets Årsskrift 52, no. 3. Lunds: Gleerup.
- Hamonville, David-Marc d' (2000). *La Bible d'Alexandrie: Les Proverbes*. Paris: Cerf.
- Hengel, Martin (1974). *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in Their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period*. English trans. of *Judentum und Hellenismus: Studien zu ihrer Begegnung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Palästinas bis zur Mitte des 2. Jh. v. Chr.* WUNT 10. 2nd edn. Tübingen: Mohr.
- Jäger, Johann G. (1788). *Observationes in Proverbiorum Salomonis versionem Alexandrinam*. Meldorf: Boie.
- Jenkins, R. Geoffrey (1987). 'The Text of P Antinoopolis 8/210', in C. E. Cox, ed., *VI Congress of the IOSCS*. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, pp. 65–77.
- Joosten, Jan (2016). 'The Relation of the Septuagint of Proverbs to the Septuagint of Psalms', in R. X. Gauthier, G. R. Kotzé, and G. J. Steyn, eds., *Septuagint, Sages, and Scripture: Studies in Honour of Johann Cook*. VTSup 172. Leiden: Brill, pp. 99–107.
- Katz, Peter (1955). Review of C. H. Roberts (1950), *The Antinoopolis Papyri*, in *TLZ* 80: 737–40.
- Lagarde, Paul de (1863). *Anmerkungen zur griechischen Übersetzung der Proverbien*. Leipzig: Brockhaus.
- Lewy, Hans (1929). *Sobria Ebrietas: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der antiken Mystik*. BZNW 9. Gießen: A. Töpelmann.
- Mezzacasa, Giacomo (1913). *Il libro dei Proverbi di Salomone. Studio critico sulle aggiunte greco-alessandrine*. Rome: Istituto Biblico Pontificio.
- Millar, Fergus (1987). 'Empire, Community and Culture in the Roman Near East: Greeks, Syrians, Jews and Arabs.' *JJS* 38: 143–64.
- Moro, Caterina (2001). 'Il testo greco di "Proverbi" in Clemente Alessandrino. Analisi testuale e confronto con la versione copto-saïdica.' *Annali di studi religiosi* 2: 391–437.
- Passoni Dell'Acqua, Anna (1984). 'La sapienza e in genere l'elemento intermedio tra Dio e il creato nelle versioni greche dell'Antico Testamento. Analisi delle divergenze tra testo ebraico e versioni greche dell'Antico Testamento: Proverbi 8.' *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 98: 97–147.
- Rahlf's, Alfred (1935). *Septuaginta*, 2 vols. Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt.
- Rahlf's, A., and D. Fraenkel (2004). *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments. Die Überlieferung bis zum VIII. Jahrhundert*, Vol. 1.1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

- Roberts, Colin H. (1950). *The Antinoopolis Papyri*, Vol. 1. London: Egypt Exploration Society.
- Rüger, Hans Peter (1969–70). ‘Zum Text von Prv. 31,30’. *Die Welt des Orients* 5: 96–9.
- Sandelin, Karl-Gustav (1986). *Wisdom as Nourisher: A Study of an Old Testament Theme, Its Development within Early Judaism, and Its Impact on Early Christianity*. Acta Academiae Aboensis. Ser. A, Humaniora, 64.3. Åbo: Åbo Akademi, pp. 73–81.
- Swete, Henry B. (1914). *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tauberschmidt, Gerhard (2004). *Secondary Parallelism: A Study of Translation Technique in LXX Proverbs*. SBL Academia Biblica 15. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature.
- Thackeray, Henry St. J. (1909). *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek According to the Septuagint*, Vol. 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Thackeray, Henry St. J. (1912). ‘The Poetry of the Greek Book of Proverbs’. *JTS* 13: 46–66.
- Tov, Emanuel (1981). ‘The Impact of the LXX Translation of the Pentateuch on the Translation of the Other Books’, in P. Casetti, O. Keel, and A. Schenker, eds., *Mélanges Dominique Barthélemy: Études bibliques offertes à l’occasion de son 60e anniversaire*. OBO 38. Fribourg and Göttingen: Éditions universitaires and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 577–92; rev. version in E. Tov, *The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint*. VTSup 72. Leiden: Brill, 1999, pp. 183–94.
- Tov, Emanuel (1999). ‘Recensional Differences between the Masoretic Text and the Septuagint of Proverbs’, in E. Tov, *The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint*. VTSup 72. Leiden: Brill, pp. 419–31. First published in H. W. Attridge, J. J. Collins, and T. H. Tobin, *Of Scribes and Scrolls*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1990, pp. 43–56.
- Toy, Crawford H. (1899). *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Proverbs*. ICC. Edinburgh: T&T Clark.
- Turner, Eric G. (1977). *The Typology of the Early Codex*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Turner, Priscilla D. M. (1978). ‘Two Septuagintalsms with *σθηρίζειν*’. *VT* 28: 481–2.
- Weingreen, Jacob (1977). ‘Rabbinic-Type Commentary in the LXX Version of Proverbs’, in A. Shinan, ed., *Proceedings of the Sixth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, Vol. 1. Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, pp. 407–15.
- Wevers, John W. (1968). ‘Septuaginta Forschungen seit 1954’. *Theologische Rundschau* n.s. 33: 59–60.
- Zuntz, Günther (1956). ‘Der Antioe Papyrus der Proverbia und das Prophetologion’. *ZAW* 68: 124–84.

CHAPTER 25

THE BOOK OF JOB

MARIA GOREA

ORIGEN'S HEXAPLARIC SEPTUAGINT VERSUS THE OLD GREEK OF JOB

ANYONE comparing the Hebrew Masoretic text of Job and the Greek translation would not easily notice the difference in length between them. However, a cross-check of the Hebrew and the Greek texts minus the passages added later by Origen (borrowed from Theodotion's version) reveals significant variances and divergences between the two versions. The text of the Old Greek Job was one-sixth shorter than the Masoretic text, even if most Greek manuscripts and modern editions give a text completed by the Theodotionic passages. The MT contains 1069 verses, almost all double stichs: the poem has 2091 stichs and the prose has fifty verses of variable length. According to Ziegler's edition, the first Greek version of Job, or 'Old Greek', had a text lacking 389 stichs (Ziegler 1982: 150–1). Nevertheless, there are differences between manuscripts. Swete gives the precise reckoning of the length of the Greek manuscripts, among the most important uncials: 2153 stichs in Vaticanus, 2126 in Sinaiticus, and 2021 in Alexandrinus. The most important gap is, on one hand, between Vaticanus and Sinaiticus, the latter already containing supplemental material, and, on the other hand, Alexandrinus, which has been influenced by the Lucianic recension (Swete 1930: 603).

The Septuagint editions of Job produced by Rahlfs and Ziegler display a certain number of signs which maintain a distinction between sections of OG and those added later by Origen (d. 253 CE) and his followers Pamphilus, Antoninus, and Eusebius of Caesarea. Origen borrowed these diacritical signs ('Aristarchan' signs) from Alexandrian scientific editions of the Homeric poems. This method of dealing with the disparities between the manuscripts consisted of adding signs to distinguish more or less authentic material, without removing anything from the text itself.

From the synoptic Hexapla, the Septuagint text was completed by Origen, and finished off by Eusebius and Pamphilus; the lacunae in this last Hexaplaric edition were filled with

quotations extracted for the most part from the Greek translation of Theodotion (cf. Origen's letter *Ad Africanum* §§3–4). In this new Hexaplaric text, an asterisk (✱) indicated the beginning of the missing verse in the OG, which was restored from other Greek versions, while an obelus (÷) indicated the beginning of an extension of the Greek text of the Septuagint which had no parallel in the Hebrew text. In both cases, the end of the extension or of the omission was marked by a *metobelus* (∟). Origen describes the method in his *Commentary on Matthew* 15:14 (Nautin 1977: 1: 348). The transmission of the text by copyists maintained these critical marks, which allowed scholars to distinguish the short text from the later additions incorporated into subsequent editions of the text.

By completing the text of OG Job, Origen's recension restored the length of the Greek text to almost that of the Hebrew text, while indicating the substantial differences between the two versions. The post-Origenic edition maintained a clear distinction between the text of the OG from the additions borrowed for the most part from the Theodotionic translation.

If one ignores the additions of Origen to fill the lacunae of the first Greek version of Job, a comparison between the Hebrew text and the Septuagint reveals important differences between both versions. Omissions and truncations increase in the second half of the text. Driver and Gray present a table of the frequencies of 'minuses' in the text: sporadic in the first fifteen chapters, they represent 4 per cent of the text; they increasingly multiply in number and in importance in the course of the book: from ch. 16 to ch. 21 the frequency is 16 per cent; from ch. 22 to ch. 31 it is about 25 per cent; from ch. 32 to ch. 37 it is 35 per cent, and, in chs. 38–42, 16 per cent of the text is missing in OG (Driver and Gray 1921: lxxv; Dhorme 1926: clxii). The omissions were numerous enough to require a filling of the lacunae with extracts from later translations made on the basis of a new approach to translation, complying with the Hebrew exemplar.

Dated to the end of the second century CE, the conformity of the 'Theodotionic' translation with the Hebrew text is sometimes at odds with the context of the Septuagint, especially where the two Greek text traditions join. Job 22:20 is an example of the unsuitability of a reading from Theodotion within the Hexaplaric contextual environment. This is a verse deliberately omitted by the Septuagint translator, probably with the intention of simplifying a text that presents difficulties in Hebrew. The Hebrew text reads, 'Surely our adversaries (*qîmānû*) are cut off and what they left, the fire has consumed' (NRSV). Here, the hapax legomenon *qîm*, in *qîmānû*, literally 'our adversary' (the one which stands in opposition), a word that seems to have a collective meaning in the sense of 'enemies', was not translated in OG Job. It was translated by Theodotion as *ὑπόστασις αὐτῶν*, 'their substance'. Though Theodotion's translation seems puzzling it remains comprehensible, based on the most common meaning of the root *qûm*, 'to stand up', 'to maintain', usually rendered by ἵστημι, the verb linked to the noun *στάσις*. His translation is thus an interpretation, diverging from the Hebrew meaning of the verse. It is consistent neither with the overall meaning of the context, nor with the previous verses in the Septuagint.

Leaving apart the omitted sections, the Greek stichs as set in parallel with the Hebrew are not simply a line-by-line translation and thus do not correspond completely to it. The shortened and omitted sections leave notable discrepancies between the Hebrew

model and the section already modified. Origen's restitutions filled out the OG text in order to keep both versions the same length, but the result is a composite text as the lacunae are also due to abridgement (such as the telescoping of parallel clauses to a single stich), not just to deliberate omissions. According to Gentry, the asterisked material for which Theodotion is credited by Origen is mostly close to the Kaige tradition (Gentry 1995). Thus, though Origen's restitutions filled out the OG text in order that the Hebrew and the Greek should be in quantitative agreement with each other, the text ended up as a hybrid form.

Despite such modification, the Hebrew model remains most of the time detectable or perceptible. The most frequent and most unequivocal case of deletion of isolated verses or groups of verses is that of abbreviation or contraction, in order to obtain more concise segments. Clues to the sections removed are still perceptible and words or ideas are still recognizable if subjected to close scrutiny. Matching disparate fragments of different origin leads to syntactic difficulties that in turn induce changes in the following verses, which are remodelled or rearranged (Job 18:17; 22:3; 30:6; 33:8; 34:11; 39:6; 18:9–10; 20:20–1; 34:22; 34:23; 40:19b).

The slightest change in the Greek translation is responsible for new changes which make it difficult or impossible to refer back to the Hebrew text. The result is an obvious fading of significance, suppressions, and problematic sequences. The withdrawal of some sections of the Septuagint induces grammatical or syntactic aberrations which can sometimes be resolved by the Theodotionic additions based on the Hebrew text. The OG translator's style is not always unplanned, but often split between the necessity of literalness and the penchant for getting free of his Hebrew exemplar.

The question is whether the OG translator was working with a short Hebrew text or whether he deliberately condensed it in his translation. Some scholars supposed initially that the Hebrew model of the Septuagint was shorter than the *textus receptus* (Hatch 1889: 215, 244–5). Less than a century later, Orlinsky defended Hatch's thesis: 'So far as Job is concerned, my own detailed study has led me to the conclusion that the LXX text is one-sixth shorter than the preserved Hebrew text simply because its Hebrew *Vorlage* was approximately one-sixth shorter' (Orlinsky 1969: 194).

However, a systematic scrutiny can identify all the means the translator used for abbreviating and synthesizing sections of the text, along with a study of the Hebrew verses disparaged by Orlinsky. One can thus see that their contribution to the immediate or distant context is obvious, and they are often a key to grasping the sense of the whole.

Among the reasons which led the translator to modify the original text, the first one was the specificity of the Hebrew Job, its difficulty, its unusual vocabulary, its ellipses; he undervalued the text, estimating it replete with redundancy and wandering from the subject. The translator makes summaries, in which he tries as far as possible to preserve the entire substance of the original in his truncated version (Gerleman 1946: 23; see also Gorea 2007a). Among the difficulties the text presents is the use of some dialectal features. The language of the poetic dialogue is filled with unclear sentences, unusual words, marginal vocabulary, all these being often understood by comparison with South Semitic parallels and Arabic vocabulary (Guillaume 1959–62). Besides, the Hebrew

Vorlage was not vocalized and, as is the case at Qumran, the text was probably written in *scriptio continua*, without separation between the words. The vocalization tradition, which normally compensated for the lack of written vowels and thus prevented possible confusion between some Hebrew letters, could have been corrupted or even lost.

Some of the translator's choices are involuntary distortions due to confusion of certain letters, especially *dālet* and *rēš*, or *yôd* and *wāw*, whose shape may be ambiguous in a more cursive script. Thus in Job 21:22, the Septuagint represented by the major manuscripts (Vaticanus and Sinaiticus) seems to have understood *dāmîm*, 'bloodshed', 'murder', instead of *rāmîm* ('lofty ones'), as in MT: thus, 'Is it not the Lord who teaches understanding and knowledge? And does he not judge murders?' Sometimes confusions are due to mishearing, having, for example, confused *bêt* with the voiced guttural *ʿayin* (Job 22:23 ἐὰν δὲ... ταπεινώσης σεαυτόν 'if you humble yourself', supposes **tē'āneh*, instead of *tibbāneh*, 'you will be restored' as in MT), or *hêt* and *rēš* (LXX 41:25b [MT 41:26b] τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὕδασιν 'those in the waters', which translates *bēnê-šereš*, 'aquatic swarms', instead of *bēnê-šahaš*, 'majestic wild beasts' of MT).

Another source of difficulty for the translator was the rhetorical nature of the book. He did not feel the need to adhere closely to the Hebrew text, and in any case he could not have followed it because of its lexical or syntactical difficulties, the latter due to the oral origin of the poem. The proper enunciative nature of the Hebrew poem could not be retained for the most part when the oral version began to be put down in writing. Once out of context of the ephemeral oral performance, the impact of the original poem faded in the written version, in the absence of the appropriate tone and gestures.

Besides the difficulties inherent in the language and in the lack of enunciative marks, one could add a kind of reluctance on the part of the Greek translator to render literally some passages on which the reputation of this book rested. In particular the translator avoided rendering the violence of Jobian discourse and Job's refusal to make allowance for commonly held theological views. The discrepancies in LXX reveal some a priori moral values, and if the translator is somewhat unwilling to transpose expressions exhibiting certain anthropomorphic expressions concerning God (though not systematically), well underlined by Orlinsky, he seems mostly disapproving of Job's frankness. Confronted by the excesses of Job's discourse, the translator reacted with increasing irritation to the main character's disdain for theological values. He omitted verses which he found objectionable for ethical or religious reasons. The pugnacity of Job is repressed or toned down in LXX Job, his utterances lose their disrespectful nature and their impetus, while the speeches of Job's comrades seem to correspond much more to the translator's own ideas. Thus he softens the way in which Job threatens his friends, while at the same time toning down Job's excesses. He omits verses such as Job 29:11a: 'When the ear heard, it called me blessed', and 29:13a: 'The blessing of him who was about to perish came upon me', thus denying Job a quality which the translator finds unacceptable. He grants to Job's friends titles of royalty, but denies them to Job. The latter is only referred to as 'nobly born' (εὐγενής, Job 1:3), while Eliphaz and Sophar are qualified as 'kings', βασιλεῖς, and Baldad as τύραννος (Job 2:11). At the end of the book, forced to pronounce the three friends blameworthy, the translator nevertheless avoids mentioning the divine anger or translating *nēbālā*, 'folly', with its connotation of wantonness, to characterize the

speeches of the three friends; he prefers simply to accuse them of ‘having sinned’ (Job 42:7–8). At the same time, in Job 40:11, the translator refrains from imputing to God the evil sent upon Job: ‘they comforted him and wondered (*ἐθαύμασαν*) at all that the Lord had brought upon him’ (MT ‘they showed him sympathy and comforted him for all the evil that YHWH had brought upon him’).

The Short Septuagint or the Old Septuagint?

According to Ziegler’s arrangement of Greek witnesses, the uncial manuscripts Vaticanus (B) and Sinaiticus (S) represent the oldest stage of LXX Job, while incorporating supplements which suppose a revision based on the Hebrew text, independent of the Origenic and Lucianic recensions.

It is believed that the best witness to OG Job is the Sahidic Coptic version from Upper Egypt (Ciasca 1889; Lieu 1912; Mangin 2018); but one wonders whether the Coptic version attests to the short Septuagint or whether it reflects the Origenic recension without the asterisked passages (Burkitt 1903: 5027). The Sahidic witnesses of Job are unfortunately not complete: Job 39:9b to 40:7b is lacking. E. Dhorme spotted some stichs from Theodotion in the Coptic version: Job 9:15b; 17:16b; 20:3–4a; 25:6b (Dhorme 1926: clxi). One may add to those already noted by Dhorme the following asterisked stichs: 9:3b; 14:12c; 30:22b; 37:9b (Ziegler 1982: 148). The Coptic Bohairic (Bo) version has included almost all asterisked passages. The following are missing: Job 10:4b; 18:9b–10; 21:15; 23:9; 24:4b, 5c; 28:26b; 30:27; 31:18, 35a; 32:4b–5; 33:28–9; 34:6b–7 (Tattam 1846; Porcher 1924). Ziegler notes that Bo has some points of contact with the Lucianic recension, but no variations are really ‘Lucianic’ since they may also have been introduced independently of the Lucianic recension (Ziegler 1982: 46).

The *Testament of Job*, a pseudepigraphical text composed in the last decades of the first century CE, probably in Alexandria, is based on the Greek text of the Septuagint in its short version, without the Theodotonic additions. The lack of reference in the *Testament* to any passage marked by the asterisk in the manuscripts and editions of the Septuagint indicates a date prior to the Origenic recension (Brock 1967; Schaller 1980).

Among the witnesses to the OG there are the commentaries of Latin fathers of the Church and others Latin authors: Cyprian of Carthage (d. 258) (CCSL 3, 1972), the Gnostic Priscillian (d. 395) (CSEL 12, 1887), Lucifer of Cagliari (d. 371) (CSEL 14, 1836), and also the *Liber de divinis scripturis*. Another witness of the OG is the commentary of Didymus the Blind (d. 398), the Alexandrian exegete who was anathematized by the Constantinople Council of 553. His commentary was found in 1941 at Tura, south of Cairo, but it comes from the Monastery of Johannes Kolobos (John the Dwarf) and Arsenius (eight palimpsest papyrus codices dated from the sixth–seventh centuries, deliberately vandalized, edited in *Clavis Patrorum Graecorum*). Didymus’s version is close to those of Vaticanus and Sinaiticus (P. Cairo s.n., P. Colon. Theol. inv. 52 [Heinrichs et al. 1968; U. and D. Hagedorn 1985]).

Many biblical passages believed to have come from Lucian and others from the *Vetus Latina* are evidence of an older text, akin to a revision from Hebrew prior to the Origenic

one. Text critics used the terms ‘proto-Lucianic’ and ‘pre-Lucianic’ version, in order to assert precedence regarding the two recensions, Hexaplaric and Lucianic. The Greek commentary of Didymus the Blind seems to be close to this revision (Job chs. 1–16) (Heinrichs et al. 1968).

Among the Egyptian documents, a unique folio, Papyrus 974 (P. Berol. 11,778), containing Job chs. 33–4 and dated about 220 CE, represents either a pre-Hexaplaric revision towards the Hebrew, or the OG text.

Origen’s Hexaplaric Septuagint

The Origenic recension, which tried to bring together the MT and the LXX, contains additions from the Greek translation of Theodotion totalling 389 verses (Ziegler 1982: 150–1). The manuscripts S, B, A and the catenae (C) indicate Origenic revision by means of asterisks placed before the supplements. The best two Greek witnesses of the Origenic recension are two manuscripts: MS 253 (Vat. gr. 336, eleventh century) and MS 339 (Athos, *Κουτλουμουσίου* 8, eleventh century).

The first Latin translation is preserved in three manuscripts; one of them incomplete, from the eighth century, now in the Monastery Sankt-Gallen (cod. Sang. 11), is the translation made by Jerome from the Septuagint of Job (Sabatier 1743; de Lagarde 1887; Caspari 1893). Ziegler gives it the siglum *La*. The 1743 edition of Petrus Sabatier presents in parallel columns the *Iuxta Hebraeos* of Jerome and the older Latin rendering, translated from Greek alone and also by Jerome. The latter is not the true, original *Vetus Latina* or *Itala* made prior to that of Jerome and occasionally quoted by Latin fathers. In Augustine (*Adnotationes in Iob*) (Zycha 1895), also in Philip the Presbyter (PL 26: 655–850) (Gailey 1948; Erbes 1950), in Faustus of Riez (sixth century, PL 58: 841), and in Bede (*De ratione temporum* 4, early eighth century) there are preserved some Latin quotations of Job, copied from the Latin Hexaplaric version. The commentary of Gregory the Great (*Moralia sive Expositio in Iob*, PL 75, 509–1162; 76, 9–782) is based mainly on the *Iuxta Hebraeos*, but sometimes he quotes the *vetus translatio*, i.e. the *Vetus Latina*.

Among the main witnesses in Syriac and Aramaic to the Origenic recension are the Syrohexapla, the Syriac version of the Hexaplaric Septuagint (Middeldorpf 1835), and the Melkite version, a translation in Christian Palestinian Aramaic, dating from the sixth to the twelfth century. The Christian Palestinian Aramaic translation of Job is only partially preserved, comprising Job chs. 6–7, 9, 21–2 (Müller-Kessler and Sokoloff 1997).

Finally, among the witnesses to the Origenic text of Job are also the Armenian and the Ethiopic (PO II, 5, 1905) versions.

The Arabic version of the manuscript Add. 26,166 edited by Graf von Baudissin, differs from the Arabic text of Job published by Brian Walton in his *Biblia sacra polyglotta*, which is based on the Syriac text of the Peshitta, and that of Sa’adia Gaon, which is translated from the Hebrew text. The manuscript edited by von Baudissin, brought from Egypt and dating from the ninth century, is a translation of the Hexaplaric Septuagint (Baudissin 1870: 10–11).

The Lucianic or Antiochian Recension

This Septuagint recension is close to both the uncials Vaticanus and Alexandrinus and to the Origenic recension, and is the one most commonly preserved in Greek, even if its attribution to Lucian is questionable (see Cox 2008). For the book of Job, hints of the Lucianic recension appear in the uncials Vaticanus and Alexandrinus; in the palimpsest manuscript 406 (Jerusalem, Patr. Bibl., *Ἀγίου Σταυροῦ* 36[18], eighth century, *rescriptus* twelfth–thirteenth century), which is close to the Alexandrinus; in the Greek commentaries of Julianus the ‘Arian’ (Hagedorn 1973) and of John Chrysostom, the last known from two manuscripts, cod. Laur. 9, 13 and cod. Mosquensis, Bibl. Synod. 55 (Sorlin 1988); in the commentary of Olympiodorus (fifth century, known from the catenae and, independently of this tradition, in two manuscripts); in the anonymous Latin commentary of Job (*Anonymus in Iob*) (PL 17, 371–522); in part (30:21–33, 15), in the commentary of Julian of Eclanum (d. c.455) (De Coninck 1977; Hagedorn 1973; Vaccari 1915); in the glosses of some Spanish manuscripts of the Vulgate and other manuscripts (Vaccari 1915: 1–6). The catenae group of Job manuscripts incorporates many quotations from the Lucianic revision (Ziegler 1985).

Additional Passages

Among the most important passages added to the Greek text of Job and marked by an obelus are the diatribe by Job’s wife (Job 2:9α–δα) and the addition of Job 42:17β–εα. These additions are most probably late and exhibit apocryphal features. In the text (42:17β), it is said that it derives ἐκ τῆς Συριακῆς βιβλίου (from the ‘Syriac book’), which may have been an Aramaic midrash, ‘Syriac’ standing for ‘Aramaic’, i.e. the idiom spoken in Syria including Palestine (see Gray 1920: 433–5; Janowski 1982: 251–80). Here, Job is identified with Iôbab mentioned in Gen. 36:33, ‘Iôbab who is called Iôb’, whose ancestor was Esau, and who lived ‘on the borders of Idumaea and Arabia’ (Codex Alexandrinus states ‘on the borders of the Euphrates’). These passages are contested by Jerome and Olympiodorus as they are absent in the Hebrew text (μὴ εἶναι τῆς ἱερᾶς γραφῆς, *Commentarium in beatum Job* 42:11, PG 93:460).

METRICAL AND LINGUISTIC FEATURES

The Job text of the LXX is a transposition into prose, including the dialogues, which in the Hebrew are versified. Nonetheless, most of the time and apart from the missing passages, the verses respect the binary or tertiary structure of the original Hebrew model. The translator thus followed the general shape of the original, but he allowed himself enough distance to create a meaningful rendering. The literary method of the translator takes liberties within the framework of the model, which he paraphrases or explains, at the

expense of a completely literal rendering, such as in Job 7:2: 'Or as a servant that fears his master, and one who grasped a shadow', while MT states simply 'like a slave who longs for the shadow'. See also Job 1:5, 21; 2:8, 10; 8:12, 19; 11:19; 12:17, 19; 13:6, 10, 12, 15, 16, 25; 38:1, etc. Sometimes he is inspired by other passages or includes reminiscences from other biblical books (e.g. Job 4:21a and Isa. 40:24b; Job 34:13 and Ps. 24:1; Job 34:15 and Gen. 3:19).

The translator did not aim at an exact rendering, but freed himself from a literal transposition of the original, being anxious to produce good flowing Greek. On the literary scale of post-Classical Greek, the translator of the OG of Job represents an advanced level, even though he did not translate the book in a thorough way. The choices the translator makes allow us to say that his translation is artistic and that he availed himself of a Greek education in Alexandria, though this does not mean that high-level Greek is maintained consistently. Egli listed some hundred terms, without making a distinction between OG and Theodotonic verses, which are to be found in Greek poetry: *δμίχλη δρόσου* 'vapour of dew' (Job 24:20) recalls *κονίης δμίχλην* 'cloud of dust' from *Iliad* 13.336; *δίνας ποτάμων* 'river eddies' (Job 28:10) is reminiscent of *Iliad* 21.356; the *ἄγγελοι θανατηφόροι* 'death-bearing messengers' recalls the *αἶσα θανατηφόρος* from Aeschylus' *Choephoroi* 363, or Sophocles' *γένεθλα πρὸς πέδω θαναταφόρα* 'his death-bearing sons lying on the soil' (*Oedipus Tyrannus* 181); *φρίκη* 'dread' (Job 4:14) evokes Sophocles (*Oedipus Tyrannus* 1306); *πολυπλόκος* 'crafty' (Job 5:13) is known from Aristophanes and Euripides, so also *χαρμονή* (Job 3:7) from Sophocles and Euripides, or *νουθέτημα* 'chastening' (Job 5:17) from all three tragedians; *φέγγος* 'light' (Job 3:4) from Homer and Pindar. Other words recall Theocritus: *χιλιζός* 'of yesterday' (Job 8:9), *ἑωσφόρος* 'morning star' (Job 11:17), *αὔρα* 'breeze' (Job 4:16), *στροβέω* 'to whirl about' (Job 9:34), *συνίστωρ* 'witness' (Job 16:20), *νεοσσός* 'nestling' (Job 5:7) (Egli 1857: 447–8).

The conditional optative is rare and favoured, even though this mood became obsolescent in Koine Greek and may be a sign of a higher education (5:14–16; 18:7, 9, 11; 20:10; 21:20; 31:8, etc.). The translator uses participial constructions, which are a feature of standard Greek style. The predilection of the Greek translator for prepositional compounds and an increasing number of particles (*καὶ δέ, γάρ, δέ, οὐδέ, ἀλλά, οὐ μὴν δέ ἀλλά*) tries to foster cohesion in the translated text and to make up for the lack of particles in the rather elliptical Hebrew version, showing an affinity with contemporary Greek literature.

Some scholars have emphasized the analogies between the translation of Job and that of the book of Proverbs. According to Gerleman, both translations originate from the same hand, as there are features in the two texts which the rest of the Greek Bible does not share (Gerleman 1946: 14–17).

SEPTUAGINT AND QUMRAN

Fragments of manuscripts (Hebrew version or Aramaic Targum) which were found at Qumran revived the debate around the question of the original text. The manuscript 4QpaleoJob^c (= 4Q101; DJD 9, pp. 155–7, pl. XXXVII, 101 [1–3]), from Cave 4, is a witness

to the long version of the text and confirms the organization of the *textus receptus*. Although very fragmentary, this manuscript contains parts which are not in the Greek version, but are present in MT: fragm. 1 (Job 13:18b, 19b, 20b; 19b and 20b are absent in LXX); fragm. 2 (Job 13:23b, 24b, 25b, 26b, 27b β); fragm. 3 (Job 14:13a α , 13b, 14a α , 14b, 15b, 16a, 17a, 18a–18b are lacking in LXX).

The Aramaic Targum of Job found in Cave 11 at Qumran, 11QtargJob , confirms the same long version of the book of Job and thus the unity of its text. Contrary to Targum Sheni, more developed than the Hebrew model, the Qumran Job Targum has very few digressions and almost no paraphrases. The differences between 11QtargJob and the *textus receptus* are very few and the expansion of the Hebrew meaning is limited to one word at the most. Comparison between LXX Job and the Qumran Targum nevertheless permitted John Gray to conclude that the Targum shares some exegetical choices with LXX, although the substance and the form of the Hebrew *textus receptus* are confirmed by 11QtargJob (Gray 1974). Very rarely the lacunae in the manuscripts are too small to contain the entire verse, therefore these passages were shortened by the Aramaic translator. However, the text was globally retained. At the turn of the first century CE, one may conjecture that a respectful attitude towards almost canonical texts had already become common.

At the time of the translation into Greek, the Hebrew model of LXX Job was not yet a normative text. The translation in Greek brought an aura of prestige to the biblical texts which in turn could no longer be modified. The Greek translation was probably not carried out because the biblical texts were definitively established; one of the consequences of the translation was to participate in the normative process of the biblical text.

As far as we can judge that the asterisked material is Theodotion's, his Greek translation is close to the Hebrew text, so also Aquila's version. While Aquila reproduces mostly its Hebrew model, Symmachus's translation seems, insofar as one can judge it, more accurate and elegant than that of OG and it inspired Jerome himself, even though the preference of Origen for Theodotion has overshadowed Symmachus's version. When there are various interpretations, Symmachus's version agrees with the Targum (Job 4:16; 32:19; 33:29; 35:9, 15, etc.) or the Peshitta (Job 16:9; 20:4).

EDITIONS OF LXX JOB

The Aldine edition of the Septuagint (1518) was the model for numerous re-editions. The most important among them were the Septuagint edited in Frankfurt (Andrea Wechel) in 1597 and the one published by the press of Nicholas Glykas in Venice, in 1687. These two last editions were accepted by most of the Orthodox churches. They then were the main source, if not the only one, for translations into vernacular languages. The Septuagint edited in Frankfurt displayed footnotes in which mentions are made of Symmachus's readings and, indirectly, of the Hebrew text. These footnotes are lacking in the Complutensian Septuagint (1517–18) or in the subsequent Polyglotts (Antwerp, 1569–72; Commeline, Middleburg, 1586; Wolter, Hamburg, 1596; Hutter, Nüremberg,

1599), but also in the Aldina and its new editions. The editors of the Frankofurtensis, who carefully marked the verse numbers in Arabic numerals, which are lacking in the Aldine edition, also used other manuscripts or printed sources of the Septuagint, while favouring the Aldina.

Some emendations could be accepted where these corrections were justified or came from authorized Greek versions, even the Roman edition of the Sixtina (prepared by Cardinal Antonio Carafa, librarian of the Vatican, for the pope Sixtus V, also called *Biblia Graeca Sixtina*, with a preface by Petrus Morinus, and published at the press of Franco Zannetti, in Rome, in 1587); meanwhile, Symmachus's readings, although correct and verified, were confined to footnotes. This was because Symmachus was supposed to have belonged to the sect of the Ebionites. The editors of the Frankofurtensis took account of the Roman edition of the Sixtina, published ten years earlier (1587). This one was for the most part based on Vaticanus, which was also the basic text for the Sixtine edition and for the later editions (that of R. Holmes, completed by J. Parsons, 1798–1827; of Brenton, 1851 and 1870; that of Jager, 1878; of Swete, 1925–30). A comparison between the different editions of some passages of the book of Job reveals the editorial choices which are based on different manuscripts; it is not always easy to discover the source.

i) Job 22:15. In the Frankofurtensis edition, as in the Venetian, the reading ἄνδρες ἄδικοι 'unrighteous men', reflecting the Hebrew *mētê-āwen*, 'evil men', differs from that of Vaticanus, the model for the Sixtina and its offspring, which has ἄνδρες δίκαιοι 'righteous men'.

On the other hand, δίκαιοι/ἄδικοι are both omitted in MS Gr. 5 from the Bibliotheca Marciana in Venice (fifteenth century) and in Vat. gr. 337 (tenth century), according to Ziegler's apparatus.

In Job 21:22, as mentioned above, the Septuagint's φόνους shows that the translator read *dāmîm* 'spilt blood', 'crime', in place of *rāmîm* 'lofty ones'. The Complutensis correctly translates *rāmîm* here, as in the MT, indicating revision. This variant was transmitted to the Aldina, probably indirectly, through a common manuscript source, as this reading can be found in MS 795 from Mount Athos (Λαύρα); in MS 613 from Patmos (Ἰωάννου τοῦ Θεολόγου); and, above all, in Vat. gr. 248 (= Vatic. gr. 346).

ii) Job 22:18. The Complutensis and the Sixtina give a reading which agrees with that of the main Greek manuscripts: 'the counsel of wicked men is far from him', while the Frankfurt and Venice editions, following the Aldina, correspond to the Hebrew: 'the counsel of wicked men is far from me'. This does not reflect the reading of any Greek witness but, astonishingly, agrees with the Vulgate, the one that the old editions called *nova* (Petrus Sabatier, in his *Bibliorum sacrorum latinae versiones antiquae seu Vetus italica* of 1743, called Jerome's translation *Vulgata nova*, in comparison with the *versio antiqua* of the *Vetus italica*, translated on the basis of the Greek text).

iii) Job 22:24. The Old Greek translator failed to provide a rendering for this verse. According to the witness of several manuscripts, 'Theodotion' interpreted it as, 'You will place on a mound in a rock // and as though in a rock of a wadi of Ophir [NETS]: He vocalized a Hebrew word differently: instead of *bešer* 'precious ore' (v. 24a), he read *bēšûr*

‘in a rock’. Some manuscripts, including Vat. gr. 346 (= 248 in Ziegler), as well as the Complutensis, which is partially based on this manuscript, contain another variant: καθήσῃ ‘sit down’, instead ofθήσῃ ‘you will place’, which may be explained as the inaccurate contraction of καὶθήσῃ, supposing that καὶ was introduced from the Hebrew text by a reviser (*wěšit*). The Sixtina added another corruption through an incorrect division of the sequence χεῖμάρρου Ὠφίρ, which was understood as χεῖμάρρου Σωφ(ε)ίρ. This is obviously due to an inaccurate transcription from the uncial Vaticanus, written in *scriptio continua*. On this point, the Frankfurt edition agrees with the Sixtine, which has *Sôphir* instead of Ophir, even though they diverge for the initial word of the verse.

The critical apparatus of the Francofurtensis mentions Symmachus’s reading, which is considered ‘in accordance with the Hebrew text’. The editors refrained from introducing the correction of ‘Ophir’ for ‘Sophir’, even though they were able to distinguish the original lesson between the variants. Obviously, they had undertaken to reproduce the actual state of the text, even with corruptions and errors.

Modern Editions and Supplements

The critical edition is that prepared by Joseph Ziegler in 1982. Some emendations have been suggested by Pietersma in his review of the volume (Pietersma 1985).

Supplementary witnesses were added to Rahlfs’s edition (Rahlfs 1914), following the publication of new papyri leaves or fragments of parchment codices, dated to different periods (Bogaert 1996: 624–5).

- first century CE: P. Oxyrhynchus 3522, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Parsons 1983: 1–3, pl. 1.
- third century CE: a fragment of papyrus codex Chester Beatty VIII, listed with R 962 Chester Beatty IV (Pietersma 1977: 175, pl. 4 [2], 3 [2]; Pietersma 1987: 45–7, 54–5: dated from the third or fourth century); an isolated papyrus leaf, P. Berlin 11,778, c.220 CE (Stegmüller 1939: nr. 17: 50–5).
- fourth century CE: PSI 1163, Florence, Laurenziana (Vitelli 1932: 105).
- fifth–sixth centuries CE: P. Berlin 6788 (Treu 1970: 57, pl. 7); P. Oxyrhynchus 2193, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Lobel, Roberts, and Wegener 1941: 153–4; the parchment codex P. Vindob. G. 35,767, Treu 1974: 6–7 (Treu 1970: 1–9).

CONCLUSIONS

The Greek text of Job was reinterpreted by a translator influenced by a Judaism which was different from the religiosity that marked the Hebrew text. Sociological changes were also made. The profile of Job himself is modified in the Septuagint: his original impetuosity and excess are moderated in the Greek version. This softening would be

transmitted to the author of the apocryphal *Testament of Job*. The translator's style is not as spontaneous as if he had written freely, but he seems torn between the duty of literal-ity and the desire to free himself from his model. As he progresses with his translation the omissions multiply.

Generally speaking, the OG translator produced a literary rendering for the sake of his co-religionists of Hellenistic times. The nature of the source text, written in a rather obscure Hebrew language, proved a challenge for the translator's need to adapt it to the Greek language and culture, so that the result could only be partially successful.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER READING

The question of the missing passages cannot be isolated from that of the linguistic and literary features of the Greek Job. The slightest deviation led the translator to make further changes or to delete parts, making a return to the original text difficult. What Heater called 'anaphoric translation technique', consisting in interpolated material from some other parts of the Septuagint although usually from within Job itself (Heater 1982: 6–7), was actually intended to provide reference points and to maintain a biblical appearance for a rather flawed text.

The study of the language of the Septuagint of Job reveals a certain familiarity with the classical literary tradition. Nevertheless, insofar as it is a translation work, the understanding of the Greek text of Job depends largely on its *Vorlage*, to which it remains indebted, even in its lacunae and even when the translator is reluctant to render some passages. The Hebrew text often holds the key to the interpretation of the Greek text, especially when it offers several different possibilities for interpretation.

Marieke Dhont (2016) has investigated the phenomenon of the 'double translations' in LXX Job. Her recent monograph (2018) applies Polysystem Theory to the text in order to understand the literary and linguistic nature of this Jewish Greek work.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Baudissin, Graf W. W. F. von (1870). *Translationis antiquae arabicae libri Iobi quae supersunt nunc primum edita. Dissertatio Inauguralis quam ad summos in philosophia honores ab amplissimo philosophorum ordine lipsiensi rite impetrandos scripsit Wolfius Guil. Frid. comes de Baudissin*. Leipzig: Doerffling & Franke.
- Bernhardy, G. (1853). *Suidae Lexicon graece et latine*. Halis et Brunsvigae: Sumptibus Schwetschkiorum.
- Bogaert, Pierre-Maurice (1996). 'Septante'. *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible* 12, col. 538–692.
- Brenton, L. C. L. (1851). *The Septuagint with Apocrypha: Greek and English*. London: Samuel Bagster & Sons.
- Brenton, L. C. L. (1870). *The Septuagint Version of the Old Testament and Apocrypha, Greek and English. With an English Translation and with Various Readings and Critical Notes*. London: Samuel Bagster & Sons.
- Brock, Sebastian P. (1967). *Testamentum Iobi: Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti graece* 2, Leiden: Brill, 1–59.

- Burkitt, F. C. (1903). 'Text and versions'. In T. K. Cheyne and J. S. Black, eds, *Encyclopaedia biblica. A critical dictionary of the literary political and religious history the archaeology geography and natural history of the Bible* IV. New York: Macmillan, cols. 4977–5031, esp. 5016.
- Caspari, C. P. (1893). *Das Buch Hiob (1,1–38, 16) in Hieronymus's Uebersetzung aus der alexandrinischen Version nach einer St. Gallener Handschrift saec. VIII*. Christiana.
- Ceriani, A. M. (1874). *Codex Syro-Hexaplaris Ambrosianus photolithographice*. Monumenta sacra et profana VII. Milan: Typis et impensis Bibliothecae Ambrosianae.
- Ciasca, A. (1889). *Sacrorum Bibliorum fragmenta copto-sahidica Musei Borgiani* II. Rome.
- Cox, Claude E. (2008). 'The Nature of Lucian's Revision of the Text of Greek Job' in A. Voitila and J. Jokiranta, eds, *Scripture in Transition. Essays on Septuagint, Hebrew Bible, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of Raija Sollamo*. JSJSup 16. Leiden: Brill, 423–442.
- De Coninck, L. (1977). *Iuliani Aeclanensis Expositio libri Iob*. CCSL 88, 1–109. Turnhout: Brepols.
- Dhont, Marieke (2016). 'Double translations in Old Greek Job.' In S. Kreuzer, M. Meiser, and M. Sigismund, eds, *Die Septuaginta—Orte und Intentionen: 5. Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX. D), Wuppertal 24.-27. Juli 2014*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 475–490.
- Dhont, Marieke (2018). *Style and Context of Old Greek Job*. JSJSup 183. Leiden: Brill.
- Dhorme, P. (1926). *Le livre de Job*. Paris: Gabalda.
- Drieschen, J. van den (Johannes DRUSIUS) (1622). *Veterum Interpretum Graecorum in totum V. T. Fragmenta. collecta, versa et notis illustrata a Johanne Drusio, Linguae Sanctae in illustrium Frisiae Ordinum Academia, dum viveret, Professore*. Arnhem.
- Driver, S. R., and G. B. Gray (1921). *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Job*. ICC. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.
- Egli, C. (1857). 'Der Alexandrinische Hermeneut des Buches Hiob.' *Rheinischens Museum für Philologie* 12: 444–448.
- Erbes, P. J. (1950). *Die Iob-Übersetzungen des hl. Hieronymus*. Diss. Freiburg.
- Gailey, J. (1948). *Jerome's Latin Version of Job from the Greek: chapters 1–26; its text, character and provenience*. PhD dissertation, Princeton University. Princeton Seminary Pamphlet Series.
- Gentry, Peter J. (1995). *The Asterisked Materials in the Greek Job*. SCS 38. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.
- Gerleman, G. (1946). *Studies in the Septuagint I. Book of Job*, Lunds Universitets Årsskrift (N.F. Avd. 1, Bd. 43, Nr 2). Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup.
- Gorea, Maria (2007a). *Job repensé ou trahi. Omissions et raccourcis de la Septante*. Études Bibliques, Nouvelle Série 56. Paris: Gabalda.
- Gorea, Maria (2007b). *Job: ses précurseurs et ses épigones ou comment faire du nouveau avec de l'ancien*. Orient & Méditerranée 1. Paris: De Boccard.
- Gray, G. B. (1920). 'The Additions in the Ancient Greek Version of Job.' *The Expositor* 19: 422–438.
- Gray, J. (1974). 'The Massoretic Text of the Book of Job, the Targum and the Septuagint Version in the Light of the Qumran Targum (11QtargJob)'. *ZAW* 86: 331–350.
- Guillaume, A. (1959–62). 'Hebrew and Arabic Lexicography. A Comparative Study'. *Abr-Nahrain* I-IV. Repr. as *Hebrew and Arabic Lexicography; a Comparative Study*. Leiden: Brill (1963).
- Hagedorn, D. (1973). *Der Hiobkommentar des Arianers Julian*. Patristische Texte und Studien 14. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter.

- Hagedorn, U., and D. Hagedorn (1985). 'Zur Katenenüberlieferung des Hiobkommentars von Didymos dem Blinden.' *BASP* 22: 55–78.
- Hatch, E. (1889). *Essays in Biblical Greek*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Heater, Homer (1982). *A Septuagint translation technique in the book of Job*. CBQMS 11, Washington DC.
- Heinrichs, A., U. Hagedorn, D. Hagedorn, and L. Koenen (1968). *Didymos der Blinde: Kommentar zu Hiob (Tura-Papyrus) I-III*. PTA 1–3. Bonn: Habelt.
- Jager, J. N. (1878). *Η Παλαια διαθηκη κατα τους εβδομηκοντα. Vetus testamentum graecum juxta septuaginta interpretes, ex auctoritate Sixti quinti pontificis maximi editum juxta exemplar originale Vaticanum cum translatione, animadversionibus, et complementis ex aliis manuscriptis*. Paris: A. Firmin Didot II.
- Janowski, B. (1982). 'Südenvergebung "um Hiobs willen". Fürbitte und Vergebung in 11QtgJob 38 2f. und Hi 42, 9f. LXX.' *ZNW* 73: 251–280.
- Lagarde, P. de (1887). 'Das Hieronymus Uebertragung der griechischen Uebersetzung des Hiobs.' *Mittheilungen*, II. Göttingen: Dieterich, 189–237.
- Lieu, L. (1912). 'Nouveaux fragments préhexaplaires du livre de Job en copte sahidique.' *Le Muséon* 31: 147–185.
- Lobel, E., C. H. Roberts, and E. P. Wegener (1941). *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 18. London.
- Mangin, D. (2018). 'Pour une étude conjointe de la version sahidique et du texte grec court du livre de Job.' *JSCS* 51: 191–206.
- Middeldorpf, H. (1835). *Codex syriaco-hexaplaris: Liber quartus regum, e codice Parisiensi Iesaias, Duodecim prophetai minores, Proverbia, Iobus, Canticum, Threni, e codice Mediolanensi*. Berlin, Th. Chr. Fr. Enslin.
- Milne, H. J. M. (1927). *Catalogue of the Literary Papyri in the British Museum*. London: Trustees of the British Museum.
- Müller-Kessler, Christa, and Michael Sokoloff (1997). *The Christian Palestinian Aramaic Old Testament and Apocrypha version from the early period*. Groningen: STYX.
- Nautin, Pierre (1977). *Origène. 1. Sa vie et son œuvre*. Christianisme antiques 1. Paris: Beauchesne.
- Orlinsky, Harry M. (1969). 'The Hebrew Vorlage of the Septuagint of the book of Joshua.' *Congress volume Rome 1968*. VTSup 17. Leiden: Brill: 187–195.
- Pereira, E., ed. (1924). 'Le livre de Job, version bohairique.' *Patrologia orientalis* 18.2: 566–688.
- Pietersma, Albert (1977). *Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri IV and V*. American Studies in Papyrology 16. Toronto: Samuel Stevens Hakkert.
- Pietersma, Albert (1985). Review of Ziegler's edition of Job, *JBL* 104, 2, 305–311.
- Pietersma, Albert (1987). 'New Greek Fragments of Biblical Manuscripts in the Chester Beatty Library.' *BASP* 24.1–2: 37–61.
- Porcher, E. (1924). 'Le livre de Job. Version copte bohairique.' *Patrologia orientalis* 18.2: 209–339.
- Rahlfs, A. (1914). *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments*. Nachr. der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft zu Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse. MSU 2. Berlin: Weidmann.
- Sabatier, P. (1743). *Bibliorum sacrorum latinae versiones antiquae seu Vetus Italica una cum Vulgata latina et textu graeco comparantur*, 1. Reims: Regnaud Florentain.
- Schaller, B. (1980). 'Das Testament Hiobs und die Septuaginta-Uebersetzung des Buches Hiob.' *Biblica* 61: 377–411.
- Sorlin, H. (1988). *Jean Chrysostome. Commentaire sur Job*. Sources chrétiennes 346, 348. Paris: Cerf.

- Stegmüller, O. (1939). *Berliner Septuagintafragmente*. Berliner Klassikertexte 8. Berlin: Weidman.
- Swete, Henry B. (1925–30). *The Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint*. Cambridge: The University Press (3 vols.).
- Tattam, H. (1846). *The ancient Coptic version of the Book of Job the Just*. London: W. Straker.
- Treu, K. (1970). 'Neue Berliner Septuagintafragmente'. *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 20: 43–65.
- Treu, K. (1974). 'Vier Wiener Septuaginta Fragmente'. *Jahrbuch der Oesterreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft* 23: 1–9.
- Vaccari, A. (1915). *Un commento a Giobbe di Giuliano di Eclana*. Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico.
- Vitelli, G. (1932). *Papiri greci e latini*. PSI 10. Florence: Tipografia Enrico Ariani.
- Ziegler, Josef (1982). *Iob*. VTG XI, 4. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Ziegler, Josef (1985). *Beiträge zum griechischen Iob*. MSU. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Zycha, I. (1895). *Sancti Aureli Augustini Quaestionum in Heptateuchum libri VII; Adnotationum in Iob liber unus*. CSEL 28.2. Vienna/Prague/Leipzig: Tempsky/Freytag, 507–628.

LXX Editions

- Biblia sacra Polyglotta complectentia V.T. Hebraico Graeco et Latino idiomate, N.T. Graecum et Latinum, et vocabularium Hebraicum et Chaldaicum V.T. cum grammatica Hebraica necnon Dictionario Graeco. Studio opera et impensis Cardinalis Fr. Ximenes de Cisneros. Industria Arnoldi Gulielmi de Brocaro artis impressorie magistri. Compluti, 1514 [-15, -17].*
- Πάντα τὰ κατ'ἐξόχην καλούμενα Βιβλία θείας δηλαδή Γραφῆς παλαιάς τε καὶ νέας. Sacrae scripturae veteris novaeque omnia. Venetiis in aedib[us] Aldi et Andreae soceri [d'Asola], 1518, mense Februario.*
- Ἡ παλαιὰ διαθήκη κατὰ τοὺς εβδομήκοντα δι' αὐθεντίας ξυστοῦ ἑακροῦ ἀρχιερέως ἐκδοθείσα. Vetus Testamentum iuxta septuaginta, ex auctoritate Sixti v. pont. max. editum. Romae ex typographia Francisci Zannetti, 1587, cum privilegio Georgio Ferrario concesso.*
- Divinae Scripturae nempe Veteris ac Novi Testamenti omnia graece a viro doctissimo recognita et emendata, uariisque lectionibus aucta et illustrata, Franciscus Junius et Friedrich Sylburg, Interpretatione, apud Andreae Wecheli haeredes, Claudii Marnii et Ioannis Aubrii, Francofurti ad Moenum, 1597.*
- Ἡ θεία Γραφή δηλαδή Παλαιῆς καὶ Νέας Διαθήκης ἅπαντα. Divina Scriptura nempe Veteris ac Novi Testamenti omnia a viro doctissimo et linguarum peritissimo diligenter reconita, et multis in locis emendata, variisque lectionibus ex diversorum Exemplarium, collatione decerptis, et ad Hebraicam veritatem in veteri Testamento revocatis aucta et illustrata, παρὰ Νικολάω Γλυκεῖ τῷ ἐξ Ἰωαννίνων, Ἐνετίησι, 1687.*
- Vetus Testamentum Graecum cum variis lectionibus. Edidit Robertus Holmes, S.T.P., R.S.S., Aedis Christi Canonicus. Tomus primus. Oxonii: e typographeo Clarendoniano, 1798.*

CHAPTER 26

DEUTEROCANONICAL AND APOCRYPHAL BOOKS

ALISON G. SALVESEN

INTRODUCTION

IN recent years books termed in Christian tradition ‘apocryphal’ or ‘deuterocanonical’ have been deemed worthy of academic study in their own right, often with a further group of works, the pseudepigrapha. This trend is partly due to the discovery of parabiblical and sectarian works at Qumran and partly to a growing interest in the reception history of scriptural books.

Jewish Origins

Although deuterocanonical literature relating to the Christian Old Testament was preserved, transmitted, and appreciated by the Church, the origins of all these works lay in Judaism. Most were composed in Greek from the outset (e.g. *Wisdom of Solomon*, *2 Maccabees*, *3 Maccabees*). Others were probably written in Hebrew or Aramaic and translated into Greek but did not form part of the rabbinic canon, so the original texts were lost in whole or in part (e.g. *Sirach*, *Tobit*, *Psalms of Solomon*). In some cases the language of the original is disputed (e.g. *Judith*, *Letter of Jeremiah*).

The reasons for eventual Jewish rejection of such books may include a recognition of their late date of composition, the lack of a known Semitic text, and obvious historical or legal contradictions. However, for Josephus the main criterion for acceptance was authorship by a prophet (*C. Ap.* 1:37–43; Mason 2002). Yet their acceptance in the Church suggests that they must at one stage have been esteemed in some Jewish

communities. The loss of standing in Judaism of some books accepted by the Church may be linked to the devastation in the early second century CE of the significant Greek-speaking Jewish community in North Africa.

Reception in the Greek and Latin Churches

The status of certain works was apparently not an issue for Christians until the late second and early third centuries CE. At this time it was no doubt stimulated by an awareness, on the one hand, of a restricted corpus of authoritative scriptural books among Jews (e.g. Melito's list of twenty-five books from a Palestinian source: Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* IV.26), and on the other hand, of Greek books containing extra material compared with their Hebrew counterparts, such as the additions to Daniel and Esther. (See Junod 1984: 135–51 for a dossier of patristic Greek sources on the canon.)

The first discussion that comes down to us is Origen's lengthy response to the Christian intellectual Julianus Africanus. Africanus had questioned the historicity of the story of Susanna in the Church's book of Daniel on a number of grounds (see Gallagher 2012: 30–7), not least that the wordplay about the two types of tree (Sus. 54; 58) was only possible in Greek. Therefore, Africanus argued, Susanna was an inauthentic Greek composition, along with Bel and the Dragon, since 'all the books of the Old Testament accepted by Jews were translated from Hebrew to Greek' (*Ep. ad Orig.* §5). Origen acknowledges this criterion by claiming that the putative Hebrew original of Susanna must have contained the wordplay, and by noting that for Hebrew-speaking Jews, Tobit and Judith do not exist in Hebrew even in the Apocrypha (*Ep. Afr.* §§18–19). However, Origen believes that Christians should not discard books and texts that in his view have been providentially granted to the Church for its edification, nor turn instead to Jews for 'purer' versions of the scriptures (*Ep. Afr.* §8). Origen's justification for the Christian use of Susanna and of what he terms 'apocrypha' (see Adler 2002: 214–15) is that such works both explain and are supported by allusions in the New Testament, such as the prophets sawn in two (Heb. 11:37, a reference to the *Martyrdom of Isaiah* [*Ep. Afr.* §13]). He even resorts to using information from Tobit to prop up the historicity of Susanna (§19), since Africanus himself had already alluded to Tobit as a reliable source (*Ep. ad Orig.* §6; Gallagher 2012: 31). As for the lack of evidence among Jews for certain passages or for books outside their canon, Origen puts this down to censorship by rascally Jewish authorities who believed that texts such as the *Martyrdom of Isaiah* and Susanna reflected badly on them (§§13 end–14). Yet elsewhere Origen expresses increasing caution about accepting Enoch, noting that it is not recognized by Jews (*Hom. Num.* 28:2; Gallagher 2012: 46–8). Also, in his Prologue to the *Commentary on Song of Songs*, he states that Solomon was responsible only for Proverbs, Song, and Ecclesiastes (Qoheleth), thus excluding Wisdom of Solomon (Junod 1984: 118).

The correspondence between Africanus and Origen reflects tension in Christian antiquity between a more restrictive attitude influenced by an awareness of the limited Jewish canon based on a criterion of a Hebrew original text, and the desire to express a separate Christian identity in the matter of Scripture, based on existing Church

tradition. As time went on, a combination of pragmatism and tradition won out over the arguments of Jerome who championed a Hebrew-based canon ('whatever is outside those, is to be placed among the Apocrypha' [*Prol. in Libro Regum*]) or the misgivings of Theodore of Mopsuestia, who was sceptical about the spiritual value of Song of Songs and Ecclesiastes, the originality of Psalm titles, and the Mosaic authorship of Job (Zaharopoulos 1989: 44–55).

For many Christian authorities the criterion for a book's inclusion in the canon depended not on the language of composition, but on whether it was normative and authoritative for doctrine and public reading. Yet books that fell outside this category could still be canonical at a lower level, and used for private reading among Christians (cf. Tertullian, *Cult. fem.* 1.3; Gallagher 2012: 20–1), and so were certainly not banned or ignored. Even Athanasius of Alexandria, whose festal letter of 367 CE is often held to demarcate a Christian canon, notes that though certain books are not canonical (οὐ κανονιζόμενα μὲν), they were authorized by tradition (τετυπωμένα δὲ παρὰ τῶν πατέρων) for reading to recent converts. For Athanasius these works included Wisdom of Solomon, Sirach, Judith, Tobit, and also Esther, while with most other authorities he included both Esdras A and B in the Old Testament canon.

Other early canonical lists of Greek Scripture, and the books included in the great codices Vaticanus, Sinaiticus, and Alexandrinus, display a variety of contents and groupings (see Swete 1914: 201–10; 265–88; Junod 1984: 105–6; Tov 2015: 4–5). For instance, the list of books in Pseudo-Chrysostom's *Synopsis of Sacred Scripture* (Migne PG 56: 513, probably prior to 600 CE), includes Sirach among its 'hortatory' (συμβουλευτικόν) category of works such as Proverbs and Ecclesiastes. Yet the list in the *Synopsis* of Pseudo-Athanasius (Migne PG 28: 432), which depends in part on Pseudo-Chrysostom, explicitly states that to the 'disputed' (ἀντιλεγόμενα) books Wisdom, Sirach, Esther, Judith, and Tobit, one should also add Maccabees, 'Ptolemaika' (either *Letter of Aristeas* [Wendland 1900: 133] or 3 Maccabees [Swete 1914: 279; Méléze Modrzejewski 2008: 30]), Psalms of Solomon, Odes of Solomon, and Susanna. Pseudo-Athanasius then categorizes further books as 'apocrypha' (Enoch, Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, Prayer of Joseph, Assumption of Moses, 'Abraham', and various works attributed to biblical figures). (For the problems associated with the synopses of Ps-Athanasius and Ps-Chrysostom, see Dorival 2005 and Barone 2009: 8–9.)

At the other end of the scale, when Epiphanius (d. 403) gives a list of twenty-two books of the LXX according to the number of letters of the Hebrew alphabet, including both books of Esdras and Esther, he also mentions Sirach and Wisdom of Solomon (but no others), describing them as 'useful and profitable' even though they are not included in the twenty-two (*Mens. et Pond.* 4; cf. *Pan.* 8.6.1–4). Yet the three early pandect Bibles Vaticanus, Sinaiticus, and Alexandrinus all include 1 Esdras and 2 Esdras, Wisdom of Solomon, Sirach, Judith, and Tobit among the 'canonical' books, rather than in a separate category. In addition, Alexandrinus and Vaticanus join Letter of Jeremiah to Jeremiah, Baruch and Lamentations; Sinaiticus has the order Paralipomena-1 Esdras [missing due to lacuna]-2 Esdras-Esther-Tobit-Judith-1 Maccabees-2 Maccabees, before the sixteen Prophetic books; Alexandrinus gives the order Esther-Tobit-Judith-1 and 2 Esdras-1–4 Maccabees between Daniel and the Psalter, and lists Wisdom, Sirach, and

Psalms of Solomon [missing] after Song of Songs. Thus the ordering of these pandects does not hint at a difference in status between these and ‘canonical’ books.

Clearly deuterocanonical works enjoyed sufficient popularity to be regularly copied and studied. By consigning them to an accepted but non-authoritative category, Church authorities could allow their use as edifying literature without having to address questions of inspiration or historicity or textual difficulties.

INDIVIDUAL BOOKS

Wisdom of Solomon

The date of Wisdom of Solomon is much debated. The frequent allusions to Exodus and other themes in the work may reflect persecution of the writer’s community in Egypt. However, precise dating is impossible, given that the Egyptian Jewish population experienced such difficulties intermittently from the late third century BCE up to the anti-Jewish riots in Caligula’s reign in 38 CE, coupled with the allusive style of the work (see the summary of positions in Grabbe 1997: 87–91).

Jerome states that the book is pseudepigraphical and that from its style Wisdom is a Greek composition which some people attribute to Philo (*Prol. in libris Salomonis; Prol. in libro Regum*). This did not prevent some modern scholars arguing for a Hebrew original for at least some of the book, until quite recently. As well as displaying a close connection with LXX books, especially Genesis and Exodus but also Kings (Schwenk-Bressler 1993; McGlynn 2010), Wisdom’s vocabulary draws on the LXX lexicon and goes well beyond it too (Larcher 1969: 181–223; Reese 1970: 3–25; Kepper 1999: 51–73). Its author employs Greek stylistic devices, though Hebraisms are also present, and citations and allusions to Scripture in Greek (Reese 1970: 25–31; Winston 1979: 14–18; Kepper 1999: 74–9; Rajak 2009: 181–2; Léonas 2011).

It has been debated whether Wisdom influenced NT writers directly, or whether the writings of the NT merely belong to the same thought world as Wisdom: there are certain parallels of approach between them, and also with the early patristic writers (McGlynn 2001: 235–40).

The book was evidently popular in antiquity, being well-represented in Christian manuscript tradition, and two Byzantine commentaries (Winston 1979: 65; Hanhart 1980²: 7–15).

1 Esdras/Esdras A

1 Esdras is important principally for questions of the textual history of the MT book Ezra-Nehemiah, which it greatly resembles. It combines material from 2 Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah (Wooden 2007a: 392–3), plus two passages without a parallel in the

canon, one of them the famous story of the Three Youths (1 Esdr. 3:1–5:6; Talshir 1999: 42–110) which Josephus repeats in *Ant.* XI.33–67, and Augustine refers to as a possible prophecy of Christ (*Civ. Dei* 18:36; Bird 2012: 29).

Current opinion differs widely on which version of the narrative came first, Ezra-Nehemiah or 1 Esdras, or whether this is an example of ‘rewritten Scripture’. Discussions to the end of the twentieth century are laid out by de Troyer (2002) and there are more recent essays in Fried (2011). Bird (2012: 16) gives a helpful chart of the relationship of the sources.

The question of the original language of 1 Esdras is inextricably linked to the issue of priority vis à vis Ezra-Nehemiah. Torrey (1970), Talshir (1999), and Grabbe (1998: 80) strongly favour a Semitic original. But de Troyer notes the difficulties of retroverting back into Hebrew and Aramaic a text that seems to be a free translation into Greek (2002: 34). Hanhart’s comparison of 1 Esdras with that of LXX Ezra-Nehemiah demonstrates that the two Greek texts are translations independent of each other, though there may be a common Hebrew–Aramaic *Vorlage* deviating from MT which was rendered differently by the two different translators (1974: 17). Citations of the book in patristic writers are few (Hanhart 1974: 23–4). For a summary of the textual situation in Greek transmission, see Bird (2012: 3–6).

2 Esdras/Esdras B

2 Esdras overlaps considerably in content with 1 Esdras (see charts in Wooden 2007b: 405; Janz 2010: 33). However, despite the inevitable redundancies, manuscripts and canon lists often include both books (see Swete 1914: 201–9).

Unlike 1 Esdras, 2 Esdras follows the Hebrew of Ezra-Nehemiah in its MT form to a slavish degree. Such isomorphism helps identify where the *Vorlage* deviated from MT (Janz 2010: 76–83). Transliterations and homoeophonic renderings abound (Janz 2010: 100–18), implying that the translator valued the source language over the target language (Wooden 2006: 143).

Tobit

The presence at Qumran of four fragments in Aramaic and one in Hebrew indicates that the story of Tobit’s family had been popular among Palestinian Jews in the Second Temple period. However, Origen states that Hebrew-speaking Jews of his day did not use the book of Tobit (*Ep. Afr.* §13), and Jerome was also aware of its lack of status for ‘Hebrews’. Jerome did not know of a Hebrew form of Tobit, and he claimed that it was under pressure from his patrons that he had agreed to render it into Latin from the ‘Chaldean’ (i.e. Aramaic) text (*Prolog. Tobiae*: Fitzmyer 2003: 20; Skemp 2000: 24).

The version of the narrative in the Qumran Semitic fragments has the closest affinity with the text of Tobit in Codex Sinaiticus, vindicating the ‘long’ form of the Greek tradition (see below). However, the book’s polyglot and pluriform tradition makes it

impossible to reconstruct the original Semitic text (Hallermayer 2008: 20–3; 187). For Greek Tobit alone there are three forms of the textual tradition (Hanhart 1984: 21–48):

- i) GI is the ‘short’ recension found in the majority of witnesses. It is essentially an abridged version of an originally longer form.
- ii) GII is ‘long’, even expanded. Its best witnesses are Codex Sinaiticus, and for Tob. 3:6–6:16, the eleventh-century MS 319 (Weeks 2006: 16–18; Weeks 2013; Gathercole 2006).
- iii) GIII is the ‘Intermediate Recension’ (Fitzmyer 2003: 5). It is another revised text, preserved only in some late Greek manuscripts, for the second part of the book (Tob. 6:8–13:2).

The critical edition of Hanhart (1983) lays out GI above GII for comparison, but it implies that GII is largely identical to a diplomatic edition of Sinaiticus (Weeks 2013: 2 n. 2).

The early loss of unity in the Greek text form may be due to the combination of Tobit’s popularity and its lack of canonical authority, with the textual ‘instability’ among the Greek witnesses caused by dissatisfaction with either the original Greek translation or the narrative (Weeks 2006; 2013). Though there is now no single Greek witness that fully represents an original form, Fitzmyer’s work on the Qumran Semitic fragments (1995; 2003: 3) enables scholars to assess the originality of different Greek readings (see Macatangay 2011: 13–23; Weeks 2006: 23; Weeks 2013). The textual affinities of the two fragmentary papyrus witnesses to Tobit from Oxyrhynchus (early third and sixth centuries) are complicated (Tob. 2:2–3 and 12:14–19; Hanhart 1983: 9–10; Wagner and Nicklas 2003: 144, 149).

Unrelated and more minor differences between the various Greek texts include the famous error in Sinaiticus of Tob. 11:4, where *κύων* ‘dog’ was misread as the *nomen sacrum*, the reverential abbreviation *κ(υριου)ς*, thus eliminating the only other mention of Tobias’s canine companion (the earlier one is at Tob. 5:17; see Littman 2008:138). Other anomalies include the introduction of Raphael and Ragouel as Tobit’s ancestors in Sinaiticus at Tob. 1:1 (Weeks 2013: 2 n. 3), and the replacement of Nahum in Vaticanus at Tob. 14:4 with Jonah (cf. also 14:8) (Bredin 2006).

The various textual forms of Tobit have recently been brought together synoptically in two different publications: the simpler edition in parallel columns of Wagner (2003), and the much fuller and more complex edition with notes and concordance by Weeks et al. (2004). The two editions are helpfully compared in Lange’s review (2006).

Judith

Although the book of Judith is more explicitly religious than Esther, another book featuring a heroine who risks her life to save her people, it was never considered for inclusion in the Jewish canon (for possible explanations see Zeitlin in Enslin and Zeitlin 1972: 24–6 and Gera 2010: 27–8). However, its dramatic narrative was popular with Christians.

Neither Origen nor Jerome know of a Hebrew text of Judith. Origen says that Jews did not use it even as an apocryphal book, whereas Jerome reports that it was included in their Apocrypha (Origen, *Ep. Afr.* 19; Jerome, *Prol. Judith*). Although Jerome claims that the book had been written in Aramaic ('Chaldean') and that this was the basis for his Latin version (*Prol. Judith*: see Ciletti and Lähnemann 2010: 43), Joosten suggests that Jerome saw either the Syriac version or an Aramaic rendering of the Greek text (Joosten 2007: *167–*168). However, both Enslin and Joosten believe Jerome based his translation on LXX manuscripts (Enslin in Enslin and Zeitlin 1972: 44; Joosten 2007: *167–*168).

The original language of Judith is still debated. Those who argue for a Hebrew original point to the 'paratactic' style, the many Hebraisms, and the lack of Greek particles (e.g. Enslin in Enslin and Zeitlin 1972: 40–2; Hanhart 1979b: 9; Moore 1985: 66–67; Otzen 2002: 140). However, there is growing support for an original Greek composition (e.g. Raket 2003: 33–40; Corley 2008). In Joosten's view, the more Hebraistic locutions could be deliberate attempts on the part of the Greek author to seem more 'biblical'. Citations of LXX in which the point of the allusion is found only in the Greek text (e.g. LXX Exod. 15:3 in Jdt. 9:7) are the likeliest indicators of a Greek composition (Joosten 2007). There are also features specific to Greek such as the future infinitive, and there are unusual words with no obvious counterparts in Hebrew (Joosten 2007: *160–*167): a good example would be *κωνώπιον* 'mosquito net' or 'canopy' (Jdt. 10:21; 13:9, 15; 16:19; Schmitz 2010). Similarities between Judith and Greek historical writing, especially Herodotus (Corley 2015: 228–9; 2012: 25–7, 34–45) and the use of specific 'Septuagintal' descriptions (Corley 2008; 2015: 28–34; also Engel 1992), may also indicate that the author wrote in Greek and depended heavily on LXX.

The date of composition is some time between the Maccabean period and the early first century BCE (Zeitlin in Enslin and Zeitlin 1972: 26–30). Joosten argues for a provenance in the Egyptian Diaspora, which would explain not only its composition in Greek but other features such as the curious geography of the book, the bizarre 'historical' details, Judith's inheritance of her late husband's wealth, and the absence of any awareness of the monarchic period and the splitting of Israel and Judah (Joosten 2007: *169–*175). The lack of references to Judith at Qumran or in the NT, Josephus, and rabbinic literature would be curious if the work originated in Palestine. However, Ilan argues that Judith was a Palestinian work linked with Esther and Susanna as propaganda for the rule of Shelamzion (Alexandra Salome, 141–67 BCE), widow of Alexander Jannaeus (Ilan 1999, following Enslin in Enslin and Zeitlin 1972: 180–1). In contrast, Zeitlin believes that the book was written in Antioch in connection with the book of 2 Maccabees, the narrative reflecting the war of Nicanor against the Judeans under Judas Maccabeus (Zeitlin in Enslin and Zeitlin 1972: 29–32).

The earliest textual witness to the book is Cairo Ostrakon 215 from the Fayum, dated to the late third century CE (Jdt. 15:1–7; Schwartz 1946). Next come the fourth-century Oxyrhynchus papyrus (P.Oxy 75.5020, Jdt. 6:16–17, 7:1–2; Lubitz 2010), and Codex Vaticanus (Corley 2015: 224; for the other uncials, see Craven 2003: 199–200).

Sirach

Sirach was widely appreciated in Greek Christianity. Despite its non-canonical status in Judaism, it was also cited in its Hebrew form by the rabbis (Schechter 1890–1).

The original Hebrew book of Ben Sira was probably written some time between the death in 196 BCE of the high priest Simon b. Onias (eulogized in Sirach ch. 50) and the Maccabean period. It was translated into Greek by the author's grandson, who in his valuable prologue to the translation tells us that he came to Egypt in the thirty-eighth year of Euergetes (Ptolemy VIII) and made the translation there. This suggests a date between 132 and Euergetes's death in 116 BCE.

Apart from citations in rabbinic literature, the Hebrew version was lost until the end of the nineteenth century when fragmentary manuscripts of the work were discovered among the Cairo Geniza documents. Further, earlier, texts emerged from among the Dead Sea Scrolls: a first-century BCE text from Masada, fragments from Cave 2 (2Q18), and part of Sirach ch. 51 in the Psalm scroll 11QPs^a. The recovery of approximately 68 per cent of the Hebrew text has enabled a comparison with the Greek text. Reiterer produced a study of a single chapter, the Praise of the Ancestors (1980). Wright's computer-based study concludes that Sirach was closest in approach to LXX Isaiah in terms of general technique. This means that it is difficult to use the Greek to reconstruct missing portions of the Hebrew text (Wright 1989: 51, 115; 249–50). Aitken's examination of the rendering from a literary point of view concludes that the translator in fact continued 'the pretensions of the prologue', and despite the limitations imposed by translation technique, he achieved a level similar to popular literary compositions of the general period (Aitken 2011: 123–6).

Since Sirach exists in two text forms, GrI and GrII, and also two recensions (Lucianic and Origenic), it presents the most text-critical difficulties of any LXX book (Ziegler 1980²: 5, 24–9; 57–69). Ziegler's studies of the lexical choices of GrI (1958) and the phenomenon of variant wording and doublets in the Hexaplaric tradition of Sirach (1963: 186) reveal affinities with the vocabulary of the later Jewish translators, especially Symmachus.

1–4 Maccabees: Overview

The four books traditionally named 'Maccabees' are narratives of the persecutions and divine vindication of Jews in the second century BCE. The four books were associated from the time of Clement of Alexandria and Origen, as τὰ Μακκαβαϊκά (Goldstein 1976: 3).

1 Maccabees is the Greek translation of a lost Hebrew work describing the war fought by Judas Maccabeus and others against the attempt to Hellenize Judea by Antiochus IV Epiphanes; 2 Maccabees is a Greek composition that overlaps with some of these events; 4 Maccabees is another Greek work focusing on the martyrdoms described in 2 Maccabees. 3 Maccabees, a story written in Greek, pre-dates the events of the other books, has nothing to do with the family of the Maccabees, and is mostly set in Alexandria. However, it does resemble themes in the other books such as the hubris of a

non-Jewish king, his designs on Jerusalem and the Temple, the threat he presents to his Jewish subjects and their way of life, and the problem of apostasy (Alexander 2001; Méléze Modrzejewski 2008: 31–2).

1 Maccabees

The style of the Greek suggests a Hebrew original, which Jerome claims to have seen (*Prol. libro Regum*), and the alternative name that Origen uses for it, *Sarbêthsabanaiel*, implies that 1 Maccabees existed in a Semitic form in his own day (Eusebius, *Eccl. hist.* VI.25.1–2, see Goldstein 1976: 15–16 and n. 28). The original Hebrew work may be dated to c.100 BCE, since the reference to John Hyrcanus (d. 104 BCE) in 1 Macc. 16: 23–4 suggests he was already dead (Goldstein 1976: 62). The date of the Greek translation is uncertain, though Josephus evidently depended on it and on 2 Maccabees for his historical narrative of the period in *Jewish War* and *Antiquities* (Goldstein 1976: 176). However, he modified 1 Maccabees's pro-Hasmonean stance (Goldstein 1976: 26, 55–61). Williams has investigated the literary structure of the book (1999).

2 Maccabees

The book tells the story of Jerusalem from 175 BCE to the victory of Judas Maccabaeus in 161 BCE, but is prefaced by an introduction and two letters. It is an original Greek composition employing unusual words and rhetoric (Doran 2012: 4–6). Apart from some deliberate biblicalisms it is markedly different from the language of translated books in the LXX corpus (Schwartz 2008: 67–76).

The date of the work is much debated (see summary by Doran 2012: 14–15). The first of the two letters prefixed to the narrative and addressed from Jerusalem to the Egyptian Jewish community (2 Macc. 1:1–10a; 1:10b–2:18) is dated either 124 BCE or 143 BCE. However, the following narrative, an epitome of the much longer history of Jason of Cyrene (2 Macc. 2:23), may be separate and in theory could belong to any period between 150 BCE and 70 CE. It may have been written in Alexandria, Antioch, or Judea.

Apart from the author of 4 Maccabees (see below), Jewish writers show no interest in the book. This contrasts with its enthusiastic reception by Christian authors, starting with the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews (Heb. 11:35–6, 38; Schwartz 2008: 87–8).

3 Maccabees

Among the uncial manuscripts, 3 Maccabees is found only in Alexandrinus and Venetus. This suggests that it lacked the popularity enjoyed by the other 'Maccabean' books among Christian readers. Since the narrative begins somewhat abruptly, the first part of the work may be missing (Croy 2006: xvii–xviii).

The book is set in the late third century BCE. After being repulsed from the Jerusalem Temple, Ptolemy Philopator brings captured Judeans to Egypt. There both they and the Alexandrian Jewish community resist compulsion to make pagan sacrifices. Gathered in vast numbers in the hippodrome, the Jews are to be trampled by enraged elephants, but the prayer of the elderly priest Eleazar is answered by the appearance of two angels. The assembled Jews are delivered and the animals attack the army instead.

The work was almost certainly written in Alexandria, in Greek, by a well-educated author. However, in view of the vocabulary used and the allusions to persecution of the Jews of Alexandria, the date of composition could be anywhere between the very end of the second century BCE and the reign of Caligula, though a narrower timeframe of c.100–30 BCE may fit best (Mélèze Modrzejewski 2008: 114–23; cf. Alexander 2001: 339). Tromp (1995) suggests that two main sources have been combined in the composition: the tradition behind a festival celebrated by Jews in Alexandria (known to Josephus: *c. Ap. II.53–5*), plus the story of Heliodorus (2 Maccabees ch. 3).

4 Maccabees

The title ‘4 Maccabees’ is misleading, since no Maccabees feature in it and the events described take place prior to the Maccabean revolt (deSilva 1998: 14). Eusebius of Caesarea referred to the book as ‘The Supremacy of Reason’, and attributed it to Josephus (*Eccl. hist.* 3.10.6; Klauck 1989: 647). Origen almost certainly refers to both 2 and 4 Maccabees in his *Exhortation to Martyrdom*, written in 235 CE (deSilva 1998: 152–3).

The excellent Greek of the work shows that the Jewish writer had some training in rhetoric and philosophy, as well as familiarity with translated scriptures in Greek, and reworked 2 Maccabees (Klauck 1989: 654; 665–6; Klauck 2011: 1448). However, current estimates of the date of composition vary, from c.35 CE (Bickerman 1976) to c.100 CE (Breitenstein 1976: 174; van Henten 1986: 142–5; Klauck 1989: 669), and even 117/18 CE and the Trajanic revolt (Dupont-Sommer 1939: 75–85). Most recently Schwemer has argued for a date of c.30 CE, on the basis of the positive use of the term ζηλωτής (4 Macc. 18:12) for Phineas, the exemplar for the Maccabean martyrs. This would indicate a date well before the Jewish War (Schwemer 2017: 270).

The book’s provenance in Antioch is very likely since this was the location of the relics of the martyrs whose witness 4 Maccabees describes (deSilva 1998:19). 4 Macc. 17:8–10 itself speaks of the propriety of engraving an inscription (ἐπιτάφιος) on their tomb (Dupont-Sommer 1939: 67–8; cf. Lebram 1974, who argues that the whole work is an *epitaphios logos*, or funerary inscription). Van Henten (1994: 67–8) notes the Jewish funerary inscriptions from Asia Minor resembling this passage. However, deSilva (1998: 99–126) would sum the work up as a ‘proptreptic discourse’, mingling philosophy with examples of the outworkings of that philosophy.

Letter of Jeremiah

The writer of the Letter of Jeremiah may have noted the prophet Jeremiah's failure to address the issue of idolatry in his letter to the exiles (Jeremiah ch. 36 LXX/29 MT), and so supplied the warning himself in this brief work (Moatti-Fine 2005: 289–90). Alternatively, the inspiration may have been the diatribe against idols in Jer. 10:2–15, as found in the 'shorter' edition of Hebrew Jeremiah (Thomas 2008). 2 Macc. 2:1–4 may allude to Letter of Jeremiah (Moatti-Fine 2005: 297). Oddities in the Greek suggest to some that it is a translation of an imperfectly understood Hebrew original (Moatti-Fine 2005: 296–8, 329). However, Wright notes that since the Greek used is nothing like the translations of the LXX, it may reflect an original composition (Wright 2010). In response to the work's many detractors, Brooke argues persuasively that the work displays a chiasmic literary structure and has appealing elements (Brooke 2007).

A small Greek fragment from Qumran, 7Q2, dated to c.100 BCE, may contain EpJer 43–4 (Baillet, Milik, and de Vaux 1962: 143).

Psalms of Solomon

The Psalms of Solomon are a collection of eighteen non-canonical psalms, preserved in Greek and Syriac. The poems' references to attacks on Jerusalem and the Temple are too allusive to allow precise dating. The original language is probably Hebrew: if this is so, the Psalms may date to the second half of the first century BCE and their Greek translation a few decades later (Wright 2007: 7).

According to the list of contents in Codex Alexandrinus, they originally appeared at the very end of that manuscript after the NT and Clementine Epistles and were subsequently lost, but they have been transmitted in twelve other manuscripts (Wright 2007: 1, 13, 25). Various later catalogues of scriptural works (e.g. Ps-Athanasius, Nicephorus) list them among the 'disputed' works or those 'external' to the canon (Wright 2007: 2–3). Wright provides a critical edition of the Greek with a translation (2007), and Trafton gives a comparative edition of the Greek and Syriac texts (1985). The Göttingen edition of the book has now appeared (Albrecht 2018), and a volume of essays (Bons and Pouchelle 2015) addresses aspects of this somewhat neglected work.

Odes

The various collections of 'Odes' found in certain manuscripts of the LXX and other versions do not constitute a book in themselves. Rabbinic Judaism sometimes lists poetic passages from the biblical canon to form a kind of narrative of God's relationship with his people (Harl 2014: 177–83). This practice of associating exemplary figures and their

prayers may have influenced the early Church from Origen onwards (*Hom. Cant.* 1; and see Coogan 2019). However, the tradition of Odes as a *physical* collection of liturgical poems is essentially a Christian and anthological phenomenon first attested in Codex Alexandrinus (fifth century) (Miller 2006; Coogan 2019). They are normally excerpted from the continuous biblical text, but there is a complex relationship between the Odes text and its reference text, implying a degree of separate transmission and/or textual interference between them (Coogan 2019).

The number of odes in the manuscripts varies between nine and fourteen, including some from the New Testament. The collection in Alexandrinus comprises the Song of the Sea (Exod. 15:1–19); Song of Moses (Deut. 32:1–43), Prayer of Hannah (1 Kgdms 2:1–10); Song of Isaiah (26:9–20); Prayer of Jonah (Jonah 2:3–10); Prayer of Habakkuk (Hab. 3: 2–19); Prayer of Hezekiah (Isa. 38:10–20); Prayer of Manasseh (2 Par. 33:12/13, 18/19); Prayer of Azariah (Dan. 3:26–45, Theod.); Song of the Three Youths (Dan. 3:52–88), and prayers from Luke including the Magnificat. Rahlfs's edition of Psalms and Odes (1979³) also includes the Song of the Vineyard (Isa. 5:1–9).

Psalm 151

Psalm 151, a pseudonymous composition of David (*ιδιόγραφος εἰς Δαυὶδ*) referring to themes in 1 Samuel ch. 16, is found at the end of the LXX Psalter. It corresponds to two short and partially preserved Hebrew psalms found consecutively in the Qumran Psalms Scroll 11QPs^a (Pss. 151A and 151B). The text of LXX Ps. 151:1–5 is shorter than the Hebrew of Psalm 151A, and the two versions evidently reflect different literary editions (Haran 1988). On the basis of his reconstruction of the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Greek text, Segal argues that the Qumran Ps. 151A reflects a later and more religious expansion of an older poem, and that what corresponds to LXX vv. 6–7 was added as a supplement, suggested by words similar to those found in Ps. 151B (Segal 2002).

SUGGESTED READING

The first part of the volume edited by Macdonald and Sanders (2002: 21–263) is a useful resource on issues of both Jewish and Christian canonicity. Holmes (2008: 406–14) and Hengel (2002: 57–74) are helpful on early Christian notions of canon, and Joosten (2016) on the Septuagint canon specifically. Gallagher (2012) discusses the evidence for the centrality of Hebrew text and language for Christian conceptions of the canon; see also Gallagher (2013) on the canon and apocryphal works among Latin Christians at the end of the fourth century. Adler (2002) surveys Christian attitudes to pseudepigraphical works.

For greater detail and further bibliography on individual books mentioned above, see *The T&T Clark Companion to the Septuagint* (Aitken 2015). For commentary, see volumes in the series *La Bible d'Alexandrie*, the *Septuagint Commentary Series*, and the two volumes of *Septuaginta Deutsch: Erläuterungen und Kommentare* (Karrer and Kraus 2011).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Editions and Textual Studies

- Albrecht, Felix (2018). *Psalmi Solomonis*. VTG 12.3. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Hanhart, Robert (1961). *Zum Text des 2. und 3. Makkabäerbuches: Probleme der Überlieferung, der Auslegung und der Ausgabe*. NAWG. Phil.-hist. Klassen 13. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Hanhart, Robert (1974). *Text und Textgeschichte des 1. Esrabuches*. AAWG 92. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Hanhart, Robert (1979a). *Iudith*. VTG 8.4 Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Hanhart, Robert (1979b). *Text und Textgeschichte des Buches Iudith*. AAWG Philologisch-Historische Klasse 109; MSU 14. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Hanhart, Robert (1980²). *Maccabaeorum Liber III*. VTG 9.3. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Hanhart, Robert (1983). *Tobit*. VTG 8/5. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Hanhart, Robert (1984). *Text und Textgeschichte des Buches Tobit*. AAWG Phil.-Hist. Klassen, III.130; MSU 17. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Hanhart, Robert (1991²). *Esdrae liber I*. VTG 8.1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Hanhart, Robert (1993). *Esdrae liber II*. VTG 8.2. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Kappler, Werner (1967²). *Maccabaeorum liber I*. VTG 9.1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Kappler, W., and R. Hanhart, ed. (1976²). *Maccabaeorum Liber II*. VTG 9.2. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Rahlfs, Alfred (1935). *Septuaginta, id est Vetus Testamentum Graece iuxta LXX interpretes*. 2 vols. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft.
- Rahlfs, Alfred (1979³). *Psalmi cum Odis*. VTG 10. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Ziegler, Josef (1957). *Ieremias, Baruch, Threni, Epistula Ieremiae*. VTG 15. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 4th edn. 2013.
- Ziegler, Josef (1980^{2a}). *Sapientia Iesu Filii Sirach*. VTG 12/2. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Ziegler, Josef (1980^{2b}). *Sapientia Salomonis*. VTG 12.1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

References

- Adams, Sean A. (2014). *Baruch and the Epistle of Jeremiah: A Commentary Based on the Texts in Codex Vaticanus*. SCS. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 147–204.
- Adler, William (2002). ‘The Pseudepigrapha in the Early Church’, in L. M. Macdonald and J. A. Sanders, eds., *The Canon Debate: On the Origins and Formation of the Bible*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, pp. 211–28.
- Aitken, James K. (2011). ‘The Literary Attainment of the Translator of Greek Sirach’, in J.-S. Rey and J. Joosten, eds., *The Texts and Versions of the Book of Ben Sira: Transmission and Interpretation*. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, pp. 95–126.
- Aitken, James K. (2015). *The T&T Clark Companion to the Septuagint*. London etc.: Bloomsbury and T&T Clark.
- Alexander, Philip S. (2001). ‘3 Maccabees, Hanukkah and Purim’, in A. Rapoport-Albert and G. Greenberg, eds., *Biblical Hebrew, Biblical Texts: Essays in Memory of Michael P. Weitzman*. JSOTSS. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, pp. 321–39.

- Atkinson, Kenneth (2000). *An Intertextual Study of the Psalms of Solomon: Pseudepigrapha*. Studies in the Bible and Early Christianity 49. Lewiston, Queenston, and Lampeter: Edwin Mellen.
- Baillet, M., J. T. Milik, and R. de Vaux (1962). *Les 'Petites grottes' de Qumrân*. DJD 3. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Barone, F. P. (2009). 'Pour une édition critique de la *Synopsis Scripturae Sacrae* du Pseudo-Jean Chrysostome'. *Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes* 83.1: 7–19.
- Bickerman, Elias (1976). 'The Date of Fourth Maccabees', repr. in E. Bickerman, ed., *Studies in Jewish and Christian History*. Leiden: Brill, 2007, I.266–71.
- Bird, Michael F. (2012). *1 Esdras: Introduction and Commentary on the Greek Text in Codex Vaticanus*. SCS. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill.
- Bons, Eberhard, and Patrick Pouchelle (2015). *The Psalms of Solomon: Language, History, Theology*. Atlanta, GA: SBL Press.
- Bredin, Mark (2006). 'The Significance of Jonah in Vaticanus (B) Tobit 14:4 and 8', in M. Bredin, ed., *Studies in the Book of Tobit: A Multidisciplinary Approach*. Library of Second Temple Studies 55. London and New York, NY: T&T Clark, pp. 43–58.
- Breitenstein, U. (1976). *Beobachtungen zu Sprache, Stil und Gedankengut des Vierten Makkabäerbuchs*. Basel and Stuttgart: Schwabe.
- Brooke, George J. (2007). 'Structure of the Poem against Idolatry in the *Epistle of Jeremiah* (1 Baruch 6)', in A. Frey and R. Gounelle, eds., *Poussières de christianisme et de judaïsme antiques: Études réunies en l'honneur de Jean-Daniel Kaestli et Éric Junod*. PIRSB 5. Lausanne: Editions du Zèbre, pp. 107–28.
- Ciletti, E., and H. Lähnemann (2010). 'Judith in the Christian Tradition', in K. R. Brine, E. Ciletti, and H. Lähnemann, eds., *The Sword of Judith: Judith Studies across the Disciplines*. Cambridge: OpenBook Publishers, pp. 41–65.
- Coogan, Jeremiah (2019). 'Biblical Odes', in Matthias Henze and Frank Feder, eds., *Textual History of the Bible*, Vol. 2C: *Deuterocanonical Scriptures*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 533–66.
- Corley, Jeremy (2008). 'Septuagintalism, Semitic Interference and the Original Language of the Book of Judith', in J. Corley and V. Skemp, eds., *Studies in the Greek Bible: Essays in Honor of Francis T. Gignac, S.J.* CBQMS 44. Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, pp. 65–96.
- Corley, Jeremy (2012). 'Imitation of Septuagintal Narrative and Greek Historiography in the Portrait of Holofernes', in G. G. Xeravits, ed., *A Pious Seductress: Studies in the Book of Judith*. DCLS 14. Berlin: de Gruyter, pp. 22–54.
- Corley, J. (2015). 'Judith', in James K. Aitken, ed., *T&T Clark Companion to the Septuagint*. London: Bloomsbury and T&T Clark, pp. 222–36.
- Craven, Toni (2003). 'The Book of Judith in the Context of Twentieth Century Studies of the Apocryphal/Deuterocanonical Books'. *CBR* 1.2: 187–229.
- Croy, N. Clayton (2006). *3 Maccabees*. SCS. Leiden: Brill.
- deSilva, David A. (1998). *4 Maccabees*. Guides to Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- deSilva, David A. (2006). *4 Maccabees: Introduction and Commentary on the Greek Text in Codex Sinaiticus*. SCS. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill.
- De Troyer, Kristin (2002). 'Zerubbabel and Ezra: A Revived and Revised Solomon and Josiah? A Survey of Current 1 Esdras Research'. *CBR* 1.1: 30–60.
- Dogniez, Cécile (2013). 'Les Odes ajoutées au Psautier dans la Septante comme actes de langage', in M. K. Peters, ed., *XIV Congress of the IOSCS, Helsinki, 2010*. Atlanta, GA: SBL Press, pp. 645–62.

- Doran, Robert (2012). *2 Maccabees: A Critical Commentary*. Hermeneia. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress.
- Dorival, Gilles (2005). 'L'Apport des *Synopses* transmises sous le nom d'Athanase et de Jean Chrysostome à la question du corpus littéraire de la Bible', in G. Dorival et al., eds., *Qu'est-ce qu'un corpus littéraire? Recherches sur le corpus biblique et le corpus patristiques*. Collection de la Revue des études juives 35. Paris and Louvain: Peeters, pp. 53–93.
- Dupont-Sommer, A. (1939). *Le Quatrième Livre des Machabées*. Paris: Honoré Champion.
- Engel, Helmut (1992). "'Der Herr ist ein Gott, der Kriege zerschlagt'": Zur Frage der griechischen Originalsprache und der Struktur des Buches Judit', in K. D. Schunk and M. Augustin, eds., *Goldene Äpfel in silbernen Schalen*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, pp. 155–68.
- Enslin, M. S., and S. Zeitlin (1972). *The Book of Judith: Greek Text with an English Translation, Commentary and Critical Notes*. Jewish Apocryphal Literature 7. Leiden and Philadelphia, PA: E. J. Brill and Dropsie University.
- Fitzmyer, Joseph (1995). 'Tobit', in M. Broshi et al., eds., *Qumran Cave 4: XIV. Parabiblical Texts, Part 2*. DJD 19. Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp. 1–76.
- Fitzmyer, Joseph (2003). *Tobit*. CEJL. Berlin and New York, NY: de Gruyter.
- Fried, Lisbeth S., ed. (2011). *Was First Esdras First? An Investigation into the Nature and Priority of First Esdras*. SBL Symposium Series. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature.
- Gallagher, Edmon (2012). *Hebrew Scripture in Patristic Biblical Theory: Canon, Language, Text*. Supplements to *Vigiliae Christianae*. Texts and Studies of Early Christian Life and Language 114. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill.
- Gallagher, Edmon (2013). 'Jerome's Prologus Galeatus and the OT Canon of North Africa', in Markus Vincent, ed., *Studia Patristica 69: Papers Presented at the Sixteenth International Conference on Patristic Studies Held in Oxford 2011*, Vol. 17: *Latin Writers: Nachleben*. Leuven, Paris, and Walpole, MA: Peeters, pp. 99–106.
- Gathercole, Simon (2006). 'Some Preliminary Comments on the Relations between the Old Latin Witnesses', in M. Bredin, ed., *Studies in the Book of Tobit: A Multidisciplinary Approach*. Library of Second Temple Studies 55. London and New York, NY: T&T Clark, pp. 5–11.
- Gera, D. Levine (2010). 'The Jewish Textual Traditions', in K. R. Brine, E. Ciletti, and H. Lähnemann, eds., *The Sword of Judith: Judith Studies across the Disciplines*. Cambridge: OpenBook Publishers, pp. 23–39.
- Goldstein, Jonathan A. (1976). *1 Maccabees*. AB 41. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- Goldstein, Jonathan A. (1983). *2 Maccabees*. AB 41A. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- Grabbe, Lester J. (1997). *Wisdom of Solomon*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- Grabbe, Lester J. (1998). *Ezra-Nehemiah*. OTR. London: Routledge.
- Hallermayer, Michaela (2008). *Text und Überlieferung des Buches Tobit*. Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Studies 3. Berlin and New York, NY: de Gruyter.
- Haran, M. (1988). 'The Two Text Forms of Ps 151'. *JJS* 39: 171–82.
- Harl, Marguerite (2014). *Voix de louange: Les Cantiques bibliques dans la liturgie chrétienne*, with B. Meynadier and A. Pietrobelli. Anagôgê 8. Paris: Les belles lettres.
- Hengel, Martin (2002). *The Septuagint as Christian Scripture: Its Prehistory and the Problem of Its Canon*. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, pp. 105–27.
- Holmes, Michael E. (2008). 'The Biblical Canon', in S. Ashbrook Harvey and D. G. Hunter, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 406–26.
- Ilan, Tal (1999). 'And Who Knows Whether You Have Not Come to Dominion for a Time Like This?' (Esth 4.14): Esther, Judith and Susanna as Propaganda for Shelamzion's Queenship', in T. Ilan, ed., *Integrating Women into Second Temple History*. TSAJ 76. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 127–53.

- Janz, Timothy (2010). *La Bible d'Alexandrie*, Vol. XII.2: *Deuxième Livre d'Esdras*. Paris: Cerf.
- Joosten, Jan (2007). 'The Original Language and Historical Milieu of the Book of Judith', in *Megillot: Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls 5–6: A Festschrift for Devorah Dimant*. Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, pp. 159–76. Repr. in J. Joosten, ed., *Collected Studies on the Septuagint: From Language to Interpretation and Beyond*. FzAT 83. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012, pp. 195–209.
- Joosten, Jan (2016). 'The Origin of the Septuagint Canon', in S. Kreuzer, M. Meiser, and M. Sigismund, eds., *Die Septuaginta: Orte und Intentionen*. WUNT 361. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 688–99.
- Junod, E. (1984). 'La Formation et la composition de l'Ancient Testament dans l'Église grecque des quatre premiers siècles', in J.-D. Kaestli and O. Wermelinger, eds., *Le Canon de l'ancien Testament: Sa formation et son histoire*. Labor et Fides. Geneva: Le Monde de la Bible, pp. 105–51.
- Karrer, Martin, and Wolfgang Kraus (2011). *Septuaginta Deutsch: Erläuterungen und Kommentare*. 2 vols. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft.
- Kepper, Martina (1999). *Hellenistische Bildung im Buch der Weisheit: Studien zur Sprachgestalt und Theologie der Sapientia Salomonis*. BZAW 280. Berlin and New York, NY: de Gruyter.
- Klauck, Hans-Josef (1989). *4. Makkabäerbuch*. JSHRZ 3.6. Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn.
- Klauck, Hans-Josef (2011). 'Makkabaion IV: Das Vierte Buch der Makkabäer', in *Septuaginta Deutsch: Erläuterungen und Kommentare* I.1443–75.
- Lange, Armin (2006). Review of Weeks et al., *The Book of Tobit* (2004) and Wagner, *Polyglotte Tobit-Synopse* (2003). *DSD* 13.2: 256–62.
- Larcher, C. (1969). *Études sur le livre de la Sagesse*. Études Bibliques. Paris: Gabalda.
- Lebram, J. C. H. (1974). 'Die literarische Form des vierten Makkabäerbuches'. *VC* 28: 81–96.
- Léonas, Alexis (2011). 'The Poetics of Wisdom: Language and Style in the Wisdom of Solomon', in E. Bons and T. Kraus, eds., *Et Sapienter et Eloquenter: Studies on Rhetorical and Stylistic Features of the Septuagint*. FRLANT 241. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 99–126.
- Littman, Robert J. (2008). *Tobit: The Book of Tobit in Codex Sinaiticus*. SCS 9. Leiden: Brill.
- Lubitz, K. (2010). '5020. LXX, Judith 6:16–17, 7:1–2', in H. Maehler et al., eds., *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 75. London: Egypt Exploration Society, pp. 1–2.
- Macatangay, Francis M. (2011). *The Wisdom Instructions in the Book of Tobit*. Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Studies 12. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Macdonald, Lee Martin, and James A. Sanders, eds. (2002). *The Canon Debate: On the Origins and Formation of the Bible*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson.
- Mason, Steve (2002). 'Josephus and His Twenty Two Book Canon', in Lee Martin McDonald and James A. Sanders, eds., *The Canon Debate*. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, pp. 110–27.
- McGlynn, Moyna (2001). *Divine Judgement and Divine Benevolence in the Book of Wisdom*. WUNT 2, Reihe 139. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- McGlynn, Moyna (2010). 'Solomon, Wisdom and the Philosopher-Kings', in G. G. Xeravits and J. Zsengellér, eds., *Studies in the Book of Wisdom*. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, pp. 61–82.
- Mélèze Modrzejewski, Joseph (2008). *La Bible d'Alexandrie*, Vol. XV.3: *Troisième Livre des Maccabées*. Paris: Cerf.
- Miller, J. A. (2006). "'Let Us Sing to the Lord": The Biblical Odes in the Codex Alexandrinus'. PhD diss., Marquette University, Milwaukee.
- Moatti-Fine, Jacqueline (with Isabelle Assan-Dhôte) (2005). *La Bible d'Alexandrie*, Vol. XXV.2: *Baruch, Lamentations, Lettre de Jérémie*. Paris: Cerf.
- Moore, Carey A. (1985). *Judith: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. AB 40. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.

- Otzen, Benedikt (2002). *Tobit and Judith*. Guides to Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha. London: Sheffield Academic Press.
- Rajak, Tessa (2009). *Translation and Survival: The Greek Bible of the Ancient Jewish Diaspora*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rakel, Claudia (2003). *Judit: Über Schönheit, Macht und Widerstand im Krieg: Eine feministisch-intertextuelle Lektüre*. BZAW 334. Berlin and New York, NY: de Gruyter.
- Reese, James M. (1970). *Hellenistic Influence in the Book of Wisdom and Its Consequences*. Analecta Biblica 41. Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico.
- Reiterer, F. V. (1980). 'Urtext' und Übersetzungen: Sprachstudie über Sir 44, 16–45, 26 als Beitrag zur Siraforschung. Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im Alten Testament 12. St. Ottilien: EOS.
- Schechter, Solomon (1890–1). 'The Quotations for Ecclesiasticus in Rabbinic Literature.' *JQR* 3: 682–706.
- Schmitz, Barbara (2010). 'Holofernes's Canopy in the Septuagint', in K. R. Brine, E. Ciletti, and H. Lähnemann, eds., *The Sword of Judith: Judith Studies across the Disciplines*. Cambridge: OpenBook Publishers, pp. 71–80.
- Schwartz, Daniel R. (2008). *2 Maccabees*. CEJL. Berlin and New York, NY: de Gruyter.
- Schwartz, J. (1946). 'Un Fragment grec du livre de Judith (sur ostracon)'. *RB* 53: 534–7.
- Schwemer, A.-M. (2017). 'Zu Entstehungszeit und -ort des 4. Makkabäerbuchs', in F. Avemarie, P. Bukovec, S. Krauter, and M. Tilly, eds., *Die Makkabäer*. WUNT 382. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 245–74.
- Schwenk-Bressler, Udo (1993). *Sapientia Salomonis als ein Beispiel frühjüdischer Textauslegung: Die Auslegung des Buches Genesis, Exodus 1–15 and Teilen der Wüstentradition in Sap 10–19*. BEATAJ 32. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Segal, Michael (2002). 'Literary Development of Psalm 151: A New Look at the Septuagint Version.' *Textus* 21: 1–20.
- Skemp, Vincent (2000). *The Vulgate of Tobit Compared with Other Ancient Witnesses*. SBLDS 180. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature.
- Swete, Henry B. (1914). *Introduction to the OT in Greek*. 2nd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Talshir, Zipora (1999). *1 Esdras: From Origin to Translation*. SBLSCS 47. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.
- Thomas, B. D. (2008). 'Reevaluating the Influence of Jeremiah 10 upon the Apocryphal Epistle of Jeremiah: A Case for the Short Edition.' *ZAW* 120: 547–62.
- Torrey, C. C. (1970). *Ezra Studies*. Repr. Library of Biblical Studies. New York, NY: Ktav.
- Tov, Emanuel (2015). 'Reflections on the Septuagint with Special Attention Paid to the Post-Pentateuchal Translations', in E. Tov, ed., *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible, Qumran, Septuagint*, Vol. 3. VTSup 167. Leiden: Brill, pp. 429–48.
- Trafton, Joseph (1985). *The Syriac Version of the Psalms of Solomon: A Critical Evaluation*. ABLSCS11. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.
- Tromp, Johannes (1995). 'The Formation of the Third Book of Maccabees.' *Henoch* 17: 311–28.
- van der Horst, P. W., and J. H. Newman (2008). 'The Prayer of Azariah' and 'The Prayer of Manasseh', in P. van der Horst and J. Newman, eds., *Early Jewish Prayers in Greek*. CEJL. Berlin: de Gruyter, pp. 183–214; 147–80.
- Van Henten, Jan Willem (1986). 'Datierung und Herkunft des vierten Makkabäerbuches', in J. W. van Henten, H. J. de Jonge, et al., eds., *Tradition and Re-Interpretation in Jewish and Early Christian Literature: Essays in Honour of Jürgen C. H. Lebram*. StPB 36. Brill: Leiden, pp. 136–49.

- Van Henten, Jan Willem (1994). 'A Jewish Epitaph in a Literary Text: 4 Macc 17:8–10', in J. W. Van Henten and P. van der Horst, eds., *Studies in Early Jewish Epigraphy*. AGJU 21. Leiden: Brill, pp. 44–69.
- Van Henten, Jan Willem (1997). *The Maccabean Martyrs as Saviours of the Jewish People: A Study of 2 and 4 Maccabees*. Leiden, New York, NY, and Cologne: Brill.
- Wagner, Christian J. (2003). *Polyglotte Tobit-Synopse: Griechisch–Lateinisch–Syrisch–Hebräisch–Aramäisch*. AAWG Phil.-Hist. Klasse, III.258; MSU 28. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Wagner, C. J., and T. Nicklas (2003). 'Thesen zur textlichen Vielfalt im Tobitbuch'. *JSJ* 34: 141–59.
- Weeks, Stuart (2006). 'Some Neglected Texts of Tobit: The Third Greek Version', in M. Bredin, ed., *Studies in the Book of Tobit: A Multidisciplinary Approach*. Library of Second Temple Studies 55. London and New York, NY: T&T Clark, pp. 12–42.
- Weeks, Stuart (2013). 'Restoring the Greek Tobit'. *JSJ* 44.1: 1–15.
- Weeks, S., S. Gathercole, and L. Stuckenbruck (2004). *The Book of Tobit: Texts from the Principal Ancient and Medieval Traditions. With Synopsis, Concordances, and Annotated Texts in Aramaic, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Syriac*. Fontes et Subsidia ad Bibliam Pertinentes 3. Berlin and New York, NY: de Gruyter.
- Wendland, P. (1900). *Aristeae ad Philocratem epistula: Cum ceteris de origine versionis LXX interpretvm testimoniis*. Leipzig: Teubner.
- Williams, David S. (1999). *The Structure of 1 Maccabees*. CBQMS 31. Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America.
- Winston, David W. (1979). *The Wisdom of Solomon*. AB 43. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- Wooden, R. Glenn (2006). 'Interlinearity in 2 Esdras: A Test Case', in W. Kraus and R. G. Wooden, *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges*. SBLSCS 53. Atlanta, GA: SBL Press, pp. 119–44.
- Wooden, R. Glenn (2007a). '1 Esdras', in A. Pietersma and B. G. Wright, eds., *A New English Translation of the Septuagint*. New York, NY and Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 392–404.
- Wooden, R. Glenn (2007b). '2 Esdras', in A. Pietersma and B. G. Wright, eds., *A New English Translation of the Septuagint*. New York, NY and Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 405–23.
- Wright, Benjamin G. (1989). *No Small Difference: Sirach's Relationship to Its Hebrew Parent Text*. SBLSCS 26. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.
- Wright, Benjamin G. (2010). 'The Epistle of Jeremiah: Translation or Composition?', in G. G. Xeravits and J. Zsengellér, eds., *Deuterocanonical Additions of the Old Testament Books: Selected Studies*. DCLS 5. Berlin: de Gruyter, pp. 126–42.
- Wright, Robert B. (2007). *The Psalms of Solomon: A Critical Edition of the Greek Text*. New York, NY: T&T Clark.
- Zaharopoulos, D. Z. (1989). *Theodore of Mopsuestia on the Bible: A Study of His Old Testament Exegesis*. New York, NY: Paulist Press.
- Ziegler, Josef (1958). 'Zum Wortschatz des griechischen Sirach', in J. Hempel and L. Rost, eds., *Von Ugarit nach Qumran: Festschrift O. Eissfeldt*. BZAW 77. Berlin: A. Töpelmann, pp. 274–87.
- Ziegler, Josef (1960). 'Die hexaplarische Bearbeitung des griech. Sirach'. *BZ n.f.* 4: 174–85.
- Ziegler, Josef (1963). 'Die Vokabel-Varianten der O-Rezension im griechischen Sirach', in D. Winton Thomas, ed., *Hebrew and Semitic Studies Presented to Godfrey Rolles Driver*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, pp. 172–90.

PART IV

THE
SEPTUAGINT IN
ITS JEWISH
CONTEXT

CHAPTER 27

PHILO AND THE SEPTUAGINT

SARAH J. K. PEARCE

INTRODUCTION

PHILO of Alexandria (c.20 BCE—c.50 CE) is the most prolific and influential commentator on the Greek Bible known to us from Jewish antiquity.¹ A member of a powerful and wealthy Jewish family, Philo included in his family circle high-ranking members of the Roman administration in Egypt with close ties to Agrippa I, king of Judea. Of Philo's public life, the only recorded episode concerns his leadership of an embassy to Gaius Caligula (c.39/40 CE) to defend the rights of Jews to observe their ancestral customs in Alexandria, free from persecution. This was a dangerous time to be an Alexandrian Jew; Philo's own account of events, presented in two treatises (*Against Flaccus* and *The Embassy to Gaius*; van der Horst 2003; Smallwood 1961), makes clear the existential threat to the Jewish community and Philo's absolute commitment to its preservation (on Philo's Judaism, see Birnbaum 1996; 2006). Half a century on, the Jewish-Greek historian Josephus would recall, with great admiration, Philo's distinguished role in this context (*Ant.* 18. 259–60; on Philo's life and context, see Schwartz 2009). Otherwise, what Philo reveals of himself through his works is his passionate devotion to studying the books of Moses—in the form of the Greek Torah—and to understanding and revealing their hidden treasures (cf. *Spec.* 3.1–6). Educated to the highest level in the Hellenistic school subjects and immersed in the Greek philosophy of his day, Philo represents a dazzling display of Greek learning put to the service of promoting the 'philosophy' of Moses as the highest expression of wisdom and virtue and the most perfect guide to the knowledge of God.

By the standards of his time, Philo was a very productive author. Around fifty of his treatises are extant, preserved in the original Greek or in late antique translations

¹ I thank Alison G. Salvesen and James R. Royle for their helpful comments on this chapter.

(Classical Armenian and Latin); as many as twenty-five additional works by Philo seem to have been lost in antiquity. All Philo's works were composed in Greek, which he describes as 'our language (διάλεκτον)' (*Congr.* 44; cf. *Conf.* 129). His own Greek style is faultless, 'a fluent Hellenistic Greek with slight atticizing tendencies' (Runia 1986: 35; cf. Siegert 1996: 164). In terms of vocabulary, Philo's range is very extensive. Like the LXX translators, Philo is the author of numerous neologisms ('verba Philonica'); his creative approach to language includes the updating of LXX terms to reflect the contemporary context, for example on idol language (cf. Pearce 2013).

In a number of treatises the focus is on philosophical topics or contemporary events; while these works present relatively few scriptural citations, they are not without interest for LXX studies, supplying rich resources for Philo's development of fundamental themes based on scriptural sources and for accounts of the central place of the Torah in the life of contemporary Jewish communities (*Aet.*; *Anim.*; *Contempl.*; *Flacc.*; *Legat.*; *Prob.*; *Prov.* 1–2). As for works dealing directly with the interpretation of Scripture, Philo treats a wide range of Torah traditions in his two-volume *Life of Moses*, including an account of the origins of the Greek Torah (McGing 2006), while the fragmentary *Hypothetica* offers an overtly apologetic presentation of topics including the Exodus, the conquest of the land, and the laws of Moses (Sterling 1990). Yet the greatest part of the Philonic corpus (more than 75 per cent) belongs to three commentary series on the Greek Torah: the *Questions and Answers on Genesis and Exodus*; the Allegorical Commentary; and the Exposition of the Law (for detailed summaries of Philo's works, see Morris 1987; Royse 2009).

Taken together, Philo's commentaries include thousands of scriptural citations and allusions and represent a fundamental witness to the text of the Greek Torah. Philo's interpretations depend exclusively on the LXX text, signalling his confidence in even the most peculiar elements of the translation as sources of profound truth for those who know how to look for them correctly (Arnaldez 1984; Siegert 1996: 182–7). On the basis of these works, it may properly be said that 'With Philo, we have for the first time a sustained interpretation of the LXX' (Dines 2004: 141). With Philo, furthermore, we have a remarkable range of approaches to Scripture, exemplified in particular by the different methods of interpretation employed in the three great commentary series (Borgen 1997).

PHILO'S COMMENTARIES ON THE GREEK TORAH

Questions and Answers on Genesis and Exodus (QGE)

Philo's work *Questions and Answers on Genesis and Exodus (QGE)* is the earliest known example of a sustained sequence of commentaries in the form of questions and answers on books of the Torah. The formal approach of *QGE* continues a long-established Greek

genre of commentaries in the form of ‘Problems and Solutions’, designed to explain Homeric poetry, particularly in the light of philosophical doctrines. In *QGE*, Philo begins each commentary with a quotation of the Greek Torah text, followed by a brief question about why the text is as it is or what it means. Philo’s questions deal with a range of problems, including apparent inconsistencies in the Torah text, surprising omissions or sequences in the narrative, and unacceptable interpretations. In his solutions to questions posed by the Torah, Philo typically presents literal explanations of the text followed by symbolic or allegorical interpretations. While his answers imply the usefulness of the literal interpretation, Philo’s treatment of the non-literal, ‘deeper’ meaning in *QGE* is relatively much fuller, often involving discussions of the ethical, psychological, and spiritual significance of a text, or extensive treatment of the symbolism of numbers in specific passages. Whatever the problems posed, Philo uses the answers to demonstrate the perfection of the words articulated in the (Greek) Torah text.

Philo’s *QGE* seems originally to have comprised six books on Genesis and six books on Exodus (Roysse 1976–7; 2001). The series survives primarily in a sixth-century Armenian translation, which transmits, incompletely, the six books on Genesis (numbered as four in the Armenian) and fragments of the six books on Exodus (in two books in the Armenian). There is no modern critical edition of the Armenian text. The standard text remains that of Aucher 1826. (Modern translations of *QGE*: Marcus 1953; Mercier 1979; Mercier and Petit 1984; Terian 1992.)

QGE is also partially attested by several hundred Greek fragments preserved in Christian sources. The principal sources for these Philonic fragments are the remains of compilations of commentaries on sacred texts included in the *Catena*e; the *Epitome* of Procopius of Gaza; and the *Sacra Parallela*. The fragments confirm the generally literal character of the Armenian version and its important role in reconstructing the underlying Greek (Petit 1978; Paramelle 1984; Roysse 1984; 1991). Also in Greek, MS Vaticanus gr. 379 preserves the continuous text of *QE* 2.62–8 (critical edition: Roysse 2012; for translation and discussion: Runia 2004). A Latin version (late fourth-century) represents the final book of *QG*, including material absent from the Armenian, from which three Greek fragments are known (Petit 1973).

Overall, the extant evidence transmits questions and answers on Gen. 2:4b–28:9 and Exod. 6:2–17:16; 20:25b–30:10. The significance of this material for LXX studies is relatively neglected, perhaps not surprisingly in view of the challenges posed by a corpus that survives largely in translation (for a valuable collection of studies on *QGE*: Hay 1991). Regrettably, the Greek fragments often lack the scriptural citation to be interpreted. For the most part, our knowledge of the Torah text in *QGE* must be based on the Armenian version, including significant variations from the standard LXX text which, in view of the literalism of the Armenian, are likely to have stood in the translator’s Greek original. Substantial agreements in structure between *QGE* and later divisions of the Torah text into portions for the service of the synagogue suggest that Philo’s questions and answers may have been inspired by the communal reading practices of Alexandrian Jewry (Roysse 1976–7; 2001).

The Allegorical Commentary

Philo's longest and most complex commentary series is known to modern scholars as the Allegorical Commentary, echoing the ancient title of *The Allegories of the Laws*, which Philo himself is said to have given to the first three books of the series (Eusebius, *H.E.* 2.18.1; cf. Morris 1987: 83on53). Both titles reflect the overwhelming orientation of this commentary series towards the allegorical interpretation of Scripture. While Philo aims to uphold the validity of both literal and allegorical readings (cf. *Migr.* 86–93), the Allegorical Commentary is fundamentally concerned with the use of allegorical techniques to unlock the truths within Scripture. Allegory, states Philo, is 'the method dear to men with their eyes opened' (*Plant.* 36); to read in this way is to look beneath the surface of the written words of Moses and to be able to see in the terms of 'outward nature' the deeper reality that these words represent (*Leg.* 2.5). In this approach, the Greek Torah becomes a guide to the soul's migration, expressed primarily in Platonic categories, from the world of the body to the realm of the soul (Nikiprowetzky 1977: 239; Runia 1990: 1–18).

Nineteen books of the Allegorical Commentary are extant (counting books by their original extent), including one book represented only by the Armenian fragment of *De Deo* (*Leg.* 1–2; *Leg.* 3; *Cher., Sacr., Det., Post., Gig-Deus, Agr., Plant., Ebr., Sobr.- Conf.* [cf. Royse 2009: 42], *Migr., Her., Congr., Fug., Mut., De Deo, Somn.* 1, *Somn.* 2). Internal and external evidence points to the existence within the original commentary series of at least twelve more books, now lost, perhaps beginning with a commentary on Gen. 1:1 (Tobin 2000). What remains provides an extensive sequence of books giving running commentaries on verses from Greek Gen. 2:1–18:2 and other texts on the subject of dreams from the Jacob and Joseph cycles (Genesis chs. 28, 31, 37, 40–1).

In most treatises of the Allegorical Commentary, Philo's interpretation proceeds on a verse-by-verse basis (e.g. *Leg.* 1–3 on Gen. 2:1–3:19); in a few others, Philo takes a more thematic approach, based on a single verse (e.g. *Agr.* and *Plant.* on Gen. 9:20) (Runia 2013: 6–7). The basic structure of the Allegorical Commentary, like that of *QGE*, consists of citations of scriptural verses, followed by reflections on specific words or phrases in the text, in which the interpretation is based on questions and problems (explicit or implicit) arising from details of the primary text. In the Allegorical Commentary, however, Philo typically constructs the interpretation of the primary text by introducing other scriptural texts which he links verbally or thematically to the primary text; these other, secondary texts are also cited and interpreted, leading to the creation of a complex exegetical chain that takes the reader back to the primary lemma. As a result, the Allegorical Commentary represents a rich resource of scriptural citations and is a key witness, in particular, to the Greek text of Genesis and other books of Jewish Scripture.

The complex character of the Allegorical Commentary suggests to many an intended readership of advanced scholars, familiar with Scripture and educated in advanced techniques of allegorical exegesis (Runia 2013: 7). A glimpse of this kind of activity is conveyed in Philo's description of the ascetic Therapeutae of the Alexandrian countryside (*Contempl.* 29, 78) (combining a communal setting with the meditative practice of the individual).

The Exposition of the Law

The Exposition of the Law (the title of the series as a whole derives from modern scholarship) is the most fully preserved of all Philo's exegetical works, with ten books extant: *Opif.*, *Abr.*, *Ios.*, *Decal.*, *Spec.* 1–4, *Virt.*, *Praem.* At least two further books appear to have been lost in antiquity, since Philo mentions lives of Isaac and Jacob in *Ios.* 1.

In contrast to *QGE* and the Allegorical Commentary, which restrict the primary text for commentary to parts of Genesis and Exodus, the Exposition of the Law aims to provide a systematic account of the Torah as a whole, from Genesis to the end of Deuteronomy. Philo's own descriptions of the structure of this series explain its organization into distinct types or parts. In the most complete version of such descriptions, which Philo gives in the final book of the Exposition (*Praem.* 1–3; cf. the similar account in *Abr.* 2–5), he explains that 'the oracles of Moses' (i.e. the content of the Torah) consist of the following kinds: the 'making of the cosmos' (*Opif.*); the 'historical', concerning the lives of the ancestors (*Abr.* and *Ios.*); and the 'legislative' (*νομοθετικός*), dealing with the laws of the Torah (*Decal.-Praem.*). (In *Mos.* 2.45–51, Philo divides the Torah into two parts: the historical (creation and the lives of the ancestors) and the commands and prohibitions; in that context, he is concerned primarily with explaining the reason behind Moses's arrangement of the Torah, in which he puts the historical material before the laws.)

The 'legislative' section includes the 'Ten Words' (*δέκα λόγοι*), which, according to Philo, were given directly by God, and which function as comprehensive 'headings' for the 'specific laws' (*Praem.* 2), that is, the laws of the Torah given through Moses (*Decal.-Spec.* 1–4). The 'legislative' material continues with a discussion of Mosaic laws under the headings of particular virtues (*Virt.*) and concludes, following the model of the Torah, with an exposition of the punishments and rewards for transgression or observance of the laws (*Praem.*).

As Philo repeatedly emphasizes, a fundamental aim in the books of the Exposition is to provide the fullest possible investigation of the words of Scripture (on the importance of 'accuracy' (*ἀκρίβεια*) see e.g. *Abr.* 2; *Decal.* 1, 52). This approach includes the use of symbolical or allegorical interpretation, though allegorical exegesis does not dominate the Exposition as it does *QGE* and the Allegorical Commentary (on the importance of using allegorical interpretation to reveal 'the hidden meaning' of the laws, see *Decal.* 1). For examples of sustained allegorical interpretation in the Exposition, cf. *Opif.* 157–66, *Abr.* 60–106, *Spec.* 1.327–45).

The most fundamental difference between the Exposition and Philo's other commentary series concerns the presentation of the scriptural text. In contrast with the juxtaposing of scriptural quotation with interpretation in *QGE* and the Allegorical Commentary, Philo rarely cites from Scripture in the Exposition. Instead, the standard practice used in the Exposition is to summarize a narrative or law and to reflect on themes and questions arising from the summary. In this rewriting of Scripture, Philo takes over words and phrases from the LXX and makes them part of his own version of the Torah (Runia 2001a: 10–21).

On the Life of Moses (De Vita Mosis 1–2)

Philo's two-volume work on Moses is written with the explicit aim of promoting knowledge of Moses in a world in which the majority of people, as Philo insists, remain ignorant of the life and achievements of 'this greatest and most perfect of men' (*Mos.* 1.1), even if the laws of Moses are (allegedly) well known and admired. This overtly apologetic work assumes readers with little knowledge of Jewish tradition but who might be inspired by the example of Moses to look further into his philosophy.

The relationship of Philo's *Moses* to the Exposition remains a matter of debate. Philo refers in the Exposition to his two treatises on Moses, but he does not include these books within his plans for the content of the Exposition itself (*Virt.* 52; cf. *Praem.* 53. See further Morris 1987: 854–5; Sterling 2012: 422–3). The treatises perhaps functioned as a philosophical introduction to the Exposition as a whole. Book 1 develops the theme of Moses's sovereignty as a divine reward, reading the narratives of Exodus–Deuteronomy as the story of Moses's actions as king; Book 2 is a study of those powers possessed by Moses 'as the most fitting accompaniments of his kingship', which Philo treats systematically under the headings of lawgiving, high priesthood, and prophecy, drawing on a wide range of material in the Torah (*Mos.* 1.334).

As in the Exposition, citations of Scripture are relatively rare, but the influence of the LXX is strong. Philo appropriates or alludes to LXX words and phrases in his construction of the life and teachings of Moses. Thus, for example, Philo expands Scripture's minimal account of Moses's youth by stating that 'the child from his birth had an appearance of more than ordinary goodness (*ἀστειοτέραν*, *Mos.* 1.9; cf. LXX Exod. 2:2, *ἀστεῖος*); or he commends the accuracy of LXX language as applied to Pharaoh's overseers, 'men whose name of "task-pursuer (*ἐργοδιώκτης*)" well described the facts' (*Mos.* 1.37; cf. LXX Exod. 3:7, etc.).

PHILO'S BIBLE

All of Philo's writings include references to the words and themes of Scripture. This is true even of the philosophical work *De animalibus*, a treatise with no citations from Scripture but in which 'the Mosaic treatment of animals must be considered as the determining factor in moulding [Philo's] thought' (Terian 1981: 46). The vast majority (c.95 per cent) of his scriptural citations or allusions are from the Torah, with the greatest concentration of these from Genesis chs. 1–25, reflecting the subject matter of Philo's commentaries. Philo also cites verses from the historical, prophetic, and poetic writings of the Greek Bible corpus; around half of Philo's citations from these books are from the Psalms (on which see Runia 2001b). There is no evidence in Philo's works of citations from the books of the Apocrypha (for possible allusions to Wisdom and Sirach in Philo's works see Allenbach et al. 1982: 90–1). His citation practice makes strikingly clear Philo's overwhelming focus on the books of Moses and his reverence for the superlative authority

of their author. Nevertheless, he also praises other prophets as inspired (Isaiah, Jeremiah, Samuel, and the author of the Psalms), and refers to specific books outside the Torah as 'sacred' (*Hypoth.* 6.5 referring to Joshua; *Ebr.* 143 referring to 1 Kingdoms).

By Philo's time, a three-part division of Jewish sacred books is attested in the Egyptian-based author of the Prologue to Sirach (the Law, the Prophets, and other ancestral books). But Philo nowhere indicates that he thinks in exactly the same terms about Scripture. The closest he comes to a similar formulation is in his description of the practice of the ascetic Jewish community of Therapeutae, based outside Alexandria, who are said to devote themselves to contemplation of the 'laws and oracles delivered through the mouth of prophets, and psalms and the other [writings] (*τὰ ἄλλα*) which foster and perfect knowledge and piety' (*Contempl.* 25).

Philo uses no special terminology to distinguish the Greek translation of the books of Moses from the Hebrew original ('the laws in the Chaldean tongue') (*Mos.* 2.26). In contrast to the standard use of *νόμος* (= *tôrâ*) in LXX, Philo employs a variety of terms to designate Mosaic teaching: as sacred writing(s) (*ἱερὰ γράμματα/γραφὴ/ἀναγραφαί*); sacred book(s) or records (*βίβλος* or *στῆλαι*); law(s) (*νόμος*) or legislation (*νομοθεσία*), word(s) (*λόγος*), and oracle(s) (*χρησμός/λόγιον*) (Burkhardt 1988: 73–125).

Philo represents our earliest witness to the LXX titles of Mosaic books, designating their subject matter: 'Genesis' (*Post.* 127; *Abr.* 1; *Aet.* 19; possibly, *Sobr.* 50); 'Levitikon' (*Leg.* 2.105; *Plant.* 26; *Her.* 251); 'Deuteronomion' (*Leg.* 3.174; *Deus* 50). His titles do not always agree with LXX tradition. Instead of LXX *Exodos*, transmitted in Christian sources, Philo uses the non-LXX term *Exagōgē*, a title already known to Aristoboulos and Ezekiel the Tragedian (*Migr.* 14; *Her.* 14, 251; *Somn.* 1.117; see also manuscripts of QE [Royse 2012: 4–5; Royse 2016: 54–5]). Deuteronomy is also known by other, non-LXX names in Philo: the *Epinomis* ('Appendix'), imitating Platonic tradition (*Her.* 162, 250; *Spec.* 4.160, 164), the *Proptreptikoi* ('Exhortations') (*Agr.* 78, 172; *Fug.* 142, 170; *Mut.* 42, 236; *Virt.* 47), and the *Paraineseis* ('Addresses') (*Agr.* 84; *Spec.* 4.131). Titles of other scriptural books cited by Philo are close if not always identical to their LXX equivalents: 'the book of Judgements (*κριμάτων*)' (LXX *Κριταί*, 'Judges') (*Conf.* 128); 'the books of Kingdoms (*Βασιλείαι*)', as in the LXX, or 'royal books (*ἐν βασιλικαῖς βίβλοις*)' (*Deus* 6, 136; *Conf.* 149); 'Hymns (*ὕμνοι*)' (LXX *Ψαλμοί*) (*Conf.* 52 and many other examples including other terms derived from *ῥυμος*; see further Runia 2001b: 104–9); and 'Proverbs (*Παροιμίαι*)', following the LXX (*Ebr.* 84).

PHILO'S BIBLICAL TEXT AND ITS TRANSMISSION

Philo's citations of Scripture mostly reflect the LXX as represented in Codex Vaticanus. But the question of exactly what was Philo's biblical text is difficult if not impossible to pin down, for several reasons:

- 1) Some minor differences between Philo's citations and the standard LXX reflect the variety of the LXX texts of his time; in cases where Philo's scriptural citations have no known parallel in later LXX tradition, the Philonic reading may sometimes preserve the original LXX.
- 2) Philo's creative approach to his text often involves minor alterations in style, substance (omissions and additions), and grammatical construction to the words of LXX; this process generates variants that are usually without parallel in the LXX tradition. Such modifications are not difficult to find in the citations of *QGE* and the *Allegorical Commentary*. In the *Exposition* and the independent scriptural treatises, however, Philo's mode of recasting the words of Scripture, with relatively few substantial citations, means that it is often impossible to determine whether particular words and phrases reflect his LXX text or his own construction of what he reads or remembers of it (Borgen 1992: 336).
- 3) The transmission history of Philo's works creates a major challenge: to what extent do our Philo manuscripts reflect Philo's own words and how far, in particular, have his original scriptural citations been altered in the process of transmission? The Greek text of Philo's works is transmitted directly in more than 150 medieval MSS (ninth–fifteenth centuries), comprising a substantial number of distinct text families. Based on the findings of the team behind the *editio princeps* (Cohn et al. 1896–1930), the textual tradition may be traced back via Byzantine scribes to copies of Philo's works made in the fourth century for the episcopal library of Caesarea. According to the best hypothesis, those copies were based on scrolls from Origen's library, brought from Alexandria to Caesarea in the third century (Barthélemy 1967; Runia 1993: 16–31; 2009: 215–21). It is not unreasonable to think that Origen's collection included autograph copies of Philo's works. But the sheer distance in time between the earliest manuscripts and Philo's day, together with the diversity of the manuscript tradition, necessarily limits the extent to which we may reliably reconstruct Philo's original words. Our ability to check the medieval manuscripts against texts independent of the Caesarean collection is strengthened by two important papyrus codices from third-century Egypt (from Coptos and Oxyrhynchos respectively), supplying a valuable source of superior readings and of new evidence where gaps exist in the later manuscript tradition (Runia 2002). Crucially, the papyri often agree with the LXX version of Philo's scriptural citations where later Philonic manuscripts may differ from the LXX. It should be noted that only the evidence from the Coptos Papyrus was available for inclusion in the *editio princeps* (on various aspects of the Coptos Papyrus, see Royse 2016); a new critical edition of Philo's works will need to take account, among other things, of the Oxyrhynchos fragments (Royse 1980).
- 4) In some Philonic manuscripts (mainly UF), the text of the scriptural citations often differs substantially from the standard LXX and is closer to the Hebrew of MT. Based on the fundamental work of Peter Katz and Dominique Barthélemy, it is clear that these non-LXX readings are the work of a reviser and do not

represent Philo's original biblical text. The characteristic readings of the non-LXX citations mostly appear in the lemmata that introduce Philo's interpretations; this so-called 'aberrant text' of the lemmata often differs from the partial citations given within the accompanying interpretations. Following Katz's guiding principle, the type of text found within the interpretation can 'with a very high degree of certainty' be assumed to be the text used by Philo; lemmata that conflict with Philo's own type of text are 'therefore bound to be secondary' (Katz 1950: 4). Building on Katz's conclusions, Barthélemy (1967; 1978: 140–73, 390–1; *contra* Howard 1973) traced the likely origin of the Hebraizing lemmata to a rabbinic Jew, perhaps to be identified on the basis of ideological additions to the interpretations with Rabbi Hoshaya Rabba, working in Origen's circle at Caesarea. The rabbinic reviser altered some copies of Philonic works, replacing the lemma texts with Aquila-type readings (also Kraft 2005).

PHILO ON THE BIBLE OF ALEXANDRIA

Philo gives an account of the Alexandrian translation of the 'legislation (*νομοθεσία*)' of the Jews as part of his biography of Moses (*Mos.* 2.25–44). Here, Philo's overall purpose is to present Moses as the best of all lawgivers among Greeks and barbarians and his laws as supremely excellent and truly divine (*Mos.* 2.12, cf. 2.20, 27). According to Philo, this thesis is proved, first, by the wholly unchanged character of the laws of Moses; Moses is the only legislator whose laws have been transmitted, completely unaltered, from the beginning to the present day (*Mos.* 2.14). A second proof of the unrivalled status of Moses is that, alone of all the laws in the world, his legislation is admired by almost all the peoples of the world, honouring the laws of Moses for 'their venerable and god-like character' (*Mos.* 2.15–20). Both proofs of the unrivalled excellence of Moses—that his laws have never changed and that they are universally admired—are (so Philo) embodied in the story of their translation into Greek (*Mos.* 2.26–44). Philo's account of the translation under Ptolemy II Philadelphos suggests that he knows and uses the much more extensive narrative in the *Letter of Aristeas*, but that he adapts and develops the older Alexandrian tradition in new directions to fit his purpose (Wasserstein and Wasserstein 2006: 37–45; Wright 2006). In particular, Philo offers a very different picture of the work of the translators. In contrast to *Aristeas*, where seventy-two translators work by comparing notes and agreeing on a final, authoritative translation (*Ep. Arist.* 302), Philo presents a much more extraordinary event: the translators (Philo does not number them) work in isolation, but are inspired (*ἐνθουσιώντες*) to make exactly the same translation, as 'they prophesied (*ἐπροφήτευον*) the same word for word, as though dictated to each one individually by an invisible prompter' (*Mos.* 2.37; but cf. Wasserstein and Wasserstein 2006: 44). What is most remarkable, Philo emphasizes, is the phenomenon reported by others: the exact agreement of the Greek words and the 'Chaldean' (Hebrew) original (Philo often uses 'Chaldean' as an alternative for 'Hebrew' in the

Exposition and the *Life of Moses*, e.g. *Mos.* 2.32, 40). The ‘clearest proof of this’, so Philo argues,

is that, if Chaldeans have learned Greek, or Greeks Chaldean, and read both versions, the Chaldean and the translation, they regard them with awe and reverence as sisters, or rather one and the same, both in matter and words, and speak of the authors not as translators but as prophets and priests of the mysteries, whose sincerity and singleness of thought has enabled them to go hand in hand with the purest of spirits, the spirit of Moses. (*Mos.* 2.40)

In Philo’s account, then, the Greek translation is the most perfect equivalent of the original words transmitted by Moses, mediated by wise translators who shared in the divinely inspired spirit of Moses and who were thus able to recognize the true force of the original Hebrew and to convert this with unerring accuracy into Greek (see further Winston 1991). The laws of Moses remain unchanged. But the translation itself is a potentially world-changing event, making possible (if not yet) the fulfilment of the prayers of the translators and their patrons, that through the Greek version the whole of humanity might come to know the laws of Moses and be ‘led to a better life’ by observing them (*Mos.* 2.27, 36). Indeed, Philo implies, world-wide reverence for the laws of Moses is already anticipated in his own Alexandria, in an annual festival on the island of Pharos, the location of the translation (though not explicitly stated in *Ep. Aristeas*), where ‘not only Jews but multitudes of others cross the water, both to do honour to the place in which the light of that version first shone out, and also to thank God for the good gift so old yet ever young’ (*Mos.* 2.41). The story of the translation, and its commemoration in Alexandria, prove that the laws of Moses are ‘desirable and precious in the eyes of all’, from kings to the ordinary person, Jew and non-Jew (*Mos.* 2.42–3).

Philo’s emphasis in *Mos.* 2.38–40 on the exact correspondence of the Greek translation with the Hebrew original is widely seen as proof that he did not know Hebrew, or at least not enough of it to be able to see the clear differences between the words of the Hebrew Torah (MT) and their LXX equivalents (Gooding and Nikiprowetzky 1983: 119; Amir 1988: 444). The long-standing question of whether or not Philo knew Hebrew remains unresolved, in the absence of clinching proof on either side of the argument. The weight of evidence suggests but does not prove his ignorance of Hebrew (Nikiprowetzky 1977: 50–96). It is not clear whether a gloss found only in the Old Latin of QG 4.232, expressing amazement at differences between the Greek and Hebrew of passages in Genesis and the Psalms, should be attributed to Philo himself or to his transmitters (Petit 1973: 92; Nikiprowetzky 1977: 80).

Whether Philo knew Hebrew or not, his works draw extensively on Hebrew etymologies as a means to the ‘deeper meaning’ of Hebrew names and places mentioned in the Torah (Grabbe 1988). Most if not all of the 166 Hebrew etymologies used by Philo are likely to be drawn from onomastic collections, a product of bilingual Jews whose work survives in large part (together with manuscripts of these onomastica, which exhibit substantial overlap with Philo’s etymologies) thanks to Philo’s creative appropriation of

it within his allegorical interpretation. The Hebrew Bible is by no means irrelevant to Philo's enterprise. On the contrary, the central place given by Philo to the Hebrew etymologies strongly indicates that the Hebrew original remained fundamentally authoritative for him (Rajak 2014).

SUGGESTED READING

The most complete guide to Philo's scriptural citations is the index of the *Biblia Patristica Supplément* (Allenbach et al. 1982); caution is required in assessing the relevance of all references listed, since the index does not distinguish in its listing between citations and possible allusions. Important studies of Philo's scriptural citations include Siegfried 1873; Ryle 1895; Burkhardt 1988; Cohen 2007; Royle 2017. For the most complete index of Greek words in Philo's works, including the main fragments, see Borgen et al. (2000); for an index to the fragment of *QE* 2.62–8, see Runia 2004.

On the question of text type, see Royle's invaluable studies on the text of Philo's scriptural treatises and biblical quotations within Philo's text, e.g. Royle 2000; 2006; 2008; 2010; 2017.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Editio Princeps

Cohn, Leopold, Paul Wendland, Siegfried Reiter, and Hans Leisegang (1896–1930). 7 vols. *Philonis Alexandrini Opera quae Supersunt*. Berlin: Georg Reimer.

Other Editions

Aucher, J. B. (1826). *Philonis Judaei paralipomena Armena. Libri videlicet quatuor in Genesin. Libri duo in Exodum. Sermo unus de Sampson. Alter de Jona. Tertius De tribus angelis Abraamo apparentibus*. Venice: Lazarus.

Marcus, Ralph (1953). *Questions and Answers on Genesis Translated from the Ancient Armenian Version of the Original Greek*. LCL. Philo Supplement I. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Marcus, Ralph (1953). *Questions and Answers on Exodus Translated from the Ancient Armenian Version of the Original Greek*. LCL. Philo Supplement II. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Mercier, Charles (1979). *Quaestiones in Genesim I–II e Versione Armeniaca*. Les Oeuvres de Philon d'Alexandrie 34A. Paris: Cerf.

Mercier, Ch. and F. Petit (1984). *Quaestiones et Solutiones in Genesim III–IV–V–VI e Versione Armeniaca. Complément de l'ancienne version latine*. Les Oeuvres de Philon d'Alexandrie 34B. Paris: Cerf.

Paramelle, Joseph with the collaboration of Enzo Lucchesi (1984). *Philon d'Alexandrie. Questions sur la Genèse II 1–7*. Cahiers d'Orientalisme 3. Geneva: Patrick Cramer.

Petit, Françoise (1973). *L'Ancienne Version Latine des Questions sur la Genèse de Philon d'Alexandrie*. 2 vols. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.

Petit, Françoise (1978). *Quaestiones in Genesim et in Exodum: Fragmenta Graeca*. Les Oeuvres de Philon d'Alexandrie 33. Paris: Cerf.

- Royse, James R. (1984). 'Further Greek Fragments of Philo's *Quaestiones*', in F. E. Greenspahn, E. Hilgert, and B. L. Mack, eds., *Nourished with Peace: Studies in Hellenistic Judaism in Memory of Samuel Sandmel*. Chico, CA: Scholars Press, pp. 143–53.
- Royse, James R. (2012). 'Philo of Alexandria *Quaestiones in Exodum* 2.62–68: Critical Edition.' *Studia Philonica Annual* 24: 1–68.
- Terian, Abraham (1981). *Philonis Alexandrini de Animalibus: The Armenian Text with an Introduction, Translation and Commentary*. Chico, CA: Scholars Press.
- Terian, Abraham (1992). *Quaestiones et Solutiones in Exodus I et II: E Versione Armeniaca et Fragmenta Graeca*. Les Oeuvres de Philon d'Alexandrie 34C. Paris: Cerf.

Translations

- Arnaldez, Roger, Jean Pouilloux, and Claude Mondésert (1961–92). *Les Oeuvres de Philon d'Alexandrie*. 36 vols. Paris: Cerf.
- Colson, F. H., G. H. Whitaker, and R. Marcus, eds. (1929–62). *Philo with an English Translation*. 10 vols. and 2 supplementary vols. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Scriptural Citations and Allusions

- Allenbach, Jean, et al., eds. (1982). *Biblia Patristica Supplément: Philon d'Alexandrie*. Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.

Philo's Lexicon

- Borgen, P., K. Fuglseth, and R. Skarsten (2000). *The Philo Index: A Complete Greek Word Index to the Writings of Philo of Alexandria*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans.
- Runia, David (2004). 'Quaestiones in Exodum 2.62–68: Supplement to *The Philo Index*.' *The Studia Philonica Annual* 16: 229–34.

Contextual

- Birnbaum, Ellen (2006). 'Two Millenia Later: General Resources and Particular Perspectives on Philo the Jew.' *Currents in Biblical Research* 4: 241–76.
- Borgen, Peder (1992). 'Philo of Alexandria', in D. N. Freedman, ed., *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, Vol. 5. New York, NY: Doubleday, pp. 333–42.
- Borgen, Peder (1997). *Philo of Alexandria: An Exegete for His Time*. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature.
- Kamesar, Adam, ed. (2009). *The Cambridge Companion to Philo*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Morris, Jenny (1987). 'The Jewish Philosopher Philo', in Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.–A.D. 135)*, Vol. III:2, rev. G. Vermes, F. Millar, and M. Goodman. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, pp. 809–89.
- Niehoff, Maren R. (2011). *Jewish Exegesis and Homeric Scholarship in Alexandria*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pearce, Sarah J. K. (2007). *The Land of the Body: Studies in Philo's Representation of Egypt*. WUNT 208. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Rajak, Tessa (2009). *Translation and Survival: The Greek Bible of the Ancient Jewish Diaspora*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Royse, James R. (2017). '21.4 The Biblical Texts as Attested in Ancient Literature: Philo', in A. Lange and E. Tov, eds., *Textual History of the Bible*, Vol. 1: *The Hebrew Bible*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 741–7.
- Runia, David T. (1990). *Exegesis and Philosophy: Studies on Philo of Alexandria*. Aldershot: Variorum.
- Siegert, Folker (1996). 'Early Jewish Interpretation in a Hellenistic Style', in M. Saebø, ed., *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation*, Vol. 1: *From the Beginnings to the Middle Ages (until 1300)*, Part 1: *Antiquity*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 130–98.
- Sterling, G. E. (2012). 'The Interpreter of Moses: Philo of Alexandria and the Biblical Text', in M. Henze, ed., *A Companion to Biblical Interpretation in Early Judaism*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, pp. 415–35.

Studies

- Amir, Yehoshua (1988). 'Authority and Interpretation of Scripture in the Writings of Philo', in M. J. Mulder, ed., *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*. Assen: Van Gorcum, pp. 421–53.
- Arnaldez, Roger (1984). 'L'Influence de la traduction des Septante sur le commentaire de Philon', in R. Kuntzmann and J. Schlosser, eds., *Études sur le judaïsme hellénistique*. Paris: Cerf, pp. 251–6.
- Barthélemy, Dominique (1967). 'Est-ce Hoshaya Rabba qui censura le "Commentaire Allégorique"? A partir des retouches faites aux citations bibliques, etude sur la tradition textuelle du Commentaire Allégorique de Philon', in *Philon d'Alexandrie. Lyon 11–15 Septembre 1966. Colloques nationaux du CNRS*. Paris: Éditions du CNRS, pp. 45–78.
- Barthélemy, Dominique (1978). *Études d'histoire du texte de l'Ancien Testament*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Birnbaum, Ellen (1996). *The Place of Judaism in Philo's Thought: Israel, Jews, and Proselytes*. Brown Judaic Studies 290. Studia Philonica Monographs 2. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.
- Burkhardt, Helmut (1988; 2nd edn. 1992). *Die Inspiration heiliger Schriften bei Philo von Alexandrien*. Basel: Brunnen Verlag Giessen.
- Cohen, Naomi (2007). *Philo's Scriptures: Citations from the Prophets and Writings. Evidence for a Haftarah Cycle in Second Temple Judaism*. Leiden: Brill.
- Dines, Jennifer D. (2004). *The Septuagint*. London: T&T Clark.
- Gooding, David, and Valentin Nikiprowetzky (1983). 'Philo's Bible in the *De Gigantibus* and *Quod Deus*', in Winston and Dillon, eds., *Two Treatises*, pp. 89–123.
- Grabbe, Lester L. (1988). *Etymology in Early Jewish Interpretation: The Hebrew Names in Philo*. Brown Judaica Series 115. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.
- Hay, David M., ed. (1991). *Both Literal and Allegorical: Studies in Philo of Alexandria's Questions and Answers on Genesis and Exodus*. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.
- Howard, George E. (1973). 'The "Aberrant" Text of Philo's Quotations Reconsidered'. *HUCA* 44: 197–209.
- Katz, Peter (1950). *Philo's Bible: The Aberrant Text of Bible Quotations in Some Philonic Writings and Its Place in the Textual History of the Greek Bible*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kraft, Robert A. (2005). 'Philo's Bible Revisited: The "Aberrant Texts" and Their Quotations of Moses', in F. García Martínez and M. Vervenne, eds., *Interpreting Translation: Studies on the Septuagint and Ezekiel in Honour of Johan Lust*. Leuven: Leuven University Press, pp. 237–52.

- McGing, Brian C. (2006). 'Philo's Adaptation of the Bible in his "Life of Moses"', in B. C. McGing and J. Mossman, eds., *The Limits of Ancient Biography*. Swansea: The Classical Press of Wales, pp. 117–240.
- Nikiprowetzky, Valentin (1977). *Le Commentaire de l'Écriture chez Philon d'Alexandrie*. Leiden: Brill.
- Pearce, Sarah J. K. (2013). 'Philo of Alexandria on the Second Commandment', in Pearce, ed., *The Image and Its Prohibition in Jewish Antiquity*. JJSup 2. Oxford: Journal of Jewish Studies, pp. 49–76.
- Rajak, Tessa (2014). 'Philo's Knowledge of Hebrew', in J. K. Aitken and J. N. Carleton Paget, eds., *The Jewish-Greek Tradition in Antiquity and the Byzantine Empire*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, pp. 173–87.
- Royse, James R. (1976–7). 'The Original Structure of Philo's Quaestiones.' *Studia Philonica* 4: 41–78.
- Royse, J. R. (1980). 'The Oxyrhynchus Papyrus of Philo.' *BASP* 17: 155–65.
- Royse, J. R. (1991). 'Philo, *Κύριος*, and the Tetragrammaton.' *Studia Philonica Annual* 3: 167–83.
- Royse, J. R. (2000). 'The Text of Philo's *Legum Allegoriae*.' *Studia Philonica Annual* 12: 1–28.
- Royse, J. R. (2001). 'Philo's Division of his Works into Books.' *Studia Philonica Annual* 13: 76–85.
- Royse, J. R. (2006). 'The Text of Philo's *De Virtutibus*.' *Studia Philonica Annual* 18: 73–100.
- Royse, J. R. (2008). 'The Text of Philo's *De Abrahamo*.' *Studia Philonica Annual* 20: 151–65.
- Royse, J. R. (2009). 'The Works of Philo', in Kamesar, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Philo*, pp. 32–64.
- Royse, J. R. (2010). 'Some Observations on the Biblical Text in Philo's *De Agricultura*.' *Studia Philonica Annual* 22: 111–29.
- Royse, J. R. (2016). 'The Biblical Quotations in the Coptos Papyrus of Philo.' *Studia Philonica Annual* 28: 49–76.
- Runia, David T. (1986). *Philo of Alexandria and the Timaeus of Plato*. Leiden: Brill.
- Runia, D. T. (1993). *Philo in Early Christian Literature: A Survey*. CRINT 3.3. Assen: Van Gorcum and Minneapolis, MN: Fortress.
- Runia, D. T. (2001a). *Philo of Alexandria, On the Creation of the Cosmos According to Moses: Introduction, Translation and Commentary*. Philo of Alexandria Commentary Series 1. Leiden: Brill.
- Runia, D. T. (2001b). 'Philo's Reading of the Psalms.' *Studia Philonica Annual* 13: 102–21.
- Runia, D. T. (2002). 'One of Us or One of Them? Christian Reception of Philo the Jew in Egypt', in J. L. Kugel, ed., *Shem in the Tents of Japhet: Essays on the Encounter of Judaism and Hellenism*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 203–22.
- Runia, D. T. (2004). 'A Neglected Text of Philo of Alexandria: First Translation into a Modern Language', in E. G. Chazon, D. Satran, and R. A. Clements, eds., *Things Revealed: Studies in Early Jewish and Christian Literature in Honor of Michael E. Stone*. JSJSup 89. Leiden: Brill, pp. 199–207.
- Runia, D. T. (2009). 'Philo and the Early Christian Fathers', in Kamesar, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Philo*, pp. 210–30.
- Runia, D. T. (2012). 'Philo of Alexandria, *Quaestiones in Exodum* 2.62–68: Critical Edition.' *Studia Philonica Annual* 24: 1–68.
- Runia, D. T. (2013). *Philo of Alexandria, On Cultivation: Introduction, Translation, and Commentary*. Philo of Alexandria Commentary Series. Leiden: Brill.
- Ryle, Herbert E. (1895). *Philo and Holy Scripture, or the Quotations of Philo from the Books of the Old Testament*. London: Macmillan.

- Schwartz, Daniel T. (2009). 'Philo, His Family, and His Times', in Kamesar, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Philo*, pp. 9–31.
- Siegfried, Carl (1873). 'Philo und der überlieferte Text der LXX'. *ZWT* 16: 217–38, 411–28, 522–40.
- Smallwood, E. Mary (1961). *Philonis Alexandrini Legatio ad Gaium*. Leiden: Brill.
- Sterling, Gregory E. (1990). 'Philo and the Logic of Apologetics: An Analysis of the *Hypothetica*'. *SBLSP* 29: 412–30.
- Sterling, G. E. (2012). 'Which Version of the Greek Bible Did Philo Read?', in A. Moriya and G. Hata, eds., *Pentateuchal Traditions in the Late Second Temple Period*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 89–127.
- Terian, Abraham (1991). 'The Priority of the *Quaestiones* among Philo's Exegetical Commentaries', in Hay, ed., *Both Literal and Allegorical*, pp. 29–46.
- Tobin, Thomas H. (2000). 'The Beginning of Philo's *Legum Allegoriae*'. *Studia Philonica Annual* 12: 29–43.
- van der Horst, Pieter W. (2003). *Philo's Flaccus: The First Pogrom. Introduction, Translation and Commentary*. Philo of Alexandria Commentary Series 2. Leiden: Brill.
- Wasserstein, Abraham, and David J. Wasserstein (2006). *The Legend of the Septuagint: From Classical Antiquity to Today*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Winston, David (1991). 'Aspects of Philo's Linguistic Theory', in *Festschrift Earle Hilgert: Studia Philonica Annual* 3: 109–25.
- Winston, D. (2008). 'Philo of Alexandria on the Rational and Irrational Emotions', in J. T. Fitzgerald, ed., *Passions and Moral Progress in Greco-Roman Thought*. London: Routledge, pp. 201–20.
- Winston, D., and J. Dillon, eds. (1983). *Two Treatises of Philo of Alexandria: A Commentary on De Gigantibus and Quod Deus Sit Immutabilis*. Brown Judaic Studies 25. Chico, CA: Scholars Press.
- Wright III, B. G. (2006). 'Translation as Scripture: The Septuagint in Aristeas and Philo', in W. Kraus and R. G. Wooden, eds., *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures*. SCS 53. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, pp. 47–61.

CHAPTER 28

JOSEPHUS AND THE SEPTUAGINT

TESSA RAJAK

INTRODUCTION

IN the 90s CE, writing in Rome, Josephus brought out, in the first eleven books of his twenty-four-book *Antiquities*, a Greek version of the biblical history of his people, in effect an extended exercise in ‘rewritten Scripture’. He went on to produce, in the two books of his final work, *Against Apion*, an ardent defence of the Jewish Scriptures. In the opening of the *Apion* the biblical books are eulogized as entirely true history, in contrast, Josephus maintains, to self-contradictory works by Greeks (*C. Ap.* 1.1–46); while in the second book of *Against Apion*, the focus is on Torah as *nomos* in the specific sense of Jewish Law, which is vigorously promoted there in predominantly ethical terms (*C. Ap.* 2.151–235).

Varied as Josephus’s concerns and writings were, we may surmise that from the beginning Scripture had been a central resource. A seemingly unforced recourse to quotation appears to be an underlying habit. From the walls of Jerusalem, in a climactic speech, Josephus presents himself as having told his besieged compatriots that God was on the Roman side and urging them to surrender. He regales them with stories from the Bible that demonstrate the eventual downfall of the enemies of Israel—Pharaoh Neco’s abduction of Sarah, the Egyptian plagues, the recovery of the ark from the Philistines, Sennacherib’s army destroyed in one night (*B.J.* 5.362–419). Sometimes an example diverges in colourful detail from the original story. Michael Tuval has inferred from these divergences that Josephus derived little acquaintance with the Bible from his Jerusalem education (Tuval 2013: 90–128). Rather, these tales would seem to reflect a comfortable familiarity with the narratives as popularly told, together with the aggadic traditions that surrounded them.

As a young man, Josephus will have been bilingual in Hebrew and Aramaic, and he evidently already had some Greek as well (Rajak 2002: 46–64; 230–2). By the time of the

writing of the *Antiquities*, he was without doubt highly competent in Greek. But to a man who had been active in priestly circles in Jerusalem and who was a self-professed adherent of Pharisaism, Scripture must have continued to mean the Hebrew text as well as, and perhaps before, any Greek versions. Josephus's bringing of 'sacred books' (i.e. Torah scrolls) from the destroyed city of Jerusalem, with Titus's special encouragement to take what he wanted (*Life* 418), is often invoked. In Rome, the emigré would have had access to diverse Jewish traditions and no doubt to carriers of Palestinian learning displaced in the wake of the various conquests able to refresh his knowledge. While it will always be difficult to prove that Josephus has used a Hebrew version at any particular point in his own work, the strong likelihood of its presence has to be considered.

At the same time, Josephus wrote his historical works as a Diaspora Jew who had moved physically and intellectually far from his Judean roots. He could hardly have conceived of his later work, the *Antiquities*, let alone written these books, had the Greek translations not existed. Josephus is a crucial figure in cultural history because, along with Philo, he attests to a world that otherwise comes to us in fragmentary form, that major part of the Jewish population of the Roman Empire that expressed itself in Greek and for whom life and worship centred on the LXX (Rajak 2009). While we cannot be sure how familiar Alexandrian-Jewish writings were to Jews outside Egypt, it is clear from citations and allusions that they were within Josephus's horizons.

Josephus's deep respect for the Alexandrian translation is attested by one of the longer and more striking annexations in the *Antiquities*. Josephus reproduces directly from the *Letter of Aristeas*, with relatively few modifications, the story of the commissioning in Alexandria by King Ptolemy II Philadelphus of the Torah translation into Greek (Pelletier 1962; see Chapter 8 in this volume). The largely unaltered narrative, which contrasts with Philo's creative retelling (see Chapter 27 in this volume), serves for Josephus to make two main points: the Jews were held in great esteem by Ptolemy II, and there existed a most distinguished precedent for his own 'translation' of the sacred texts. Already in his preface to the *Antiquities* he had stated that the commissioning of the translation by King Ptolemy proved both that it was legitimate for Jews to make their Scriptures accessible to non-Jews, and that pagan lovers of learning, *φιλομαθεῖς*, were interested in the Jewish holy books. Josephus accepts unquestioningly the historicity of the Aristeas tradition which constitutes for him a virtual prototype of relations between Jew and Greek centred on respect for the Jewish sacred texts.

In books 1–11 of the *Antiquities* Josephus covers the span of biblical history from the creation of the world to the return from exile, and in terms of biblical books, his paraphrase runs from Genesis to Esther (with the latter positioned out of its chronological sequence). In fact, he moulds his own history by giving very uneven coverage to what lies between. He also combines at times, with skill and knowledge, material from different biblical books to construct a single thread of narrative. The first four Josephan books contain the Torah. Josephus's selection from the later history foregrounds episodes that shed credit on the people of Israel and on God's dealings with them as well as highlighting heroic individuals (Feldman 1998b: 539–70). The role of Jeremiah at the destruction of the first Temple is covered, as might be expected, but Isaiah and Ezekiel make the

briefest appearances. The Minor Prophets are virtually absent, though Jonah and Daniel have their place, while neither Psalms nor the Wisdom literature have any part to play.

Since Josephus had both Hebrew and Greek Bibles at his disposal, he was in principle free to pick and choose the basis for his own translation (Müller 2010). The Bible which he heard in the Roman synagogue (supposing he went to it) may not have been the same as the version which he picked up for personal reading (assuming he indulged in it), nor the one that rang through his head. Nothing would prevent him from cultivating a predilection for different books in different versions. In addition he could well have sought interpretive assistance from Aramaic precursors to the Targums.

JOSEPHUS'S BIBLICAL TEXT

The question of Josephus's source text goes back a long way. Among the few to assert that Josephus used a Hebrew Bible was his most famous English translator, the heterodox scholar and polemicist William Whiston, to whom this was a matter of prime importance as part of his pursuit of primitive Christianity. In an essay written fifteen years before the publication of his complete translation, he made the paradoxical claim, largely on the basis of what he saw as a striking absence of vocabulary clusters taken directly from the LXX, that Josephus drew exclusively on the Hebrew Bible (Whiston 1722). It did not suit Whiston to point out the obvious reason for this lack of evidence: simply that Josephus was paraphrasing the Bible, not translating in our sense of the word: updating was indeed the very purpose of the historian's entire enterprise. Nevertheless, Whiston's contention, while suspect in its motives and untenable in its extreme form, opened up the question.

From a different perspective, J. G. Scharfenberg in 1780 produced a dissertation of considerable learning in which he buttressed the more traditional view with a collection of words, phrases, and interpretations in the *Antiquities* that were seemingly dependent on the LXX. This study remains a treasure trove of parallels, but one to be consulted with care: whole groups of cases are open to serious doubt and possibly clinching instances turn out to be scarce (Attridge 1976: 31–2 n. 3).

Another close and devoted observer of Josephus, some two hundred years later, pursued a compromise solution. Henry St. John Thackeray was a distinguished scholar both of Josephus and of the LXX. In a chapter of his still valuable monograph on Josephus, he offered a general survey of the historian's use of the LXX. Following earlier scholarship, Thackeray accepted that for Samuel and Kings the main source was a Greek text of, as he put it, 'proto-Lucianic type'. But he asserted that for the other books, where traces of the precise wording of the Greek Bible were few, Josephus's main written source was 'Semitic', i.e. Aramaic (Thackeray 1929: 75–99), which he presumed was the language in general use in the Jerusalem of Josephus, while the Hebrew Bible also played a role.

Nowadays, the question of Josephus's biblical text plays a less prominent role in scholarship. His biblical paraphrase is studied primarily as exegesis, as theology, or as

literature in its own right. Nevertheless, both Harold Attridge (1976: 29–33) and Louis Feldman (Feldman 1998a: 23–36) consider, by way of preliminary discussion in their studies of Josephus's biblical interpretation, the question of the influence of LXX on Josephus and the alternative possibilities of his use of a Hebrew Bible and of an Aramaic proto-Targum. Current work by Silvia Castelli (forthcoming) puts Josephus's Exodus under a powerful microscope and goes some distance further towards detecting both Greek and Hebrew sources. Meanwhile, Etienne Nodet's monograph is an exhaustive, fresh attempt to sustain a new kind of argument for Hebrew alone as the language of Josephus's source Bible, with the novel suggestion that this was a text radically different from MT or from any other known version, but that it was to be found in Jerusalem and was accurately translated by Josephus (Nodet 2018).

From the LXX angle, testimony from the *Antiquities* is generally invoked in very specific contexts, notably in connection with the question of possible precursors to Lucianic readings in Samuel (discussed below, section 'Samuel') or to Theodotion in Daniel. There is one reason for this limitation that scarcely needs restating: that Josephus's particular genre of paraphrase is distinctly recalcitrant when pressed into service as a witness to its underlying language or text type. The nature of the rewriting, particularly extensive for the Pentateuch, makes it difficult to chase up individual words or phrases, or to make any inferences about the word order of Josephus's source or sources, or about the structuring of material that he found there. Admittedly, Josephus claims to offer a completely accurate rendering of the Bible in Greek, neither adding to nor subtracting from the original. The precise cultural import and nuance of his Greek vocabulary for the process is inevitably very hard for us to gauge: *μεταβάλλω*, literally to 'transfer', is the commonest Greek verb used by him to describe the process (*Ant.* 1.10; 12.14; 12.15; 12.107); but he also employs (*μεθ*)*ερμηνεύω* and cognate nouns, all with the meaning 'interpret' (*Ant.* 1.5; of the LXX translation, *Ant.* 12.20), and also *μεταφράζω*, 'reformulate' (*Ant.* 10.218; 12.20) (Feldman 1998a: 44–6). For all the diversity of terminology, we know that this claim of accuracy matters greatly to Josephus because it is enunciated as a manifesto in the preface to the entire work (*Ant.* 1.17) and it is repeated in the conclusion (*Ant.* 20. 260–1). Quite how and why the claim is significant, and indeed exactly what Josephus intended to convey by it, can be variously explained (Feldman 1998a: 37–46). The fact remains that Josephus very visibly and sometimes substantially adds, subtracts, embellishes, and modifies. His stylistic adaptation, his modernizations, his rationalistic explanations, his external corroborations, and his theological tweaks are influenced both by the rhetorical practices of Greek historians and by contemporary Jewish thought, including aggadic traditions (Rappaport 1930). Enquiry is further complicated by the crucial consideration that the Hebrew text of Josephus's day was not identical with MT, while the Greek biblical texts he had will have been significantly different in places from any form of what became the Septuagint.

Only with close reading and analysis can the wide range of changes made by Josephus be understood (Ribary 2014). But even the simple juxtaposition below of two familiar texts shows up the differences in diction and in impact.

LXX Genesis 1.1–5

1 Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν.

2 ἡ δὲ γῆ ἦν ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκευάστος, καὶ σκότος ἐπάνω τῆς ἀβύσσου, καὶ πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἐπεφέρετο ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος.

3 καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεός Γενηθήτω φῶς. καὶ ἐγένετο φῶς.

4 καὶ εἶδεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ φῶς ὅτι καλόν. καὶ διεχώρισεν ὁ θεὸς ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ σκότους.

5 καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ φῶς ἡμέραν καὶ τὸ σκότος ἐκάλεσεν νύκτα. καὶ ἐγένετο ἑσπέρα καὶ ἐγένετο πρωί, ἡμέρα μία.

Josephus, *Antiquities* 1.27–8

Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἔκτισεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν. ταύτης δ' ὑπ' ὄψιν οὐκ ἐρχομένης, ἀλλὰ βαθεῖ μὲν κρυπτομένης σκότει, πνεύματος δ' αὐτὴν ἄνωθεν ἐπιθέοντος, γενέσθαι φῶς ἐκέλευσεν ὁ θεός. καὶ γενομένου τούτου κατανοήσας τὴν ὅλην ὕλην διεχώρισε τὸ τε φῶς καὶ τὸ σκότος καὶ τῷ μὲν ὄνομα ἔθετο νύκτα, τὸ δὲ ἡμέραν ἐκάλεσεν ἑσπέραν τε καὶ ὄρθρον τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν προσαγορεύσας. καὶ αὕτη μὲν ἂν εἴη πρώτη ἡμέρα, Μωυσῆς δ' αὐτὴν μίαν εἶπε...

Some of Josephus's modifications are no more than stylistic, whether it be substituting for the rather 'literal' LXX idiolect a more correct and literary Greek, or as sometimes, simply in pursuit of variety. Silvia Castelli, notes, among other features of Josephus's high Greek in LXX Exodus, his reduction of Septuagintal parataxis, and his general preference for genitive absolutes and for intricate sentence structure and complex syntax (Castelli forthcoming). André Pelletier highlighted, in his study of the Josephan version of the *Letter of Aristeas*, what he called 'arbitrary changes' on Josephus's part, such as the habit of altering the prefixes or the forms of verbs, apparently 'for the sake of it' (Pelletier 1962). Thus, in the opening chapters of Exodus Josephus has *παρῆσαν* (*Ant.* 2.261) as against *παρεγένοντο* (Exod. 3:1); *διῆγεν* (*Ant.* 2.264) for *ἤγαγεν* (Exod. 3:1); *ὑπήνητησε* (*Ant.* 2.279) for *συνῆνητησεν* (Exod. 4:27); and a little later we find *ἐπανοίσοουσιν* (*Ant.* 3.72) for *ἀνοίσοουσιν* (Exod. 18:22). At the same time, there is too much that is new in Josephus's rewritten Bible to permit us to indulge in a portrayal of Josephus sitting and working through the *Tanakh* with nothing but the Greek text in front of him, a stylus in his hand and literary models resounding in his head. Such a construct might fit all too well with a familiar and deeply misleading stereotype of Josephus—a sloppy historian, a dishonest man. But as our understanding of Josephus moves away from the stereotypes, so such representations of his working method fall away. Josephus's Bible also incorporated theological, political, and some apologetic twists (Ribary 2014). These are the product of reflection and of careful balancing, as Louis Feldman has amply demonstrated (1998a; 1998b).

Josephus's linguistic practice is by no means consistent across the eleven books of *Antiquities* and a book-by-book study is still a desideratum. Overall, the evidence points to a combination of sources: often a possible primary Hebrew *Vorlage* accompanied by secondary use of LXX renderings, but sometimes the reverse.

LANGUAGE

The meticulous collection and evaluation of linguistic correspondences between the LXX text and Josephus is an indispensable basis for any discussion. Equally necessary is a coherent working methodology, for it is far from self-evident what precisely makes a linguistic correspondence decisive. Indicative types of coincidence that are generally taken by scholars to demonstrate an actual dependence of one translation on the other include unexpected common solutions to difficulties; inexplicable common departures from what seems to be the source text; and similarities of construction through clusters or extended passages. Above all, the reproduction of errors is a prized indicator, but in the nature of things a rare find. Several types of coincidence between the wording in Josephus's rewritten version of Genesis and Exodus and that of our LXX are analysed below, with some small examples. The material shows how slippery our conclusions must remain about Josephus's working methods; but it does point to the likelihood of several sources. Full tabulations of coincidences and differences compiled for that great repository of Classical learning, Pauly-Wissowa's *Realencyklopedie*, are still worth consulting (Hölscher 1916).

1. *Coincidences that can be explained as an obvious choice and so could have been arrived at independently.* Here, perfectly ordinary Greek words may be involved. What word would translate my brother's 'keeper' at Gen. 4:9 sooner than φύλαξ, with which, tellingly, Josephus couples his own inventive παιδαγωγός? Or again, how describe Lot's wife as a 'pillar of salt' if not as στήλη ἀλῶν (*Ant.* 1.203)? For Exod. 2:15, *Ant.* 2.257 has καθεσθείς ἐπὶ τινος φρέατος to render ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ τοῦ φρέατος. Josephus offers δυνὸ πλάκας for the tablets of the Decalogue (*Ant.* 3.101). πλάξ is the LXX term too (Exod. 31:18); but πλάξ is simply the Greek word for a tombstone, a slab of marble, an inscribed gold plate, and the like, and therefore it is the right word for the purpose.
2. *Coincidences that involve more unusual words, such as still could have come readily to two independent translators, since they are intrinsically appropriate.* For example, μανδραγόρον μῆλα (*Ant.* 1.307) for *dūdā'im* (Gen. 30:14) or the use of the term σεμίδαλις (*Ant.* 1.197) for the 'fine flour' of Gen. 18:16.
3. *Coincidences where the term in question is in some way specialized or recherché but where it is less likely that separate translators should have arrived at exactly the same solution.* In such cases LXX seems to have had a part to play. To help with problematic expressions, Josephus would reasonably have turned to an earlier translation, or to a biblical *onomastikon* or a Hebrew–Greek glossary of some kind.
4. *Coincidences that appear indicative but could possibly rest on common traditions of interpretation.* The bush, *sīah*, under which Hagar put Ishmael is referred to by both Josephus (*Ant.* 1.218) and the LXX manuscripts as ἐλάτη, a fir tree (Gen. 21:15). Was this a quirk of the LXX translators, replicated by Josephus, or might a particular interpretative tradition be reflected here about the species of this fateful tree?

5. *Coincidences that are indicative, such as those involving clarification or amplification.* Josephus offers a simple explanatory phrase (*Ant.* 2.259) about Jethro's daughters: αἱ τῶν τοῦ πατρὸς ποιμνίων ἐπιμελούμεναι. Now LXX in exactly the same way explains why the daughters were at the well: an explanation has been inserted into the somewhat bald Hebrew narrative: ποιμαίνουσι τὰ πρόβατα τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν Ἰσθὸρ (*Exod.* 2:16). Here the influence of a Greek text on Josephus similar to LXX is likely.

The Terminology of the Tabernacle in Exodus

Our impression of the presence of more than one underlying version is strengthened by close examination of a particularly rich Josephan description. The book of Exodus contains not one but two accounts of the Tabernacle (*Exodus* chs. 25–31; 35–40). There are significant discrepancies between MT and the Septuagint version of the two accounts, and it may well be that the LXX texts represent a different Hebrew original (Salvesen 2014). But even without knowing exactly what text would have been available to Josephus, we observe in his lexicon for the Tabernacle and its accoutrements an interesting range of translational choices. Surprisingly, in the description as a whole, much of the phraseology does not show a particularly close relationship to the Greek text: some of the vocabulary is unique to Josephus, drawing sometimes on rarely used words (Castelli forthcoming). This unexpected divergence may perhaps be due to these being descriptive sections of high importance to Josephus. His art would be tested by the challenge of constructing a worked-up description of rare objects in the spirit of a Greek literary *ekphrasis*. Moreover, in thinking about the Tabernacle, he would unavoidably be looking back to the physical nature and cult of the Second Temple as he had known it, even if he did not explicitly refer to this past. It is particularly understandable that, when it came to his set-piece descriptions of the garments worn by the high priests and ministering priests, he worked independently. His personal connection is revealed by an intermixture of Aramaic terms with the Hebrew ones of the Bible and with Greek equivalents. Thus Josephus explains to the reader that priests are called *Χαναναῖαι* (after the Aramaic word); as for their special gown, ἡμεῖς δὲ παρὰ Βαβυλωνίων μεμαθηκότες ἐμίαν αὐτὴν καλοῦμεν. These Aramaic terms are surely the ones with which he was familiar and had used (*Ant.* 3.151–78); he would have grown up seeing relatives and close associates of his family using them. He presents these garments from the inside out, in the order in which they would be put on, starting with the undergarments, and he introduces details derived from close experience such as the tightness of the tunic worn by ordinary priests. Likewise, the Temple *impedimenta* will have been well-known to Josephus by sight, even if he had not had the privilege of handling them.

Nevertheless, the search for semi-technical equivalents will not have been easy and the Greek translation tradition was not entirely absent from Josephus's armoury: there are a number of standout coincidences in the Tabernacle narratives. To pick out one example, there are telling echoes of *Exod.* 30:22 in *Ant.* 3.197, and we note there Josephus's

use of the LXX word *καλάμος* for a kind of perfume. This is a term obscure enough for him to feel obliged to explain it to his readers, saying ἔστι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἡδὸς θυμιάματος. That Josephus offers an explanation at all perhaps suggests that he did not expect everyone to be acquainted with the term; yet it also suggests that where he did annexe phraseology that originated in a Greek version this was not done automatically but in a careful and considered fashion, case by case.

Even the account of the vestments created for the high priest reveals awareness of Greek precedents, for example when the ephod is said by Josephus to look like the Greek *ἐπωμῖς* (*Ant.* 3.162), precisely the word used for this all-important object in the detailed description of LXX Exod. 28:4–8 (Wevers 1990: 444–58). This is a piece of semi-technical Septuagint vocabulary, and since *ἐπωμῖς* in other contexts is normally part of a woman's garment, it is far from an obvious choice for the high priest.

We have good evidence that precisely the kind of vocabulary list we have suggested was available in Josephus's day, a precursor of the later genre of biblical *onomastica*, even if no such *onomasticon* from exactly this time is attested. What we do possess are two fortuitous and precious finds of papyrus fragments, generally dated to not much later, that are clearly small sections of such listings (Rokéah 1968). Thus the availability of such material to Josephus can reasonably be assumed.

The LXX translation itself was inevitably a basic source for the Greek *onomastica*. Judging by the later evidence, most such lists, even if perhaps not Jerome's, seem to have combined the function of a lexicon for difficult Hebrew words, technical terms, specialized vocabulary, and the meaning of proper names (Wutz 1914–15). What is telling is the type of word that is explained in the listings. We note too that Josephus's version tends to agree with the LXX in precisely those points where help from a glossary could have been available.

There are also a number of striking matches in the Greek versions of Hebrew proper names. Josephus tells us (*Ant.* 1.129) that he has a special policy on the matter, and that he makes his names decline, in order that they should look properly Greek and sound more euphonious. In this he diverges from LXX practice. When it comes to it, there are exceptions: notably the name of Moses does decline. But in any case, terminations apart, Josephus's Hellenized names show a substantial amount of agreement with the LXX. Notable instances from Genesis are the rendering of Joseph's Egyptian name, Zaphenath-Paneah (a name whose Greek equivalent does not readily spring to mind) as *Ψονθομφάνηχ(ον)* (Gen. 41:45; *Ant.* 2.91) or (more obviously perhaps) *Φεισών* for Pishon, the river of Paradise (Gen. 2:11; *Ant.* 1.38).

SAMUEL

Josephus's paraphrase plays a part in the evolution of the long-standing and complicated question of the texts and versions of the book of Samuel, as already noted. The *Antiquities* version of I and II Samuel represents a special case on several counts. The textual history

of Samuel itself is problematic: the LXX text's divergences from MT puzzled generations of scholars, and it was noted that Josephus's Samuel narratives bore similarities in content and diction to the divergent LXX text. In an early approach to Samuel and Kings in Josephus, Adam Mez maintained that Josephus's source reflected at a number of points one particular grouping of Greek manuscripts, boc_2e_2 (G and C), which shared features with the much later Lucianic recension (Mez 1895). Thackeray's Loeb translation of *Antiquities* books 5–7 followed this assessment in its annotations, to widespread but not universal acceptance.

There matters stood, until the 4Q Samuel (a, b, and c) fragments from Qumran emerged. Their analysis proved what had already been suspected earlier, that those divergences in the Greek Samuel represent translations of an early Hebrew text which was significantly different from MT. This in turn reopened the question of Josephus's source. A bold idea now presented itself: that Josephus could have depended not on any Greek version, but on a Hebrew text type that was closer to that behind LXX than to MT. Eugene Ulrich took up this challenge in a monograph where, however, he ultimately came to a negative conclusion (Ulrich 1978). Indeed, he produced a series of instances, mainly of misunderstandings and small additions, which proved or strongly suggested that the historian's treatment of the sections of I and II Samuel that overlapped with the Qumran fragments depended upon the Greek rather than on any Hebrew-language text. At the same time, we should note Ulrich's caution in a subsequent article (Ulrich 1989): in summarizing his position and responding to his critics, he does not exclude the possibility of a supplementary Hebrew resource in Samuel, and, while insisting that in his study of some two hundred instances conclusive evidence of a Hebrew source was lacking, he does not seek to extrapolate to other books or even to parts of Samuel not represented in the Qumran fragments.

ESTHER

Here we have material of a completely different character, together with a radically different relationship between LXX and Josephus. For all that has so far been said, it cannot be doubted that, towards the end of his biblical *Antiquities*, Josephus straightforwardly modified Septuagint books (in a form quite close to surviving texts) just enough to make them his own. He depended visibly and heavily both on the Greek adaptation of Ezra-Nehemiah known to us as 1 Esdras (Talshir 1999) and on the Greek Esther with its six freely composed additions (Moore 1977). Both of these Greek texts in their several versions are substantially different from the canonical Hebrew books (Fried 2011; Kahana 2005; de Troyer 2003). In these cases we see at a glance that Josephus follows closely the wording of a Greek text, even though he further refines the presentation and is ready to make minor changes in response to difficulties in the text (fixing the chronology in the case of 1 Esdras).

Josephus's version of the Esther story comes with several but not all of the LXX Greek additions, adding not only to the piety but also to the dramatic qualities of the Masoretic

Hebrew. He adopts four of the six major additions contained in both versions of the Greek Esther. The first addition is the symbolic dream of Mardocheaus (Mordecai). This story, together with the final addition, which explains the dream, is not included by Josephus, perhaps in keeping with his avoidance of apocalyptic motifs. There is no indication that his text did not contain them. Addition B is Artaxerxes's decree to his satraps, honouring Haman and authorizing Haman's plot against the Jews; Josephus accurately gives the substance of the fictitious decree, modifying the expression. From Addition C Josephus takes the theme of Esther praying before she goes in to Artaxerxes, but he misses out Mordecai's parallel prayer. Josephus is free with the wording of Esther's prayer, and makes it much briefer. Addition D is, one might say, the most literary in spirit; it describes Esther's entrance to the king, how she swooned, how he held her in his arms, and so on, with an emphasis on the description of emotion. This sentimental approach, as it might be called, is to be found also in Josephus, and his paraphrase is close, ascribing to Esther exactly the same sequence of emotions. In Addition E, we find the closest verbal correspondences; it is the complement to B, Artaxerxes's edict, revoking the threat to the Jews, granting them special honours, and condemning Haman. It remains uncertain whether some of the additions had Aramaic or Hebrew originals, or whether all were free inventions either of Lysimachus the translator, or of someone else at a later date. Forms of A and E appear in Targums to Esther, but they could have arrived there from the Greek, especially since Targum Sheni, the most important Targum, contains a number of Greek words. C and D do appear to have been composed in Greek. Close comparison reveals especially repeated coincidence in precise choice of verb, but much else besides.

To explain Josephus's dependence on the Greek text in the Esther case is not altogether straightforward. For the additions, there simply was no Hebrew original. Literary factors are evidently a major consideration. It is significant that these LXX versions operate with a Greek lexicon of what could be called the 'second phase' of LXX lexical creativity, building upon LXX word-building techniques but eschewing some, if not all, of the potentially jarring effects of the fully-fledged LXX translation language. In the Greek Esther particularly, Josephus found a book already to an extent geared to Greek tastes, albeit the taste of a different era. Language aside, the stories are recounted with more deliberate realism and with more artifice than in the Hebrew and the drama is heightened. Josephus had simply to move further along the road towards a literary style that could be acceptable to sophisticated Greek readers, eliminating residual clumsiness such as the frequent and disrupting use of direct speech.

Yet, while the surface qualities of the Greek book were evidently an attraction, Josephus's decision to use the Greek Esther, including four of the additions, need not have been dictated merely by this attraction. Esther is par excellence a Diaspora narrative and the book probably had widespread circulation in the augmented form. In view of the still uncertain status of the Hebrew Esther, an augmented version might well have carried authority in some circles. These late biblical compositions had in the Second Temple period a considerably lower standing than the Torah and the Prophets, and this could have weighed with Josephus. Even more important, that uncertain status

means that Josephus may have in the past had less contact with this book than with other parts of the corpus and he would therefore not have been able to draw here on a long-established familiarity going back to his Jerusalem days.

CONCLUSIONS

While a proper grasp of Josephus's working method will always to an extent elude us, there is real progress to be made in coming at an old question with a modern awareness that this many-faceted individual with his exceptionally complex life story cannot but have related to biblical texts in multiple ways. On a broader front, contemporary interest in ancient reading practices and their implications is gathering strength now across several disciplines including the study of ancient Judaism.

In the material discussed, the footprints of Greek versions are present, but in many cases their implications are opaque. Clearly, Josephus's language draws directly or indirectly on a Greek version, especially in places where the Hebrew (or Aramaic) was hard to translate, and where he was interested in reproducing the detail, or where the Greek gave him a literary springboard. Yet, while Josephus stood upon the shoulders of the LXX translators and their Jewish successors, he by no means owed all to them. The Hebrew *Tanakh* is a tantalizing presence. Its deep involvement in the composition of the *Antiquities* is an a priori probability and it is entirely compatible with the evidence. While even the most meticulous examination of the Josephan paraphrase may fail to yield completely firm indications either way, the issue is important and interesting enough to students of Josephus as well as to those concerned with the history of the Septuagint for further exploration to be worthwhile.

Josephus was justified in presenting the rewritten Bible of the *Antiquities* as a new and unprecedented venture, which he does eloquently and assertively more than once. While the changes he made were in an obvious way designed to be palatable to the audience of 'Greeks' whom the author likes to address, the meaning of this transformation is plain for that Jewish-Greek constituency which was presumably a major part of his readership. They now had a rendering of the Bible that could take its place in the roster of Greek literature, catering to the sophisticated taste of the age, which no doubt some of them shared, and also speaking to their own pride.

It may be said that Josephus's refashioning of the LXX served to refashion Jewish identity. The label 'Rewritten Bible', while now regularly problematized (Zsengeller 2014), still retains its usefulness. The concept casts Josephus's rewriting as something purposive, for Scripture is rewritten to a particular end or for a particular context. Josephus creatively manipulated the language of the Greek text, but he moulded both Hebrew Bible and LXX for his unique purposes, drawing on layers of accumulated knowledge. Biblical truth was important to him—what he says about it in the *Apion* is very clearly more than mere rhetoric concocted to impress Greeks. But important, too, is that freedom, that at-homeness with Scripture, that ability to make it his own, which characterized

Second Temple thought and indeed, it may be said, the text-centred culture of the Jews through the ages (Rajak 2009: 210–38). This same familiarity explains how it was that Josephus could juggle different texts, drawing on both oral (memorized) and written resources to produce his own rewritten Bible.

SUGGESTED READING

For an understanding from all relevant angles of Josephus's handling of the Bible in the *Antiquities*, Feldman 1998a is indispensable and comprehensive. Feldman 1998b offers a repertoire of case studies centred on Josephus's rewriting of individual biblical characters.

Ulrich 1978 is fundamental for the central question of the Greek and Hebrew Samuel in Josephus.

An up-to-date study that focuses closely on LXX in a Josephan passage is Ribary (2014). Important new studies by Castelli, Segal, and Spilsbury were presented during 2019 at a conference at Bar Ilan University and publication in an e-journal is expected.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Attridge, H. W. (1976). *The Interpretation of Biblical History in the Antiquitates Judaicae of Flavius Josephus*. Harvard Dissertations in Religion 7. Missoula, MT: Scholars Press.
- Castelli, S. (forthcoming). 'Better than the Septuagint: Josephus's Description of the Tabernacle (Ant. 3.108–150) as an Improved Alternative to the Greek Bible'. *Jewish Studies, an Internet Journal*.
- de Troyer, K. (2003). *Rewriting the Sacred Text: What the Old Greek Texts Tell Us about the Literary Growth of the Bible*. Leiden: Brill.
- Feldman, L. H. (1998a). *Josephus's Interpretation of the Bible*. Hellenistic Culture and Society 27. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Feldman, L. H. (1998b). *Studies in Josephus's Rewritten Bible*. JSJSup 58. Leiden: Brill.
- Fried, L. S., ed. (2011). *Was 1 Esdras First? An Investigation into the Priority and Nature of 1 Esdras*. Ancient Israel and its Literature 7. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature.
- Hölscher, G. (1916). 'Josephus'. *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 9. Stuttgart.
- Kahana, H. (2005). *Esther: Juxtaposition of the Septuagint Translation with the Hebrew Text*. Leuven: Peeters.
- Mez, A. (1895). *Die Bibel des Josephus untersucht für Buch V–VII der Archäologie*. Basel.
- Moore, C. A., ed. (1977). *Daniel, Esther, and Jeremiah: The Additions*. AB 44. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- Müller, Mogens (2010). 'Josephus und die Septuaginta', in W. Kraus and M. Karrer, eds., *Die Septuaginta: Texte, Theologien, Einflüsse. 2. Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D), Wuppertal 23.–27. Juli 2008*. WUNT 252. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 638–54.
- Nodet, Et. (2018). *The Hebrew Bible of Josephus: Main Features*. Leuven: Peeters.
- Pelletier, André (1962). *Flavius Josèphe, adaptateur de la Lettre d'Aristée: Une Réaction attisante contre la Koiné*. Paris: Librairie C. Klincksieck.
- Rajak, T. (2002). *Josephus: The Historian and His Society*. 2nd edn. London: Duckworth.

- Rajak, T. (2009). *Translation and Survival: The Greek Bible of the Ancient Jewish Diaspora*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rappaport, S. (1930). *Agada und Exegese bei Flavius Josephus*. Vienna: Alexander Kohut Memorial Foundation.
- Ribary, M. (2014). 'Josephus' "Rewritten Bible" as a Non-Apologetic Work, in J. Zsengeller, ed., *Rewritten Bible after Fifty Years: Texts, Terms, or Techniques? A Last Dialogue with Geza Vermes*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 249–66.
- Rokéah, D. (1968). 'A New Onomastikon Fragment from Oxyrhynchus and Philo's Etymologies'. *JTS* 19.1: 70–82.
- Salvesen, A. (2014). 'The Tabernacle Accounts in LXX Exodus and Their Reception in Hellenistic Judaism', in T. M. Law and K. de Troyer, eds., *In the Footsteps of Sherlock Holmes: Studies in the Biblical Text in Honour of Anneli Aejmelaesus*. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 555–71.
- Scharfenberg, J. G. (1780). *Prolusio de Iosephi et versionis Alexandrinae consensu*. Leipzig.
- Segal, M. (forthcoming). *The Book of Daniel in Josephus*.
- Spilsbury, P. (forthcoming). *The Book of Esther in Josephus*.
- Talshir, Z. (1999). *I Esdras: From Origin to Translation*. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature.
- Thackeray, H. St J. (1929). *Josephus: The Man and the Historian*. New York, NY: Ktav.
- Tuval, M. (2013). *From Jerusalem Priest to Roman Jew*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Ulrich, E. (1978). *The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus*. HSM 19. Missoula, MT: Scholars Press.
- Ulrich, E. (1989). 'Josephus' Biblical Text for the Books of Samuel', in L. H. Feldman and G. Hata, eds., *Josephus, the Bible and History*. Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press), pp. 81–115.
- Wevers, J. W. (1990). *Notes on the Greek Text of Exodus*. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.
- Whiston, W. (1722). *Essay Towards Restoring the True Text of the Old Testament*. London.
- Wutz, F. (1914–15). *Onomastica sacra: Untersuchungen zum Liber interpretationis nominum Hebraicorum des hl. Hieronymus*. 2 vols. Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur 41. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.
- Zsengeller, J., ed. (2014). *Rewritten Bible after Fifty Years: Texts, Terms, or Techniques? A Last Dialogue with Geza Vermes*. JSJSup 166. Leiden: Brill.

CHAPTER 29

THE SCROLLS FROM THE JUDEAN DESERT AND THE SEPTUAGINT

EUGENE ULRICH

THE discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls ushered in a new chapter in the study of the Septuagint, just as it did in many other fields—palaeography, orthography, scribal practice, biblical studies, early Judaism, and nascent Christianity. The approximately nine hundred manuscripts in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek that are centuries older than previous copies illuminated myriad aspects of the Second Temple period that formerly lay in darkness. Their evidence enabled a revised understanding from ‘mainstream Judaism’ to the actual broad spectrum of Jewish religious views, from Christianity as largely distinctive to the Jewish theological world which formed the matrix of early Christianity, and from the ‘standardized’ MT to the pluriform nature of the biblical text.

The scrolls have greatly enhanced our knowledge of the LXX. A number of fragmentary LXX scrolls were discovered in the caves along the shore of the Dead Sea, providing some of the earliest extant LXX manuscripts (alongside the second-century BCE John Rylands papyrus of Deuteronomy). They are approximately four centuries earlier than the oldest surviving LXX codices, such as Vaticanus, Alexandrinus, and Sinaiticus from the fourth and fifth centuries.

THEORIES OF LXX ORIGINS

Since the scrolls are four centuries older than other LXX witnesses, the question about their relation to the traditional LXX text immediately arose. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, there were two rival theories regarding the origins of the LXX.

Paul de Lagarde thought that the widespread variation in the extant manuscripts led back to three major recensions of the Greek text, differentiated geographically; and behind those three recensions one could arrive at a single translation of the Hebrew Bible into Greek (the OG).

Paul Kahle, in contrast, propounded a diametrically opposed theory. He thought that the LXX arose as did the targumim—from a plethora of individually produced partial translations, which after a period of multiplication, were supplanted by a single translation newly endorsed by rabbinic decision as being authoritative. In 1915 he claimed that the *Letter of Aristeas*, though fictionally set in the third century BCE, was actually written as propaganda to assure the outcome for one side of a conflict over the authority of competing Greek texts in the late second century BCE (Kahle 1915; 1959: 212).

Thus, Lagarde saw an original single translation gradually branching out both chronologically and geographically, whereas Kahle saw many targumim being reduced to a single standard translation. The question put to the scrolls was thus: Do they show a text generally similar to the traditional text but possibly with some readings earlier than or superior to it (Lagarde), or do they show a noticeably different translation or text type that fell out of use (Kahle)?

The data to follow will address that question in detail. Meanwhile, Lagarde's theory has generally held sway and appears confirmed by a century of multifaceted research by a wide spectrum of LXX specialists and by the data available from the very early manuscripts, whereas Kahle's view finds no support in detailed research by Septuagintalists (Jellicoe 1968: 61–3).

Moreover, Lagarde's theory, refined by Alfred Rahlfs, constitutes the vision behind the Göttingen Septuaginta Unternehmen, providing excellent critical editions of the LXX. Visually, the typical page of a Göttingen critical edition confirms Lagarde's view: the huge apparatus that forms the bulk of a page is made of mostly minor, routine variants from the critical OG text. That is, all the variants attest a single translation, not an array of sporadic translations. The different readings at the bottom of the page do not witness to different translations but clearly attest the series of recensions—revisions of the single OG—described in section '8HevXIgr' below.

There also remain two schools of thought on the degree of intentional fidelity on the part of the OG translations of the Hebrew books. One school concludes that the translators generally intended and attempted to render in the Greek language what they perceived to be said in the Hebrew original (Tov 2015: 25–6; Aejmelaeus 2007; Ulrich and Flint 2010: 2.93). The other school thinks that the translators viewed themselves as in a certain measure free to adapt the original meaning to apply to contemporary events or theological *Tendenz* (Seeligmann 2004; van der Kooij 1998). That is, the Greek translator knew that the Hebrew said one thing but produced a Greek translation that meant something different from the original but significant for his time. Though the case differs somewhat from book to book, the former view preponderantly describes the situation more accurately.

THE GREEK MANUSCRIPTS FROM QUMRAN AND NAḤAL ḤEVER

Six LXX manuscripts and three LXX-related manuscripts were recovered from the caves at Qumran (Baillet et al. 1962; Skehan et al. 1992) and, though none were found at Masada or Murabba‘at, a tenth LXX manuscript was found at Naḥal Ḥever (Tov 1990) (Table 29.1).

7QpapLXXExod

This pair of small papyrus fragments containing text from Exod. 28:4–7 dates to around 100 BCE (Baillet et al. 1962: 142). Only nineteen words survive, of which fourteen are only partly preserved, while the five complete words are: ‘and’ twice, ‘the’ twice, and ‘gold’ once. The editor characterizes it as ‘in general closer to the MT than to the LXX’, agreeing several times with the Greek manuscripts c and m (Baillet et al. 1962: 142).

The conclusion, however, that 7QpapLXXExod is closer to the MT than to ‘the LXX’ is questionable. In fact, only one variant is clearly preserved, while a second is quite likely. For the clear variant, 7QpapLXXExod and Vaticanus present two slightly different forms of the infinitive, both of which well translate the text as in the MT; but the scroll reading is freer (thus OG?) whereas the LXX shows greater conformity with the MT (thus secondary?). For the probable variant, the MT and 7QpapLXXExod both have ‘your brother’ after ‘Aaron’ in Vaticanus; this common reading could, of course, be causally due to MT influence, but it could also just as easily be an independent commonplace addition that could be added at any time by any scribe.

Table 29.1 The Greek Manuscripts from Qumran and Naḥal Ḥever

Exodus	7QpapLXXExod	7Q1	Rahlfs 805	DJD 3.142–3
Leviticus	4QLXXLev ^a	4Q119	Rahlfs 801	DJD 9.161–5
Leviticus	4QpapLXXLev ^b	4Q120	Rahlfs 802	DJD 9.167–86
Numbers	4QLXXNum	4Q121	Rahlfs 803	DJD 9.187–94
Deuteronomy	4QLXXDeut	4Q122	Rahlfs 819	DJD 9.195–7
XII Prophets	8ḤevXIIgr	8Ḥev1	Rahlfs 943	DJD 8
Epistle of Jer.	7QpapEpJer	7Q2	Rahlfs 804	DJD 3.143
1 Enoch?	7QpapEn gr?	7Q4		DJD 3.144
Unidentified	4QUnid gr	4Q126		DJD 9.219–21
Unidentified	4Qpap paraExod gr	4Q127		DJD 9.23–42

This example also shows the limited usefulness of the MT and the LXX as measuring tools for comparison of texts. First, the medieval MT and the fourth-century and later LXX manuscripts are anachronistic and unsuitable ‘standards’ for judging manuscripts many centuries earlier. Second, although these small fragments may agree with the MT or the LXX for a couple minor readings on the few scraps preserved by chance, the more than 99 per cent of the non-preserved text may have shown totally different patterns of agreement.

4QLXXLev^a

About ten fragments of Leviticus in Greek on leather, dated by Peter Parsons (Skehan et al. 1992) to ‘the late second or the first century BCE’, were found in Cave 4. They can be pieced together to form a mostly vertical strip preserving the full height of a column (with twenty-eight lines) and about a third of the width of the column, containing Lev. 26:2–16.

The text turns out to be generally close to the manuscript tradition of LXX Leviticus in the Göttingen Greek critical edition (LXX^{ed}), but it displays fifteen variants from that critical edition—fifteen variants in twenty-eight less-than-half-extant lines of manuscript! None of these variants, however, are errors; all are acceptable readings, constituting an alternate text or translation. This could lead one to think that Kahle is correct that prior to the LXX translation there were divergent Greek targumim. But that turns out to be incorrect. These variants are embedded in a text that shows c.75 per cent agreement with LXX^{ed}, some or all of which could be isolated changes in either text. 4QLXXLev^a and LXX^{ed} are both witnesses to the OG but with predictable minor variants.

For example, at Lev. 26:12 the scroll reads *ἔθνος* (‘people’) where all LXX manuscripts, and thus the critical edition, read *λαός* (‘people’). But the preponderant usage of both the LXX and the later Greek recensions is *λαός* for the Hebrew word when referring to Israel and *ἔθνος* when referring to peoples other than Israel. The LXX, however, does use *ἔθνος* to refer to Israel at least once in Leviticus (19:16) as well as in the promises to the ancestral bearers of the covenant (cf. Gen. 18:18; 46:3). This indicates that the LXX has established the occasional use of *ἔθνος* to refer to Israel. Methodologically, in light of the later revisionist recensions (see section ‘8HevXIIgr’ below), *λαός* might routinely be substituted for *ἔθνος*, but it is difficult to imagine *ἔθνος* being substituted—intentionally or in error—for an original *λαός*. The Göttingen editor does endorse *ἔθνος* as the OG at Lev. 19:16 (there are no relevant variants), and it would appear that *ἔθνος* was the OG translation here at 26:12, with *λαός* as the routine revisional substitution. Thus, 4QLXXLev^a—three or four centuries earlier than our next earliest witnesses—would penetrate further back to the OG (Ulrich 1992). Upon considering this argument the Göttingen editor agreed that *ἔθνος* was the original OG (Wevers 1997: 439, 443). In general, this scroll appears to be a reasonably literal and quite faithful translation of a Hebrew *Vorlage* from which the text preserved in the MT varied only slightly, whereas the later LXX

manuscript tradition shows occasional revision towards the MT. It is a witness to the same OG text known from the preserved LXX manuscripts, with an occasional earlier reading, thus closer to the OG.

4QpapLXXLev^b

Ninety-seven small fragments from this papyrus manuscript of Leviticus survive, but only thirty-one are identifiable. They come from the first thirteen columns of the scroll and contain parts of Lev. 1:11–6:5[5:24 LXX]. The scroll, according to Peter Parsons (Skehan et al. 1992), ‘could reasonably be assigned to the first century BCE.’ Like 4QLXXLev^a it exhibits a number of routine minor variants but only two that are important. First, *IAΩ* occurs at Lev. 4:27 (and probably again at 3:12) as a transliteration of the Hebrew divine name (*YHW* or *YHWH*) in the MT and SP (Ulrich 2015: 154 n. 11); the later LXX tradition has *κύριος*. Second, for *burnt offering* at Lev. 4:7 it attests the less common word *κάρπωσις* as opposed to *όλοκαύτωμα* in Vaticanus and Alexandrinus, which was chosen for the Göttingen Greek critical edition.

Patrick Skehan (1980: 28–9 and 34) discussed in great detail the occurrences of the divine name in ancient Hebrew and Greek texts and traced the development of the writing of the divine name in the LXX through four (overlapping) stages: (1) the transliteration *IAΩ*, (2) the Jewish (square) script *YHWH*, (3) *YHWH* in the Paleo-Hebrew script, and eventually (4) *κύριος*, which became the standard. Thus, 4QpapLXXLev^b would retain the OG for this reading which was later standardized to *κύριος* in the manuscript tradition. Similarly, the less common word *κάρπωσις* would normally, as *lectio difficilior*, be chosen as the OG as opposed to the more frequent *όλοκαύτωμα*, which came to be the standard word.

These two variants plus the other minor variants indicate that 4QpapLXXLev^b, like 4QLXXLev^a, may more closely witness to the original OG translation, while the later LXX manuscript tradition has been revised according to later vocabulary usage or for closer approximation to the emergent MT.

4QLXXNum

Fragments from three contiguous columns of a Greek leather scroll preserved text from Num. 3:40–4:16 dating from ‘the late first century B.C.E. or the early first century C.E.’ (Skehan et al. 1992).

There are seventeen variants in 4QLXXNum, thirteen of which are unique, only four finding support in other Greek manuscripts. Again, only one—where Vaticanus has an obvious error and 4QLXXNum has strong support from the manuscript tradition—is accepted in the Göttingen critical edition as the OG. Some of the variants in 4QLXXNum are of minor significance, some remain ambiguous. The value of 4QLXXNum as a witness to the OG hinges primarily on two variants.

For the first variant at Num. 3:40 in the context of a census, the MT-SP have the verb *pqd* ('inspect, review') and the scroll has *ἀρίθμησησον* ('count!') against *ἐπίσκεψαι* ('inspect!') which was chosen for the LXX^{ed}. Four factors, however, point with varying degrees of strength to *ἀρίθμησησον* as the OG.

- (1) Lagarde had discovered the general, if not universal, rule of thumb that if two variants occur in the manuscript tradition, both correct and acceptable, one in literal agreement with the MT and the other more free, then the freer rendering is (other things being equal) to be selected as the OG and the literal rendering is to be seen as secondary revision towards the MT.
- (2) No evidence surfaces to question *Ἀριθμοί* as the original Greek title of the book, and the title surely derives from occurrences of the word in the text (Swete 1968: 214–15).
- (3) *ἐπισκέπτεσθαι* became the standard recensional equivalent for *pqd*, while *ἀριθμεῖν* was the equivalent for *mnh* ('to count'). Thus, where *pqd* occurs in the Hebrew with *ἐπισκέπτεσθαι* and *ἀριθμεῖν* in the Greek witnesses, if recensional revision is at work, *ἀριθμεῖν* is probably the OG and *ἐπισκέπτεσθαι* the recensional revision.
- (4) Consider the way translators and revisers work. If the translator sees *pqd* in the Hebrew of Numbers and is translating fresh, both *ἐπισκέπτεσθαι* (as a literal translation) and *ἀριθμεῖν* (as a freer, contextual-meaning translation, suggested by the title and content of the book plus occurrences as early as Num. 1:2b) are options, as are other possible words. If a reviser sees *pqd* in the proto-MT and is revising the OG back towards that Hebrew text, one might (as Theodotion and Aquila certainly would) change *ἀριθμεῖν* to *ἐπισκέπτεσθαι*; there would be no reason to change *ἐπισκέπτεσθαι* to *ἀριθμεῖν* on the basis of the Hebrew. If one is copying the Greek text from another Greek text without reference to the Hebrew, one might change *ἐπισκέπτεσθαι* to *ἀριθμεῖν* for contextual meaning. Thus, *ἀριθμεῖν* is due either to the original translation stage or to the later Greek transmission stage, but it is not due to the recensional stage.

For the second variant, a fourfold occurrence at Num. 4:6, 8, 11, 12 in the context of the carrying poles for the ark, the MT-SP have either *baddim* or *mōt* ('staves', 'pole') and the scroll has *ἀρτήρας* ('carrying devices') against *ἀναφορεῖς* ('carrying poles') which was chosen for the LXX^{ed}. Wevers (1998: 58) explains his choice: 'The term *bd* when it refers to staves is commonly rendered throughout the LXX by *ἀναφορεύς* (18 times) or by *διωστήρ* (five times) but never by *ἀρτήρ*; and in fact, *ἀρτήρ* is never used in the Greek OT' (though Wevers did not note it, *ἀρτήρ* also occurs for *sbl* in Esdras B 14:11[17]/Neh. 4: 11[17]). To my mind, *ἀρτήρ* seems more persuasive as the OG, though neither Wevers nor I can offer much more to support our views on this pair of variants. I would simply note that *ἀναφορεύς* is clearly used as a recensional substitute: Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion all use *ἀναφορεύς* but never *ἀρτήρ*.

Thus, the analysis of both variants indicates that 4QLXXNum is preferable as a witness to the OG and that the readings in LXX^{ed} are recensional (*ἐπισκέπτεσθαι* and

ἀναφορεύς are documentably recensional substitutes). The cumulative evidence suggests that 4QLXXNum, just as 4QLXXLev^a and 4QpapLXXLev^b above, presents the superior witness to the Old Greek translation.

4QLXXDeut

Five small fragments remain of this manuscript of LXX Deuteronomy, with the word for 'Red' [Sea] alone able to secure the identification at Deut. 11:4. With so little text preserved, the main value of the manuscript is its ancient date in the early or mid-second century BCE and its witness to the existence of the Greek Deuteronomy at Qumran.

8HevXIIgr

Dominique Barthélemy (1953) recognized in this scroll a 'missing link' between the OG and the later, slavishly literal recension of Aquila. The scroll's many large fragments contain parts of the Twelve Minor Prophets, interestingly in the order of the Murabba'at Hebrew manuscript and the MT, not of the LXX. Barthélemy dated the manuscript to the middle of the first century CE, whereas C. H. Roberts dated it to 50 BCE–50 CE, and Peter Parsons cautiously dated it to the later first century BCE: 'such a dating is possible, though not of course necessary' (Tov 1990: 26). Barthélemy (1963) published preliminary parts of the manuscript and a highly insightful analysis of it, and Tov (1990) completed a thorough edition and study of it in DJD 8. This Greek text of the Minor Prophets from Naḥal Ḥever, they convincingly demonstrate, is a recension: a revised form of the OG translation whose intention was to bring the OG into more precise quantitative, lexical, and syntactical conformity with a Hebrew text which was close to, though not identical with, the text eventually appearing in the MT (the 'proto-MT'). One may safely presume that it adjusted also the order of the twelve books to conform with the order in that Hebrew manuscript.

The recension, labelled the Kaige-Theodotion recension, due to its routine rendering of (*wē*)*gam* by the Greek *καίγε*, was close to the one associated with the name Theodotion, and was in turn used by Aquila as the basis of his even more literal recension. Thus, this manuscript is perhaps the most richly instructive of the Greek scrolls with respect to the history of the Greek textual development. It is quite possible that the rabbinic text (or 'proto-MT') of the Minor Prophets was intentionally selected to serve as the basis of the revision, although it is also quite plausible that the situation was simply coincidental: that is, the reviser may simply have had available the form of Hebrew edition of the book that was found at Murabba'at and judged that it was important that the Greek agree with the inspired 'original'. The fact that a major effort was expended to revise the Greek form of the book, while the same was done yet again by Aquila, underscores the use and importance of the LXX at this time.

Again, this scroll confirms Lagarde's rather than Kahle's theory. Though it is quite different from the OG, it is in fact based on the OG. Its differences are due to a secondary, systematic reworking of the OG to conform more closely to a Hebrew text current at the time.

7QpapEpJer

Only two complete and seven partially preserved words remain of this papyrus from around 100 BCE (Baillet et al. 1962: 143), with text from verses 43–4 of the Letter of Jeremiah. This apocryphal or deuterocanonical letter of seventy-three verses was later placed in different sequences in different codices of the LXX. Since no Hebrew or Aramaic original (if there ever was one) survives, comparison with a possible *Vorlage* is not possible, but the Greek text of the small fragment appears to have affiliation with Lucianic manuscripts and the Syriac.

7QpapEn gr?

In addition to the fragments of Exodus and the Epistle of Jeremiah, Cave 7 yielded a number of other Greek papyri fragments that are too small to identify with full certainty. O'Callaghan (1972) identified some of the fragments as from various passages in the New Testament, but '[m]ost scholars have been skeptical about the claims' (Fitzmyer 2008: 264–7). Émile Puech (1997), however, building on G.-W. Nebe's identification of the 7Q4 fragment as from a Greek translation of 1 Enoch 103:3–4, identified several other fragments as also belonging to 1 Enoch (VanderKam and Flint 2002: 316–20). The text would then be considered part of the LXX since this book was most likely considered Scripture, as indicated by the large number of Enoch manuscripts at Qumran, by quotations or allusions in the Qumran writings and in the NT Epistle of Jude, and by its continued inclusion in the Ethiopian canon.

4QUnid gr

Cave 4 also contained an unidentified Greek text, with only eight small fragments dating from the same period as 4QpapLXXLev^b and 4QLXXNum. Since it preserves the word *κρυπτο*[] it would not be surprising if this were an LXX-related text or a Greek version of an otherwise known or unknown religious text.

4Qpap paraExod gr

This papyrus text (Skehan et al. 1992: 223–42) looks similar to and dates from about the same period as 4QpapLXXLev^b. Its largest fragment appears to be from Exodus, since it contains the words Egypt, Pharaoh, Moses, Red [Sea], probably Aaron, and possibly Miriam. Though it would seem to be from Exodus, however, other fragments mention

angels, sins, and possibly lawlessness and the hidd[en things]. None of the remaining fragments have connected text that could aid in identification. Thus Dimant (1995) may well be correct in suggesting that it is a lost apocalyptic work recalling God's salvific deeds at the Exodus and urging the faithful towards righteous action in the future.

HEBREW BASIS FOR LXX VARIANTS

Just as the Greek scrolls have greatly enhanced our knowledge of the LXX, so too have certain Hebrew scrolls, with significant variance from the MT, proved to exhibit the Hebrew *Vorlage* or parent text from which the LXX had been translated. In addition, though a particular Hebrew scroll may not have been the form of Hebrew edition from which the LXX was in the main translated, it may display individual readings that have influenced readings in the LXX text.

Hebrew *Vorlage* of the OG or of Major Variants

A well-known example of a scroll that exhibits, in contrast to the MT, the Hebrew edition translated by the OG is 4QJer^b, which displays the short edition long known from the OG, as opposed to the much longer edition in the MT.

Examples of Hebrew scrolls that influenced readings in the LXX are 4QSam^{a,b}. These manuscripts showed close relationships with the LXX. Neither Hebrew manuscript presents the exact text from which the LXX had been translated, but both repeatedly display readings that show that the LXX translation of Samuel was based on, and faithfully translated from, a Hebrew text which not only was frequently different from, but was often superior to, the MT. Moreover, the Chronicler had used a form of Samuel-Kings closer to 4QSam^a than to the MT, as had Josephus also for his *Jewish Antiquities*.

Another example of a Hebrew scroll that influenced readings in the LXX is 4QDeut^q. It survives in only a few fragments with text from Deut. 32:37–43 and 32:9–10(?), dating from approximately the latter part of the first century BCE. The manuscript probably originally contained only the poetic Song of Moses (Deut. 32:1–43), since its dimensions are quite small, since the left margin of its final column is broad and blank with no stitching along the left side, and since the final prose verses of chapter 32 and chapters 33–4 are not included. There are only two clear significant variants. The scroll contains two cola absent from the MT, and the LXX agrees with the scroll, containing both cola. The first longer reading of 4QDeut^q-LXX is 'he will repay those who hate him'. For the second, the LXX has a double rendering of the first two cola of Deut. 32:43:

Be glad, O heavens, with him (Heb. *‘immô*),
and let all the sons of God do obeisance to him.
Be glad, O nations, with his people (Heb. *‘ammô*),
and let all the angels of God prevail for him. (NETS, adapted)

Table 29.2 Examples of OG = Q ≠ MT

Exod. 1:5	4QExod ^b seventy-five MT seventy	LXX seventy-five (cf. Acts 7:14)
Lev. 3:1 (cf. 2:12, 14)	4QLev ^b his offering to the Lord MT his offering	LXX his offering to the Lord
2 Sam. 10:6	4QSam ^a and Ishtob (= error) MT and the men of Tob	LXX and Istob (<i>Istobon</i> , Josephus, <i>Ant.</i> VII.121)
2 Sam. 7:23	4QSam ^a and tents (^ʿ <i>hly-</i>) (= error) MT and its gods (^ʿ <i>hy-</i>)	LXX and tents
Isa. 23:1-2	4QIsa ^{a2} Who are they like...? (<i>or</i> about it. ² Be still!) MT about it. ² Be still!	LXX ² Who are they like...?
Dan. 8:3	4QDan ^b a large ram MT <i>θ'</i> a ram	LXX a large ram
Dan. 8:4	4QDan ^a West, East, North, South MT <i>θ'</i> West, North, South	LXX, 967 East, North, West, South

The Greek doublet reading is not due to the original translation. One or other rendering was the original OG and the other was an alternative reading that got inserted into the manuscript tradition during the transmission process. The more mythic and polytheistic words, 'Heavens' (personified) and 'sons of God', are clues that the first rendering is probably the OG and that the second, with 'nations' and 'angels of God', is a later revision more in accord with monotheistic belief. But note that both renderings presumed a Hebrew text which contained the pluses; both presume a Hebrew like 4QDeut^d rather than the MT.

Examples of OG = Q ≠ MT

Examples such as those above are frequent and widespread, and a few more can be added here (note that they are mechanical, not theological) (Table 29.2).

THE LXX AS AN AID IN RECONSTRUCTION OF THE HEBREW

In turn, the LXX, now generally exonerated and shown to be basically a faithful translation of one ancient Hebrew text form of each book, sometimes earlier than or superior to the MT, may be used judiciously both to correct the MT and to reconstruct the text of

scrolls when they are fragmentary. An example of correcting the MT can be found at 1 Sam. 14:41, where the MT obviously skips a large amount of text through parablepsis (skipping from the first 'Israel' to the third 'Israel'), the LXX can provide the correct text:

MT: Then Saul said, 'O LORD God of Israel,
give Thummim.'

LXX: Then Saul said, 'O LORD God of Israel, why have you not answered your servant today? If this guilt is in me or in my son Jonathan, O LORD God of Israel, give Urim; but if this guilt is in your people Israel, give Thummim.' (NRSV)

For reconstructing the text of a scroll where it has broken off, the LXX can help. Whereas at 2 Sam. 13:39 the MT has *wa-tēkal dāwid ha-melek* ('And King David was pining away', JPS), 4QSam^a has a variant, []*h hmlk*. The MT is problematic, for it presents a feminine verb with a masculine subject. The Lucianic Greek provides a solution which both restores the scroll and corrects the subject in the MT: it reads τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ βασιλέως ('the spirit of the king') and allows the feminine-subject reconstruction [*rua*]*h ha-melek*. Thus the MT had made the frequent error of mistaking the similar Hebrew letters *d* and *r*. Already in 1871 the perceptive text critic Julius Wellhausen had suggested *rwh* as a correction for *dwd*, as he was the first to notice the Lucianic reading. Eventually, 4QSam^a furnished confirming evidence for his speculative reconstruction.

CLOSING OBSERVATIONS

A few final observations can be made concerning the LXX manuscripts found in the Judean Desert. The finds are random, fragmentary, and ambiguous, and so, while some conclusions are certain, it must be recognized that many are more or less educated attempts at reconstructing what may have been the situation.

First, copies of some of the Law and the Prophets as well as other religious literature in Greek form were found in the caves and were presumably used at least by some, while they were probably able to be understood by a sizeable percentage of Jews. The Greek Genesis was quite likely represented at Qumran, given the fragments of Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. It is well known that the Greek language and Hellenistic culture had deeply penetrated Palestinian Judaism in the late Second Temple period. How much use the Greek scrolls received is open to speculation. On the one hand, the conservative nature of the Qumran community may have caused them to be suspicious and to see Greek forms of the Scriptures as part of unacceptable Hellenistic tendencies. On the other, the educated priests in Jerusalem probably knew Greek and so the Zadokite leaders now removed to Qumran may have studied the Scriptures also in Greek or at least may have been open to those who would have profited from reading them in Greek; moreover, the books of the Torah in Greek may have been seen as part of the hedge against Hellenizing antinomian tendencies.

In addition to the Torah, the Prophets were also represented, as well as other religious literature in Greek which may, or may not, or may not yet, have been considered as Scripture. The book of the Minor Prophets was certainly considered among the Prophets, as the *pesharim* demonstrate. It is uncertain but likely that 1 Enoch also was so considered (just as Daniel was); note that (parallel to Matt. 24:15 calling Daniel a prophet) the Epistle of Jude explicitly says Enoch ‘prophesied’ (14) and quotes (14–16) the prophecy from 1 Enoch 1:9. It is less likely that the Epistle of Jeremiah was considered among the Prophets, but its presence at Qumran strongly suggests that the book of Jeremiah was represented and would have been considered Scripture. Moreover, it does not seem unduly speculative to assume that there may have been a Greek translation of one or more of the other major Prophetic books such as Isaiah that simply has not survived. As yet it cannot be determined whether 4Q126 was part of the LXX, though 4Q127 most likely was not considered such.

Cave 7 stands out as an anomaly. Only a handful of small Greek papyri fragments were found there, and the cave was closer and more accessible to the community’s building complex than Cave 4. It is difficult to think that these manuscripts were not used by community members, and that idea is supported by the bilingual nature of the important legal and marriage documents and the letters in Caves 5/6 at Naḥal Ḥever.

Returning to the Lagarde–Kahle debate, both the Qumran LXX scrolls and the Minor Prophets scroll support Lagarde’s view and oppose Kahle’s. The Qumran scrolls all exhibit a single OG tradition with minor variants, some of which are closer to the OG than are the critical editions. The Minor Prophets scroll, while at first appearing to be a separate translation, is in fact a recension of the OG, reworking precisely the OG towards closer mirroring of the emergent rabbinic Hebrew.

SUGGESTED READING

A contentious issue among textual critics has been how far the early papyri should influence the establishment of a critical text edition: Wevers had relegated the Qumran fragments to the apparatus for the Göttingen edition (see Ulrich 1992). However, a recent article by Emanuel Tov (2020) argues that they should have a central place in reconstructing the original text in such editions.

The reading below explores some of the wider implications of the Dead Sea discoveries for our knowledge of the development of the Hebrew and Greek texts.

Aejmelaeus, Anneli (2007). *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators: Collected Essays*. Rev. edn. CBET 50. Leuven: Peeters.

Bogaert, Pierre-Maurice (1993). ‘Septante et versions grecques.’ *Supplément au dictionnaire de la Bible* 68: 535–69. Paris: Letouzey & Ané.

Fernández Marcos, Natalio (2000). *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Versions of the Bible*. Trans. Wilfred G. E. Watson. Leiden: Brill.

International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies website: <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/ioscs/>

- Tov, Emanuel (2012). *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research*. 3rd edn. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- Ulrich, Eugene (2015). *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Developmental Composition of the Bible*. SupVT 169. Leiden: Brill.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Baillet, Maurice, J. T. Milik, and R. de Vaux (1962). *Les 'Petites Grottes' de Qumrân*. DJD III. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Barthélemy, Dominique (1953). 'Redécouverte d'un chaînon manquant de l'histoire de la Septante.' *Revue biblique* 60: 18–29.
- Barthélemy, Dominique (1963). *Les Devanciers d'Aquila*. SVT 10. Leiden: Brill.
- Dimant, Devorah (1995). '4Q127: An Unknown Jewish Apocryphal Work?', in David P. Wright et al., eds., *Pomegranates and Golden Bells: Studies in Biblical, Jewish, and Near Eastern Ritual, Law, and Literature in Honor of Jacob Milgrom*, Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, pp. 805–13.
- Fitzmyer, Joseph A. (2008). *A Guide to the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature*. Rev. edn. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans.
- Jellicoe, Sidney (1968). *The Septuagint and Modern Study*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Kahle, Paul (1915). 'Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Pentateuchtextes.' *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* 88: 399–439.
- Kahle, Paul (1959). *The Cairo Geniza*. 2nd edn. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Nebe, G.-Wilhelm (1988). '7Q4: Möglichkeit und Grenze einer Identifikation.' *Revue de Qumrân* 13: 629–33.
- O'Callaghan, José (1972). '¿Papiros neotestamentarios en la cueva 7 de Qumrân?' *Biblica* 53: 91–100.
- Puech, Émile (1997). 'Sept fragments grecs de la *Lettre d'Hénoch* (1 Hén 100, 103 et 105) dans la grotte 7 de Qumrân (= 7QHéng)' *RevQ* 18.70: 313–23.
- Seeligmann, Isac Leo (2004). *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah and Cognate Studies*, ed. Robert Hanhart and Hermann Spieckermann. FzAT 40. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Skehan, Patrick W. (1980). 'The Divine Name at Qumran, in the Masada Scroll, and in the Septuagint.' *BIOCS* 13: 14–44.
- Skehan, Patrick W., Eugene Ulrich, and Judith E. Sanderson, with a contribution by Peter Parsons (1992). *Qumran Cave 4, IV: Palaeo-Hebrew and Greek Biblical Manuscripts*. DJD IX. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Swete, Henry B. (1968). *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, rev. edn. Richard R. Ottley. New York, NY: Ktav.
- Tov, Emanuel (2015). *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research*. 3rd edn. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.
- Tov, Emanuel (2020). 'The Use of the Earliest Greek Scripture Fragments in Text Editions.' *Textus* 29.1: 60–79.
- Tov, Emanuel, with the collaboration of Robert A. Kraft and a contribution by Peter Parsons (1990). *The Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Nahal Ḥever (8ḤevXIIgr)*. DJD VIII. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Troxel, Ronald L. (2008). *LXX-Isaiah as Translation and Interpretation: The Strategies of the Translator of the Septuagint of Isaiah*. JSJS 124. Leiden: Brill.

- Ulrich, Eugene (1984). 'The Greek Manuscripts of the Pentateuch from Qumran, Including Newly-Identified Fragments of Deuteronomy (4QLXXDeut)', in Albert Pietersma and Claude Cox, eds., *De Septuaginta: Studies in Honour of John William Wevers on His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*. Mississauga, Ont.: Benben Press, pp. 71–82.
- Ulrich, Eugene (1992). 'The Septuagint Manuscripts from Qumran: A Reappraisal of Their Value', in George J. Brooke and Barnabas Lindars, eds., *Septuagint, Scrolls and Cognate Writings*. SBLSCS 33. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, pp. 49–80.
- Ulrich, Eugene, and Peter W. Flint (2010). *Qumran Cave 1.II: The Isaiah Scrolls*. DJD XXXII, Parts 1 and 2. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- van der Kooij, Arie (1998). *The Oracle of Tyre: The Septuagint of Isaiah XXIII as Version and Vision*. SupVT 71. Leiden: Brill.
- VanderKam, James C., and Peter W. Flint (2002). *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Significance for Understanding the Bible, Judaism, Jesus, and Christianity*. San Francisco, CA: HarperSanFrancisco.
- Wevers, John W. (1997). *Notes on the Greek Text of Leviticus*. SBLSCS 44. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.
- Wevers, John W. (1998). *Notes on the Greek Text of Numbers*. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.

CHAPTER 30

KAIGE AND 'THEODOTION'

SIEGFRIED KREUZER

TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

THIS chapter concerns two different subjects that have been connected, both in history and in research history. Since patristic times, Theodotion has been identified as one of the three *recentiores*, i.e. one of the more 'recent' Jewish translators of the Hebrew Bible into Greek in the second century CE, besides Aquila and Symmachus. However, it has long been known that Theodotonic readings are already present in texts from the first century CE (see section 'Theodotion and Kaige' below). This leads to the so-called proto-Theodotonic problem, i.e. the question how and why those earlier readings originated and how they are related to the translator called Theodotion.

Kaige is the name of a 'Hebraizing' recension of the Hebrew Bible which was identified by Dominique Barthélemy on the basis of the Greek Dodekapropheton Scroll from Naḥal Ḥever, but which can be found in other books as well. The word *kaige* (καίγε 'and also') was understood as a characteristic trait of this Hebraizing revision of the Old Greek text. The Kaige Recension uses certain specific vocabulary, but also and probably more importantly, it tries to represent its Hebrew *Vorlage* more closely. The identification of the Kaige Recension also has consequences for the question of the older text that Kaige was based on, in other words, for the identification and reconstruction of the Old Greek.

In recent research, it has further been observed that most texts of the Septuagint underwent a Hebraizing revision, albeit a lighter one than that of the Kaige Recension. This observation is an old one; it is for example implied in the old rule that if there are two (or more) text forms, one close to the Masoretic Text and the other less close, the text that is further from MT is the older one (e.g. de Lagarde 1863: 3). That in the non-Kaige sections too there are non-accidental changes towards the Hebrew *Vorlage* has been stated by Anneli Aejmelaeus for 1 Samuel (2007). It has also been demonstrated for passages in 2

Samuel and e.g. 1 Kings 19:18 or Psalms (Kreuzer 2014a; 2014b), and it is confirmed by quotations in Josephus and in the New Testament (Kreuzer 2015b). Greek fragments from Qumran seem to confirm such a Hebraizing revision also for (parts of) the Pentateuch (Ulrich 1992; Himbaza 2016). As the traits of this recension are lighter but basically the same as in the Kaige Recension, the term ‘semi-Kaige’ has been suggested (see ‘Summary’).

THEODOTIION AND KAIGE

Theodotion is one of the three named Jewish translations of the Hebrew Bible into Greek. According to Irenaeus (d. c.202 CE), Theodotion was a proselyte who came from Asia Minor, probably from Ephesus (*Adversus haereses* III.23). The fourth-century writer Epiphanius relates the period of his activity to the time of the emperor Commodus, which would indicate that he worked around 190 CE (*de Mensuris et Ponderibus* §17). However, the chronological sequence Aquila–Symmachus–Theodotion may derive from the sequence of the columns of the Hexapla. Barthélemy identified Theodotion with the Jewish sage Jonathan ben ‘Uzziel, thereby placing him in the first century CE, and as the author of the Kaige Recension or at least a most important member of the ‘groupe kaige’ (Barthélemy 1963: 148–56). This identification would thus do away with an individual translator named Theodotion from the second century CE.

The supposed style of Theodotion’s translation lies between the over-formalistic and stereotyped translation of Aquila and the rather free translation of Symmachus. One interesting feature is that Theodotion often uses a transliteration instead of a translation. However, this is mostly for realia without an obvious Greek equivalent, and probably sometimes also out of reverence, as the transliteration of El (God) shows, a word which he certainly knew. (On the other hand, Theodotion evidently translated terms that were merely transliterated in the Septuagint [Field 1875: I.xl–xlii; Tov 1973: 78–92].)

The text of Theodotion is mainly known through quotations and marginal notes in manuscripts, most of them deriving from Origen’s Hexapla (Schmitt 1966: 112; Fernández Marcos 2000: 146 n. 20).

The most important issue is the so-called proto-Theodotionic problem, i.e. the observation that many Theodotionic readings can be found already in earlier texts, especially in the New Testament (e.g. Isa. 25:8 in 1 Cor. 15:54 and Zac. 12:10 in John 19:7) and early Christian writers such as the synoptic Gospels, Epistle to the Hebrews, Revelation, Clement of Rome, Shepherd of Hermas, Letter of Barnabas, and Justin. However, most of these quotations stem from the book of Daniel. If Schmitt is right, that ‘θ’-Daniel is not from Theodotion, these quotations would rather belong to a Kaige-type text (Schmitt 1966; 2000: 47–75). Beyond that, others have demonstrated that, for example, the assumed Theodotionic text of Exodus and Joshua is not from Theodotion (O’Connell 1972: 292–3; Greenspoon 1983: 379–81; Fernández Marcos 2000: 147).

Evidently it is very difficult to identify both Theodotionic texts and also the historical Theodotion. Given the current state of research, it seems most plausible to assume the

following: 1) At minimum the so-called proto-Theodotonic texts belong to the Kaige or semi-Kaige type of texts. 2) Probably one of the text-types in use in the second century was ascribed to the authority of a certain Theodotion (who may have been known for exegetical or textual work). 3) Because of the palaeographic dating of the Naḥal Ḥever scroll to the later first century BCE (Parsons 1990: 26), the Kaige Recension has also to be dated to that time (or earlier). This weakens Barthélemy's identification of Theodotion with Jonathan ben Uzziel and also of this Jonathan with the Kaige Recension.

THE KAIGE RECENSION

The Kaige Recension was identified in the Greek Naḥal Ḥever scroll of the Dodekapropheton by Dominique Barthélemy in his book *Les Devanciers d'Aquila* (1963). This text shows a formalistic Hebraizing revision of the Old Greek text of the Minor Prophets. There are formal and semantic traits. The formal trait is the adaptation to the Hebrew reference text (in most cases close to the proto-MT) in word order and also in the use of the tenses. Semantic traits include the stereotyped translation of ʔiś 'man' by ἀνὴρ , even if it has the distributive sense of ἐκαστος ; the rendering of ʔên 'there is not' with οὐκ ἔστι for any tense; and, most impressively, the different rendering of the pronoun of the first-person singular: the short form ʔāni is rendered by ἐγώ ('I') and the long form ʔānōkī by ἐγὼ εἰμι ('I am') respectively, even if a finite verb follows. (This phenomenon would seem odd to a Greek reader.) Last but not least, the particle *gam* ('also'), was rendered by καίγε ('and also').

For Barthélemy this last characteristic was most important because he related it to the understanding of inclusive particles, which were significant in contemporary Jewish exegesis (Barthélemy 1963: 10–15). Hence the designation 'Kaige Recension' from the inclusive particle καίγε . In fact Barthélemy used the terms Kaige Recension and Kaige group ('groupe kaige') in order to indicate that there are different traits in the different books. Barthélemy also used the term 'Palestinian recension'. Another sign of the Kaige Recension is the elimination of the so-called historical present tense (1963: 63–5), used by a narrator to indicate immediacy, as if he were in the situation. The Kaige Recension alters such renderings to past tense in order to give an exact rendering of the Hebrew verb form.

On the basis of such characteristics Barthélemy identified the Kaige Recension in several books. Most importantly, these included the sections later termed the Kaige sections of Samuel and Kings (2 Sam. 10:1–1 Kings 2:11; 1 Kings 22:1–2 Kings 25:30), which had been singled out already by Thackeray (1907: 262–6). Thackeray assumed two translations, an older translation of the more positive passages ($\alpha = 1$ Sam; $\beta\beta = 2$ Sam. 1–11:1; $\gamma = 1$ Kings 2:12–21:43) and a later translation of the more negative passages ($\beta\gamma = 2$ Sam. 11:2–1 Kings 2:11 and $\gamma\delta = 1$ Kings 22:1–2 Kings 25:30). (The designation is derived from the numbering of 1–4 Kingdoms as $B_{a5} \alpha - \delta$.) Thackeray related the Hebraizing sections to 'Ur-Theodotion', in other words he dated it before the Theodotion of the second

century CE (Thackeray 1921: 17); Shenkel (1968) showed that $\beta\gamma$ begins in 2 Kingdoms 10:1. By mainly looking for the use of *καίγε*, Barthélemy also identified Paralipomena (Chronicles), Ezekiel, Psalms, Nehemiah, Daniel, Job, and Jeremiah as related to the Kaige Recension (1963: 33–45). All these observations mainly refer to Codex Vaticanus.

Barthélemy's identification of the Kaige Recension was soon accepted by most scholars. This led to attempts to discover more and more characteristics of that recension. Barthélemy himself referred to twenty-four different features, including semantic ones such as translation of *šōpār* 'ram's horn trumpet' with *κερατίνη* '(made of) horn', indicating the artefact, in contrast to *σάλπιγγξ* 'trumpet', indicating the function (the latter now reserved to render the Hebrew word for a metal trumpet, *hššōšērâ*). Subsequently more than ninety different traits have been suggested from different books (McLay 1998). The sheer number of such traits of course makes it very hard to arrive at conclusive results for any given LXX book.

In a later statement, Barthélemy accepted as clear features of Kaige the ones he had first identified (Barthélemy 1978: 267–9). Beyond the semantic features a most important aspect of the isomorphic adaptation is the adaptation of word sequence to the sequence in Hebrew.

As the Naḥal Ḥever scroll of the Minor Prophets indicates, the Kaige Recension may have been originally located in Palestine. Thus Barthélemy also speaks in terms of the Palestinian recension. It is also important to note that the traits of the Kaige Recension show some variation. Barthélemy therefore also spoke of the Kaige *group*.

One also should be aware that in spite of their isomorphic procedure, most of the Kaige revisers were skilful translators who knew their Greek quite well. For example, they preserved the play on words in Judg. 10:4 (*πόλους* – *πόλεις* = 'donkeys' – 'towns', in line with Hebrew *ʿāyārīm* – *ʿīrīm*). They maintained specific renderings of the Old Greek, e.g. the translation of *ʿebed* with *δοῦλος* and *παῖς*; however, they altered it from a differentiation according to relation to a distinction according to status (Kim 2010: 391–403). They also maintained the rendering *ἄσος/ἄλση* for Asherah (from Judg. 3:7 onwards). However, they stopped using the feminine article with the name Baal (as used in the Old Greek from Judg. 2:13 onwards, most probably to indicate that one should avoid pronouncing the name Baal and rather read *ἡ αἰσχύνη*, 'shame') and returned to using the masculine article with Baal.

THE QUESTION OF 'SEMI-KAIGE'

Outside of the Kaige sections, Codex Vaticanus and the so-called main tradition of the Septuagint are often understood as basically representing the original Septuagint (Old Greek). This concerns especially the non-Kaige sections of Samuel and Kings. However, as can be seen by the text-critical remarks and decisions in Rahlfs's and also in the Göttingen eclectic edition, there are differences between the (assumed) Old Greek and the text of Vaticanus. These differences are evidently not only due to scribal errors but

also at least partially to intentional changes. It seems that this text also has undergone some revision. This impression is confirmed by observations made for example by Anneli Aejmelaeus, who from her work on 1 Samuel concluded: 'one must be ready to accept corruption or correction towards the Hebrew in the main line [= *B-text and related manuscripts*] of textual transmission' (Aejmelaeus 2007: 127). And: 'this kind of recensional development, typical of the so-called *καίγε* sections is clearly not absent in the non-*καίγε* sections either, but can be sporadically detected in the *B-text*' (Aejmelaeus 2008: 366). This poses the question of a Hebraizing revision of this textual tradition, albeit a light one.

As we have seen above, *L* is very close to OG. In the non-Kaige sections, *B* is also very close to OG. Consequently *L* and *B* must also be rather close. However, there are also differences. This means that one of them is closer to the original Septuagint and that the other one has undergone some revision; or both have undergone some lighter revision.

There are a number of examples which demonstrate that, indeed, there was some revision in the non-Kaige sections as well, and not only in Samuel–Kings. An illustrative example is the rendering of *hattōb bē'ēnēkā* 'what is good in your eyes'. It differs in the Kaige and the non-Kaige section of *B*, and is different from the rendering in *L*, which in itself does not change. *L* translated τὸ ἀρεστόν ἐνώπιόν σου, 'what is pleasing before you', while Kaige τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς σου 'what is good in your eyes' is clearly reworked towards the Hebrew. Non-Kaige ἀγαθὸν ἐνώπιον σου 'good before you' is in between, since OG ἐνώπιον is maintained but ἀρεστόν is changed to ἀγαθόν, the stereotyped rendering of *tōb*.

Another example is the rendering of the name of the god Baal with feminine article (ἡ *Baal*). This usage starts in Judg. 2:13, and goes on through the historical books into the Prophetic books, especially Jeremiah. As explained above, the feminine article indicates that *αἰσχύνη* 'shame' should be read in place of the name Baal. The Kaige Recension reversed this to the masculine article (e.g. Judg. 10:6, 10). The feminine article can also be found in the non-Kaige sections, i.e. in 3 Kgdms 19:18, although only in *L* (cf. the Brooke–McLean edition, but unfortunately not in the Rahlfs edition). In *B* and in many other manuscripts it has been altered: 'Baal' is preceded by the masculine article (cf. also the change from *αἰσχύνη* to Baal in 3 Kgdms 18:19). (For details of the analysis and for the quotation in Rom. 11:4 see Kreuzer 2013a: 259–61.)

Similar observations of an older reading and an adaptation towards the Hebrew text can be made in many passages from the so called non-Kaige sections of Samuel and Kings and also in other books (see also Kreuzer 2014a: 73–88; 2014b: 391–416), such as Psalms.

It is obvious that in many books with a Hebrew *Vorlage* there is some revision towards the Hebrew text, according to the isomorphic principles of the Kaige Recension, yet in a lighter fashion, which one may call semi-Kaige.

It should also be mentioned that the text in Vaticanus is not always revised towards the proto-Masoretic Text. In a good number of cases *B* and *L* go together, meaning that here both texts represent OG and that also the reviser had a Hebrew reference text that differed from proto-MT.

OLD GREEK AND KAIGE-THEODOTIUM IN THE LIGHT OF JEROME'S STATEMENTS ABOUT THE GREEK TEXTS

The basic result of what has been presented here is that the Septuagint developed and spread out in basically two different stages. The first stage was the original Septuagint (Old Greek) translated mainly in the third and second centuries BCE, and mainly in Egypt. The second stage was the isomorphic Hebraizing revision that started in the first century BCE. This revision also had some variation, from the strict Kaige Recension to the less strict forms of semi-Kaige. However, the intention was to bring the Greek text closer to the sacred Hebrew even at the cost of presenting less good Greek. (This tendency of adaptation to the Hebrew was continued by Origen.)

The Kaige and semi-Kaige texts also spread out in a second wave and overlapped with OG. That is why—interestingly—we have the best witnesses to OG in the border zones, the Lucianic/Antiochian text in the north, the Old Latin translation in the west, the Sahidic text in the south (see Chapters 37, 42, and 45 in this volume).

The modern picture of basically two stages of the Septuagint can be combined with Jerome's statement in the preface to Chronicles: what he describes as a *trifaria varietas* is the difference between the text forms in the outer areas, Syria and Egypt, and the centre in Palestine with its Hebraized text forms. As also in his other statements, Jerome justifies what he is doing and especially his preference for those Greek texts that are closest to the Hebrew text (as he knew it). For this he emphasized the differences between the texts and the (from his point of view) shortcomings of the Lucianic and Hesychian text form (so especially in his preface to the New Testament).

In his letter to the Gothic clerics Sunnia and Fretela (*Ep.* 106), Jerome also justifies his choice of the text closest to the Hebrew. There he speaks of two text forms only: the old and widely used text of the Septuagint (*κοινήν, id est communem*), now ('nunc'), i.e. in his time, called 'Lucianic' (*λουκιάνειος*); and the text found in the Hexaplaric codices which is closer to the Hebrew text and therefore preferred by Jerome for his revision of the Psalms. This recent attribution ('nunc dicitur') of the Septuagint text to Lucian may be explained by Lucian's martyrdom c.312, and his burial in Drepanon, where also Helena, the mother of the emperor Constantine, had come from and which was renamed Helenopolis. In the later fourth century the cult of Lucian spread throughout the empire and was supported by the court (Brennecke 1991). Linking the old Septuagint with Lucian furnished the Septuagint with his scholarly and now even with imperial authority. Maybe this link was a defence of the old Septuagint text against the trend of preferring a text closer to the now authoritative Hebrew text, as started by Origen and pursued by Jerome.

Jerome's statement matches the picture presented above that basically there is the Old Greek (although with corruptions and probably also some corrections over the time of

its transmission), plus the stream of texts revised towards the then authoritative Hebrew text, most heavily by the Kaige Recension, or in a milder form in what may be called 'semi-Kaige', and which became called 'Theodotion'.

SUMMARY

There were two distinct phases of the early Septuagint. The first one was its original translation (OG) in Alexandria (and probably some other places). From there it spread out into the Greek-speaking Jewish Diaspora and also into the homeland. This first translation closely followed the Hebrew text, but also aimed at being comprehensible in Greek. The second phase was the Hebraizing revision according to isomorphic principles which arose from a new understanding and hermeneutic of the Hebrew Scriptures with a close (re)connection to the Hebrew. This revision began (and probably was mostly carried out) in the first century BCE, mostly in Palestine. From there it spread out in a second wave and in time superseded the Old Greek. Therefore OG is mainly found in texts and their manuscripts from the fringes of the distribution area of the Septuagint, i.e. in Syria (*L/Antiochian text*), Upper Egypt (*Sahidic*), and in the West (*Old Latin*).

The Kaige Recension was a strictly isomorphic rendering of the Hebrew reference text (mostly from manuscripts that were close to the proto-Masoretic Text). As a number of details show, these revisers were well-versed in Greek, but the isomorphic principles and the transparency towards the Hebrew took priority. The Kaige Recension comprised at least the historical books and the Minor Prophets, and probably also other books. The Kaige Recension was not entirely uniform, hence Barthélemy's reference to a Kaige group ('groupe kaige').

For the history of the Septuagint text the Kaige Recension is important because it shows that revision of OG had already begun in pre-Christian times. Chronologically and in terms of its translation technique Kaige stands halfway between OG and the extremely formalistic text of Aquila.

The Kaige text can be by and large identified with the so-called Theodotonic text. This identification solves the 'proto-Theodotonic' problem, i.e. the fact that Theodotonic readings existed already in the first century CE, long before the Theodotion of patristic testimony. There may have been a historical figure Theodotion in the late second century CE connected with the transmission of a biblical text, but the link with the Kaige text is only a later attribution.

There also occurred a lighter Hebraizing revision of the OG text that was less strict but basically followed the same isomorphic principle as the Kaige Recension. This 'semi-Kaige' revision evidently comprised most of the books with a Hebrew *Vorlage*; it can be identified in the non-Kaige sections of the historical books (of Codex Vaticanus), most probably in the book of Psalms and probably also in the Pentateuch (Ulrich 1992; Himbaza 2016).

Whether this revision was carried out at the same time as the Kaige Recension, or was partially performed before and/or after the latter, cannot be determined. However, this revision also spread widely and superseded the OG text.

Both traditions, Kaige and semi-Kaige, dominate the great codices, especially Codex Vaticanus and Sinaiticus (and also manuscripts like P.Bodmer XXIV in Psalms), and what for historical reasons today is considered the main tradition of the Septuagint, and with it not only the diplomatic but also the eclectic editions. In regard of the discovery of the Kaige (and identification of the semi-Kaige) Recension and the related re-evaluation of the Antiochian/Lucianic text, the editorial principles for the Old Greek also will need to be reconsidered.

Finally, we may consider the relationship of Kaige with the Theodotion of patristic tradition. If one takes Barthélemy and Kaige seriously, there is neither room nor need for a Theodotion carrying out his translation in the late second century, despite references to him among Christian writers. Maybe the original Kaige texts and those similar to them were ascribed to a real or imaginary ‘Theodotion’? The alternative is to do away with Theodotion altogether, but then we would need to explain how such a tradition arose in the first place.

SUGGESTED READING

For further details on these issues see the collection of studies by the present author (Kreuzer 2015a), and the volume of contributed chapters edited by Kreuzer and Sigismund (2013). Kristin de Troyer (2012) compares the literary effect of different recensions on the portrayals of Bathsheba and Nathan in 2 Samuel, and Natalio Fernández Marcos (2012) looks at the phenomenon of Kaige in the B text of Judges.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aejmelaeus, Anneli (2007). ‘The Septuagint of 1 Samuel’, in Aejmelaeus, ed., *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators: Collected Essays*. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 123–41.
- Aejmelaeus, Anneli (2008). ‘A Kingdom at Stake: Reconstructing the Old Greek. Deconstructing the Textus Receptus’, in J. Jokiranta and A. Voitila, eds., *Scripture in Transition: Essays on Septuagint, Hebrew Bible, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of Raija Sollamo*. JSJS 126. Leiden: Brill, pp. 353–66.
- Barthélemy, Dominique (1963). *Les Devanciers d’Aquila: Première publication intégrale du text des fragments du Dodécaprophéton trouvés dans le Désert de Juda*. VTSup 10. Leiden: Brill.
- Barthélemy, D. (1978). ‘Prise de position sur les autres communications du colloque de Los Angeles’, in D. Barthélemy, ed., *Études d’histoire du texte de l’Ancien Testament*. OBO 21. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 267–9.
- Brennecke, Hanns Christof (1991). ‘Lucian von Antiochien (Martyrium 7.1.312)’. TRE 21: 474–9.
- de Lagarde, Paul Anton (1863). *Anmerkungen zur griechischen Übersetzung der Proverbien*. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus.
- de Troyer, Kristin (2012). ‘Bathsheba and Nathan: A Closer Look at Their Characterizations in MT, Kaige and the Antiochian Text’, in H. Ausloos, B. Lemmelijn, and J. Trebolle Barerra,

- eds., *After Qumran: Old and Modern Editions of the Biblical Texts: The Historical Books*. BETL 246. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 119–42.
- Fernández Marcos, Natalio (2000). *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Versions of the Bible*. Leiden: Brill.
- Fernández Marcos, Natalio (2012). 'The B-Text of Judges: Kaige Revision and Beyond', in H. Ausloos, B. Lemmelijn, and J. Trebolle Barerra, eds., *After Qumran: Old and Modern Editions of the Biblical Texts: The Historical Books*. BETL 246. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 161–70.
- Fernández Marcos, Natalio (2013). 'The Antiochene Edition in the Text History of the Greek Bible', in S. Kreuzer and M. Sigismund, eds., *Der Antiochenische Text der Septuaginta in seiner Bezeugung und seiner Bedeutung*. De Septuaginta Investigationes 4. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 57–73.
- Field, Fredrick (1875). *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt: Sive Veterum interpretum Graecorum in totum Vetus Testamentum fragmenta*. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Greenspoon, Leonard (1983). *Textual Studies in the Book of Joshua*. HSM 28. Chico, CA: Scholars Press.
- Himbaza, Innocent (2016). 'What Are the Consequences if 4QLXXLev^a Contains the Earliest Formulation of the Septuagint?', in S. Kreuzer, M. Meiser, and M. Sigismund, eds., *Die Septuaginta—Orte und Intentionen. 5. Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX. D), Wuppertal 24.–27. Juli 2014*. WUNT 361. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 294–308.
- Kim, Jong-Hoon (2010). 'Die Wiedergabe von 'ebed mit *δοῦλος* oder *παῖς* in der Septuaginta der Samuel- und Königebücher', in W. Kraus and M. Karrer, eds., *Die Septuaginta—Texte, Theologien, Einflüsse*. WUNT 252. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 391–403.
- Kreuzer, Siegfried (2008). 'Towards the Old Greek: New Criteria for the Evaluation of the Recensions of the Septuagint (Especially the Antiochene/Lucianic Text and the Kaige-Recension)', in M. K. H. Peters, ed., *XIII. Congress of the IOSCS Lubljana 2007*. SCS 55. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, pp. 239–53.
- Kreuzer, S. (2013a). "'Lukian Redivivus" or Barthélemy and Beyond?', in M. K. H. Peters, ed., *XIV. Congress of the IOSCS, Helsinki 2010*. SCS 59. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, pp. 243–61.
- Kreuzer, S. (2013b). 'Old Greek, kaige and the trifaria varietas: A New Perspective on Jerome's Statement'. *JSCS* 46: 74–85.
- Kreuzer, S. (2014a). 'Älteste Septuaginta und hebraisierende Bearbeitung: Old Greek und Semi-kaige im nicht-kaige-Text von 2Samuel (mit einer Analyse von 2Sam 4,1–5)', in W. Kraus, S. Kreuzer, et al., eds., *Die Septuaginta: Text, Wirkung, Rezeption*. WUNT 325. Tübingen: Mohr, pp. 73–88.
- Kreuzer, S. (2014b). 'Old Greek und Semi-Kaige: Zur Frage hebraisierender Bearbeitung in den Nicht-Kaige-Abschnitten der Samuel- und Königebücher', in K. de Troyer, T. M. Law, and M. Liljeström, eds., *In the Footsteps of Sherlock Holmes: Studies in the Biblical Text in Honor of Anneli Aejmelaeus*. CBET 72. Leuven, Peeters, pp. 391–416.
- Kreuzer, S. (2015a). *The Bible in Greek: Translation, Transmission, and Theology of the Septuagint*. SBL.SCS. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature.
- Kreuzer, S. (2015b). 'The Place and Text-Critical Value of the New Testament Quotations from Dodekapropheton in the Textual History of the Septuagint', in S. Kreuzer, *The Bible in Greek: Translation, Transmission, and Theology of the Septuagint*. SBL.SCS 63. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, pp. 233–52.
- Kreuzer, S. (2016). 'Entstehung und Überlieferung der Septuaginta', in S. Kreuzer, ed., *Einleitung in die Septuaginta*. LXX.H1. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, pp. 29–88.

- Kreuzer, S., and M. Sigismund, eds. (2013). *Der Antiochenische Text der Septuaginta in seiner Bezeugung und seiner Bedeutung*. De Septuaginta Investigationes 4. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- McLay, R. Timothy (1998). 'Kaige and Septuagint Research.' *Textus* 19: 127–39.
- McLay, R. Timothy (2008). 'Recension and Revision: Speaking the Same Language with Special Attention to Lucian and Kaige', in M. Peters, ed., *XIII. Congress of the IOSCS Lubljana 2007*. SCS 55. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, pp. 293–303.
- O'Connell, Kevin G. (1972). *The Theodotionic Revision of the Book of Exodus: A Contribution to the Study of the Early History of the Transmission of the Old Testament in Greek*. HSM 3. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Parsons, Peter J. (1990). 'The Scripts and Their Date', in E. Tov, R. A. Kraft, and P. J. Parsons, eds., *The Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Naḥal Ḥever (8HevXIIgr)*. DJD VIII. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 19–26.
- Rahlfs, Alfred (1907). *Der Text des Septuaginta-Psalterns*. Septuaginta-Studien II. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Rahlfs, A. (and Hanhart, Robert) (1935/2006). *Septuaginta*. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft.
- Schmitt, Armin (1966). *Stammt der sogenannte 'θ' Text bei Daniel wirklich von Theodotion?* MSU IX. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Schmitt, Armin (2000). 'Die griechischen Danieltexte (θ und ο) und das Theodotionproblem', in Chr. Wagner, ed., *Der Gegenwart verpflichtet: Studien zur biblischen Literatur des Frühjudentums*. BZAW 292. Berlin and New York, NY: Walter de Gruyter, pp. 47–75.
- Shenkel, James D. (1968). *Chronology and Recensional Development in the Greek Text of Kings*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Thackeray, Henry St. John (1907). 'The Greek Translators of the Four Books of Kings'. *JTS* 8: 262–6.
- Thackeray, Henry St. John (1921). *The Septuagint and Jewish Worship: A Study in Origins*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Tov, Emanuel (1973). 'Transliterations of Hebrew Words in the Greek Versions of the Old Testament'. *Textus* 8: 78–92.
- Ulrich, Eugene (1992). 'The Septuagint Manuscripts from Qumran: A Reappraisal of Their Value', in G. J. Brooke and B. Lindars, eds., *Septuagint, Scrolls, and Cognate Writings*. SCS 33. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, pp. 49–80.

CHAPTER 31

AQUILA

GIUSEPPE VELTRI WITH ALISON G. SALVESEN

AQUILA IN TRADITION

THE first Christian author to mention Aquila explicitly was Irenaeus of Lyon in a polemical context against the Jews. He states that two new translations into Greek, ‘daring to translate the Scriptures’, render Isa. 7:14 (LXX ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἕξει [καὶ τέξεται υἷόν], ‘the virgin shall conceive [and bear a son]’) erroneously as ἡ νεάνις ἐν γαστρὶ ἕξει... ‘the young woman shall conceive’: this is ‘as Theodotion of Ephesus and Aquila of Pontus, both of them proselytes, have translated’ (*Adv. Haer.* III.21.1, eds. Rousseau and Doutreleau 1974: 398–401, with Greek in Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* V.8:10). Irenaeus’s note reflects the concern that the ‘new’ translations of prophetic texts undermine the authority of the Septuagint on which the validity of the New Testament and the Christian theological tradition are based. In revealing that there is an alternative way of translating ‘*almā*’ in Isa. 7:14, these later Jewish versions imply that the infancy story of Jesus’s birth from a virgin is untrue. For Irenaeus, then, the versions of Aquila and Theodotion abrogate God’s plan of salvation announced through the prophets (*Adv. Haer.* III.21.1. ed. Rousseau and Doutreleau 1974: 398–401).

The Christian scholar Origen called Aquila ‘a slave of the Hebrew text’ (δουλεῶν τῆ ἑβραϊκῆ λέξει) who was highly esteemed by the Jews for his zeal in translating Holy Scripture. Origen goes on to state that those who do not know the Hebrew language prefer to use Aquila’s translation, considering it the ‘most successful one’ (ὡς πάντων μᾶλλον ἐπιτετευγμένω: *Ep. ad Afric.* §4, ed. de Lange 1983: 526; and cf. Augustine, *Civ. Dei* 15:23). Origen may be referring not only to Jews ignorant of Hebrew, but also to Christian scholars like himself who employ Aquila as a ‘crib’ to the Hebrew text. Almost all the ‘translations’ of Aquila found in rabbinic sources act as glosses to difficult expressions in the biblical text (Veltri 1994: 92–115).

Epiphanius of Salamis is the first Christian author to offer a more detailed account of Aquila as well as the other Jewish translators in his work *De Mensuris et Ponderibus* (‘On

Weights and Measures'), an introduction to the Bible (Greek ed. Moutsoulas 1973; trn. of Syriac version Dean 1935: 29–32). Never the most reliable informant, in this particular work Epiphanius attempted to defend the traditional Septuagint in the light of Origen's textual work and the later Jewish revisions, and so his account must be treated with some caution. He describes Aquila as originally a pagan from Sinope in Pontus who was related by marriage to the emperor Hadrian. Hadrian appointed him to oversee the work of building the colony of Aelia Capitolina on the site of Jerusalem. There Aquila converted to Christianity but refused to abandon his astrological practices. He was therefore expelled from the Church, became a Jewish proselyte, and learned Hebrew. Epiphanius goes on to claim that the motivation behind Aquila's translation was the desire to distort certain renderings of the 'Seventy', especially those testifying to Christ (yet if Aquila's translation was really intended as an attack on Christianity, Origen, Eusebius, Jerome, and other Christian scholars would not have used it: see Salvesen 2014). Epiphanius's apologetic purpose is clear: the Jews reject the LXX, the rendering miraculously produced by seventy-two recognized Jewish scholars, yet they accept a Greek translation by an individual proselyte (Epiphanius, *Mens. et Pond.* §17, trans. Dean 1935: 33).

Epiphanius's contemporary Jerome criticized Aquila for his slavish literalism in rendering words and their etymology (*Ep. 57 ad Pammachium*), but at the same time he was impressed by the accuracy of Aquila's version (Schürer 1986: III/1, 496), and so frequently employs Aquila's version in his commentaries on Scripture. He mentions two editions of Aquila (*prima et secunda editio*), as does Epiphanius (*Mens. et Pond.* §16, trans. Dean 1935: 32). However, the view that two different versions of Aquila were in circulation or that one of them was attributed to him 'because of his growing prestige' (Schürer 1986: III, 1, 495), is unconvincing (see Fernández Marcos 2000: 119–20). Equally unpersuasive are the notions that the close correspondence of Aquila's version to the Hebrew text led to its immediate approval by rabbinic authority, or that it was comprehensible only to people acquainted with the Hebrew language (Schürer 1986: III, 1, 495). In antiquity the rendering of authoritative texts in what we would describe as a 'literal' fashion was regarded as desirable, and not absurd (Barr 1979: 8–9).

The regular employment of Aquila in Christian scholarship eventually made his version an acceptable alternative to the LXX. This may help to explain *Novella* 146 'Concerning the Hebrews' of 553 CE, in which Aquila plays a significant role (Linder 1987: 411; Rabello 1988: 814–28; Veltri 2002: 104–19; Smelik 2012: 141–63). This piece of imperial legislation was allegedly a response to an appeal by Jews concerning a controversy over whether Hebrew and Greek should be used in the synagogue. The emperor Justinian ruled that for the reading of Scripture only the Greek language was permitted, either in the Septuagint or Aquila's version, 'although the latter was of foreign origin (*ἀλλόφυλος*)', and often deviates from the Septuagint. Justinian also forbade *δευτέρωσις*, the word Christians used to describe rabbinic teaching. *Novella* 146 has been much discussed by scholars regarding its historical value and significance for the use of Hebrew versus Greek in Jewish communities in the East. Arguably, one aim of the novella was to aid Jewish conversion by promoting in synagogues the use of Scripture in Greek (LXX

or Aquila), while forbidding the use of the oral rabbinic teaching that particularly distinguished Judaism from Christianity (see *Tanḥuma, ki tissa*, ed. Buber 58b–59a).

Rabbinic sources discuss Aquila in comparison with other proselytes (Labendz 2009: 355–60), yet they provide little or nothing of historical importance about him. Since Christian and Jewish reports agree on two points, that Aquila was from Pontus and was active in the time of Hadrian, modern scholars try to harmonize them. Yet Christian association of Aquila with Pontus may go back to a (con)fusion between Aquila the proselyte and the Aquila mentioned in Acts 18:2 ('and he [Paul] found a Jew named Aquila, a native of Pontus'), an identification which also has modern proponents, such as Graetz (1852: 198 and n. 7; 1908, vol. 4: 405), Krauss (1896: 148), and Silverstone (1931: 31, 36–7, 160). Graetz believed the connection with Pontus was supported by the midrash *Sifra be-har pereq* 1 to Leviticus 25:7: 'What is permitted in your land to eat and not what Aquila exported [from Palestine] for his slaves *lpwnšwm*'. However, this depends on emending *pwnšwm* to *pwnṭwn*, the latter allegedly a Hebrew transcription for the *Pontos* of Christian tradition, and is problematic because it assumes the patristic sources themselves are reliable.

For rabbinic Judaism, reference to the Greek origins of Aquila is important as they 'justify' his mastery of the Greek language, given the rabbis' strong reservations concerning Greek wisdom (*mSot.* 9:14 and parallels): Rabbi Gamaliel's knowledge of Greek was justified only because it was required by his proximity to the Roman administration (*bSot.* 49b; cf. *Tos.Sot.* 15:8). On the Christian side, Jerome referred to Aquila as *eruditissimus linguae graecae*, 'most learned in the Greek language' (*Comm. in Isai.* 49:5).

More reliably, both rabbinic tradition and Christian historiography date Aquila's activity to the second century CE. These data are underpinned by two facts: 1) his relationship to the emperor Hadrian, and 2) his closeness either to Rabbi Akiba, or to Rabbi Jehoshua and Rabbi Eliezer, but all of them Tannaitic figures of that period.

We cannot prove that Aquila was indeed related to Hadrian as the Midrash assumes (*Midrash Tanḥuma mishpatim* 3 [ed. Buber, 41a–b]), even though Epiphanius also endorses it when he affirms that 'Aquila was related to the emperor by marriage (*τοῦ βασιλέως πενθερίδης*)' (*Mens. et Pond.* §15, trans. Dean 1935: 30). A direct literary influence on Epiphanius from *Midrash Tanḥuma* cannot be automatically excluded.

According to one tractate of the Talmud Yerushalmi, *yMeg.* 1:11 (71c), Aquila was associated with Rabbi Joshua and Rabbi Eliezer, while *yQidd.* 1,1 (59a) suggests that he was associated with Rabbi Akiva. The latter tradition is echoed by Jerome, who in his *Commentary on Isaiah* portrays Aquila as a student of the 'Akivan' school ('quorum suscepit scholam Akybas, quem magistrum Aquilae proselyti autumant': *Comm. in Isai.* 8:11–15). Yet Jerome's knowledge of rabbinic Judaism is evidently rather slight, since in the same passage he identifies Hillel and Shammai as the founders of the groups of the scribes and Pharisees, perhaps under the influence of the New Testament.

Midrashic literature reports other stories in which Aquila is connected instead with Rabbi Eliezer. The most cited text in this context is *yMeg.* 1:11 (71c): 'Rabbi Jeremiah in the name of Rabbi Ḥiyya bar-Ba [said]: Aquila the Proselyte translated the Torah before Rabbi Eliezer and Rabbi Joshua, and they praised him saying: "You are fairer

than the children of men (Psa 45:3)”. (This statement involves two wordplays, the first on Aquila’s name in Hebrew, *‘qyls*, and ‘they praised’, *qłsw* (itself a loanword derived from *καλῶς*, ‘beautifully’); and the second on the unusual biblical word *ypypyt* ‘you are fairer’ and *Ypt*, Japhet, the ancestor of the Greeks according to Gen. 10:2.) Though this tradition from the Yerushalmi states that Aquila’s (oral?) rendering was praised by Rabbi Eliezer and Rabbi Joshua, it may be an over-extrapolation to state that a written translation by him was actually commissioned or approved by rabbinic authority (Labendz 2009: 358–64).

Elements of Aquila’s translation reflect rabbinic exegesis as well as the Hebrew text of the second century (Treat 1998: 171–4; Salvesen 2011; Graves 2012; Edwards 2012). His glosses rendering difficult Hebrew expressions are transmitted in rabbinic literature with the formula *tirgēm ‘aqilas*, ‘Aqilas translates’. Such glosses fall into three categories: 1) Greek, 2) Hebrew, and 3) Aramaic. Three examples will suffice here (for a full list, see Labendz 2009: 365; also Veltri 2006: 176–85).

- 1) In Gen. 17:1 God announces to Abram his name *’el šadday*. This title is explained in two slightly different ways in Midrash Bereshit Rabbah 46:3: ‘I am El Shadday. I am *He who* says to my world: “*Enough!* (*še...day*)”’, and further on, ‘I am He of whose divinity the world and its fullness is not worthy (*kēday*)’. The midrash goes on to note that “Aqilas translated: *’aksios-’iqanos* (“worthy and sufficient”); preserving the Greek forms *ἄξιος* and *ἱκανός* in transliteration. The adjectives reflect both interpretations of *šadday* given in the passage: the first that it represents *še + day* ‘that which is enough’, which in Greek would be *ἱκανός*, and the second that it is *še + kēday* ‘that which is worthy (of)’, cf. *ἄξιος*. Although no Christian witnesses preserve an Aquila reading for *šadday* in Gen. 17:1, Eusebius of Caesarea attests that Aquila rendered it with *ἱκανός* in Exod. 6:3, and in other places the same rendering is shared with Symmachus and/or Theodotion (Ezek. 1:24; 10:5; 91[90]:1; Jer. 51[28]:58). In fact, since *ἱκανός* appears as a rendering of *šadday* in books of the later LXX tradition, at LXX Ruth 1:20, 21, and in the asterisked portions of Job attributed to Theodotion (Job 21:15; 31:2; 40:2), it must already have been a widely accepted understanding of this name of God by the first century CE. However, *ἄξιος* is not found in Aquila or other Greek versions as an equivalent of *šadday*.
- 2) In *yQidd.* 1:1 (59a), Aquila interprets according to the teaching of Rabbi Akiva: ‘Rabbi Jose in the name of Rabbi Johanan said: “Aqilas the proselyte translated before Rabbi Akiva ‘as she is a slave girl *destined* [*nhrpt*] to another man (Lev 19:20)’ with ‘*pounded* [*b-ktwšh*, i.e. deflowered] before a man’, as you say, ‘his wife took a covering and spread it out over the opening of the well and scattered *grain* [*hrpwt*] over it (2 Sam 17:19)”’. The interpretation equates the condition of a slave girl who has had intercourse with her master with that of a wife, implying that the man’s death will result in her freedom. The gloss itself is ostensibly based on an association of the apparent roots *hrp* and *hrp*. However, no corresponding Greek reading attributed to Aquila survives.

- 3) A ‘translation’ of Aquila into Hebrew is found in a text from Midrash Bereshit Rabbah 21:1: “And one holy one said to the certain other (*la-palmônî*) holy one who spoke” (Dan 8:13). Rabbi Huna (said): “To the certain one (*la-pěłônî*)”. ‘Aqilas translated, “To the inner one (*la-pānîmî*), that is Adam whose habitation was within that of the ministering angels.”’ Both modern scholars and Rabbi Huna interpret *palmônî* as a combined form of *’almônî pěłônî* (‘a certain one’). However, the rendering of ‘Aqilas’ associates the word *palmônî* with the similar form *pānîmî*, ‘inner one’. (Yet according to Jerome, both Aquila and Theodotion may have had the transliterated form $\varphi\epsilon\lambda\mu\omicron\nu\acute{\iota}$.)

Palestinian rabbinic Judaism transmits some stories about Aquila, mostly in a midrashic context, describing him as a skilled *meturgeman* (i.e. oral translator of Scripture, usually into Aramaic) who was able to produce fine Greek renderings of the Hebrew Scriptures. Far from the Greek-speaking world and much more familiar with Aramaic renderings of Hebrew Scripture, Babylonian rabbis ascribe to their official Aramaic translation almost everything that Palestinian sources had said about Aquila: hence the name ‘Targum Onkelos’, a further corruption of the Latin name Aquila (see Veltri 2006: 163–89).

AQUILA IN GREEK

As mentioned earlier, the Greek version of Aquila was included in Origen’s Hexapla, probably in the column following the second one that contained a Greek transliteration of the Hebrew of the first column. Aquila’s column thus provided a very literal, isomorphic rendering of the Hebrew, in the style of a modern-day interlinear or ‘crib’ translation. Christian scholars consulting the Hexapla found Aquila’s version particularly useful for this reason even as they decried his rather rigid style. Aquila also tended to render Hebrew roots by the same lexical equivalent throughout the biblical corpus. For instance, he always used the stem $\delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\text{-}$ for the root *’bd*, even when the context was one of cultic service (e.g. Num. 8:24 $\delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$ ‘servitude’ for *’ăbōdā*, whereas Symmachus has $\lambda\alpha\tau\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$, ‘worship’). Another stereotyped rendering is $\varphi\omega\tau\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu$ ‘give light’ for the Hiphil of *yṛh* (*hôrôt*), by association with *’ôr*, ‘light’ (e.g. Exod. 4:12, 15).

However, each of these equivalences is also found in earlier revisions: $\delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\text{-}/\text{’}bd$ in Kaige and Theodotion, and $\varphi\omega\tau\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\iota\nu/hôrôt$ in Quinta in Psalms. In fact, Aquila’s style of translation was a natural development of the Kaige Recension, as Barthélemy convincingly argued in his book *Les Devanciers d’Aquila* (i.e. ‘Aquila’s Predecessors’, 1963): hence Grabbe’s observation that one should describe the work of Aquila as revision rather than translation (1992). As well as greater lexical consistency, Aquila’s renderings exhibit an even higher degree of isomorphism (i.e. the representation of each individual element of the Hebrew text) than the Kaige Recension. A particular feature of his approach is the peculiar use of $\acute{\sigma}\acute{\upsilon}\nu$ (followed by the accusative case, not the dative, e.g. Gen. 1:1 $\acute{\sigma}\acute{\upsilon}\nu\ \tau\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \omicron\upsilon\ \rho\alpha\nu\omicron\nu\ \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\ \acute{\sigma}\acute{\upsilon}\nu\ \tau\eta\nu\ \gamma\eta\nu$, as noted by Jerome in *Ep.* 57) to reflect the

presence of the Hebrew object marker *ʔet*. Barthélemy connected this idiosyncrasy with the exegesis of Rabbi Akiva, for whom *ʔet* indicated inclusion (1963: 15–21). However, as Grabbe has pointed out, Akiva was not the only rabbi to attribute special significance to the particle (1982: 530–2), and Hyvärinen’s study shows that in fact Aquila only represents *ʔet* where it is followed by the definite article *ha-*, or by *kōl* ‘all’ (Hyvärinen 1977: 26–9).

Aquila’s reputation for mastery of Greek lies in his inventive use of vocabulary. Reider listed many words he considered rare or unique to Aquila in his *Prolegomena* (Reider 1916: 101–29). Although these now need to be checked against papyrological databases in case they are attested elsewhere, some do indeed seem to be unique coinages, created to reflect a particular etymology or morphological form. Thus *ὄραματίζεσθαι*, perhaps to be understood as ‘to envision’ (Ps. 11[10]:4; 46[45]:9; cf. the noun form in Hab. 2:2) seems created to show that the underlying Hebrew is the poetic word for seeing, *hzh*, not the much more common verb *rʔh* (for which most versions including Aquila would use *ὄρᾶν*). Similarly, because *ʿešem* ‘bone’ is normally rendered by *ὄστον*, Aquila adopts the apparently artificial forms *ὄστέωσις* and *ὄστέινος* for *ʿašmāh* ‘might’ and *ʿāšûm* ‘numerous’ (e.g. Isa. 40:29; Gen. 18:18), despite the odd sense these give.

As with other Jewish Greek revisions included in the Hexapla, Aquila’s version survives only in isolated citations in Christian writers and in marginal notations in biblical manuscripts, primarily of course in Greek, but also in Latin, Syriac, Armenian, and Georgian translation. There are also the fragmentary folios of the Hexapla of Psalms discovered in the Cairo Geniza (Ra 2005; ed. Taylor 1900) and in the Milan palimpsest (Ra 1098; ed. Mercati 1958). On the Jewish side, apart from Christian testimony to the popularity of Aquila’s version, we have much less direct evidence. It is possible that a Jewish inscription of a verse in Psalms found in Iznik (Nicaea) in Turkey, dating between the fourth and sixth centuries, is derived from Aquila’s version (Salvesen 2005), as also a third-century Roman inscription of a verse from Proverbs (Cappelletti 2009: 128–32). However, glosses traceable to Aquila or to an associated ‘school’ of translation survive in Hebrew characters in the Judaeo-Greek texts of Scripture (de Lange 1980; Law 2009), as far as the Constantinople Pentateuch of the sixteenth century.

More controversial is the material found at the end of the nineteenth century in the Cairo Geniza, the attic storeroom of the Ben Ezra synagogue in Fustaṭ. It has been identified as the version of Aquila, fragmentarily preserved as the underwriting of a palimpsest for some verses in 3 and 4 Kingdoms (ed. Burkitt et al. 1897; discussed by Hyvärinen 1977; and Law 2012). Its discovery in a Jewish context and its use of the Tetragrammaton in Paleo-Hebrew characters have generally been taken to indicate that it was a text written and used by Jews in the fifth to sixth centuries (ed. Burkitt et al. 1897: 10, 31–2). However, this assumption has been challenged (e.g. Sokoloff and Yahalom 1979: 110 n. 4). If the text is in fact Christian in origin and use, rather than Jewish, it would counter Ceulemans’s argument that prior to the seventh century, Christians’ only access to the later Jewish Greek versions was through the medium of the Hexapla (Ceulemans 2012). However, it is perhaps safer to keep the question open (Gallagher 2013).

Owing to the marked lexical consistency of Aquila, it is often possible to identify readings transmitted anonymously as derived from his version. For this the Index of Joseph Reider, completed by Nigel Turner, is helpful (Reider and Turner 1966; Tov 1973).

DESIDERATA FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Field (1875: I.xvi–xxvii) and Barthélemy (1963) still provide much of value on the subject of Aquila, but their discussions need to be nuanced in the light of new findings and new research. As with the other revisers Theodotion and Symmachus, there is a need to check attributions of readings to Aquila that have been collected in older sources such as Field (and discussed in his Latin footnotes there). The second apparatus of the Göttingen edition of Septuagint books provides a more recent and therefore fuller picture of the transmission of later Jewish versions and the varying attributions attached to them. It is hoped that the work of the Hexapla Project, which utilizes the readings collected in the editions of the Göttingen Unternehmen, will make the fragments of Aquila more accessible for study, as also those of Theodotion and Symmachus (see Salvesen 2017).

SUGGESTED READING

For further discussion of the place of Aquila within rabbinic circles, see Salvesen (2012) and especially the detailed discussion in Smelik (2013: 325–499). For examples of the use of Aquila and the other later Jewish translators by patristic writers, see Salvesen (2014; 2015). Chapter 35 in the present volume covers the use of glosses from Aquila into Judeo-Greek biblical texts of the Byzantine and medieval periods.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Barr, James (1979). *The Typology of Literalism in Ancient Biblical Translations*. MSU 15. NAWG Vol. 11. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Barthélemy, Dominique (1963). *Les Devanciers d'Aquila: Publication intégrale du texte des fragments du Dodécaprophéton trouvés dans le désert de Juda*. VTSup 10. Leiden: Brill.
- Burkitt, Francis C., Charles Taylor, and Solomon Schechter (1897). *Fragments of the Book of Kings According to the Translation of Aquila*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cappelletti, Silvia (2009). 'Biblical Quotations in Greek Jewish Inscriptions of the Diaspora', in N. de Lange, J. G. Krivoruchko, and C. Boyd-Taylor, eds., *Jewish Reception of Greek Bible Versions*. TSMEMJ 23. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 128–41.
- Ceulemans, Reinhart (2012). 'Greek Christian Access to "the Three", 250–600 CE', in Timothy Michael Law and Alison G. Salvesen, eds., *Greek Scripture and the Rabbis*. CBET 66. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 165–91.
- Dean, James E., ed. (1935). *Epiphanius' Treatise on Weights and Measures: The Syriac Version*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

- de Lange, Nicholas R. M. (1980). 'Some New Fragments of Aquila on Malachi and Job?'. *VT* 30: 291–4.
- de Lange, Nicholas R. M., ed., with Marguerite Harl (1983), *Origène, Philocalie, 1–20 sur les Écritures, et La Lettre à Africanus sur l'histoire de Suzanne*. SC 302. Paris: Cerf.
- Edwards, Timothy (2012). 'Aquila in the Psalter: A Prolegomenon', in T. M. Law and A. Salvesen, eds., *Greek Scripture and the Rabbis*. CBET 66. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 87–105.
- Fernández Marcos, Natalio (2000). *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Versions of the Bible*. Leiden, Boston, MA, and Cologne: Brill, pp. 109–22.
- Field, Frederick (1875). *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt . . .* 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Gallagher, Edmon L. (2013). 'The Religious Provenance of the Aquila Manuscripts from the Cairo Genizah'. *JJS* 64: 283–305.
- Grabbe, Lester L. (1980). 'Aquila's Translation and Rabbinic Exegesis'. *JJS* 33: 527–36.
- Grabbe, Lester L. (1992). 'The Translation Technique of the Greek Minor Versions: Translations or Revisions?', in G. J. Brooke, ed., *Septuagint, Scrolls, and Cognate Writings*. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, pp. 505–56.
- Graetz, Heinrich (1852). 'Jüdisch-geschichtliche Studien'. *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 1.4: 192–202.
- Graetz, Heinrich (1908). *Geschichte der Juden von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart*, Vol. 4. 4th edn. Leipzig: Oskar Leiner.
- Graves, Michael (2012). 'Midrash-Like Word Plays in Aquila's Translation of Genesis', in T. M. Law and Alison G. Salvesen, eds., *Greek Scripture and the Rabbis*. CBET 66. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 65–86.
- Hyvärinen, Kyösti (1977). *Die Übersetzung von Aquila*. CBOT 10. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell.
- Krauss, Samuel (1896). 'Akylas, der Proselyt', in *Festschrift zum achtzigsten Geburtstage Moritz Steinschneider's*. Leipzig: Harrassowitz, pp. 148–63.
- Labendz, Jenny R. (2009). 'Aquila's Bible Translation in Late Antiquity: Jewish and Christian Perspectives'. *HTR* 102: 353–88.
- Law, Timothy Michael (2009). 'The Use of the Greek Bible in Some Byzantine Jewish Glosses on Solomon's Building Campaign', in N. R. M. de Lange, J. Krivoruchko, and C. Boyd-Taylor, eds., *Jewish Reception of Greek Bible Versions: Studies in Their Use in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*. Texts and Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Judaism 23. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 263–83.
- Law, T. Michael (2012). 'Kaige, Aquila, and Jewish Revision', in T. M. Law and A. Salvesen, eds., *Greek Scripture and the Rabbis*. CBET 66. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 39–64.
- Linder, Amon, ed. (1987). *The Jews in Roman Imperial Legislation*. Detroit, MI and Jerusalem: Wayne State University Press, The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities.
- Mercati, Giovanni (1958). *Psalterii Hexapli reliquiae. Pars prima: Codex rescriptus Bybliothecae Ambrosianae O 39 Sup. phototypice expressus et transcriptus*. CEIBD 8. Rome: Vatican City.
- Moutsoulas, Elias D. (1973). 'Τὸ "Περὶ μέτρων καὶ σταθμῶν" ἔργον Ἐπιφανίου τοῦ Σαλαμῖνος'. *Θεολογία* 44: 157–98.
- Rabello, Alfredo M. (1988). *Giustiniano, Ebrei e Samaritani alla luce delle fonti storico-letterarie, ecclesiastiche e giuridiche*. Vol. 2. Milan: Giuffrè Editore.
- Reider, Joseph (1916). *Prolegomena to a Greek-Hebrew and Hebrew-Greek Index to Aquila*. Philadelphia, PA: Oxford University Press.
- Reider, Joseph, and Nigel Turner (1966). *An Index to Aquila: Greek-Hebrew, Hebrew-Greek, Latin-Hebrew, with the Syriac and Armenian Evidence*. SupVT 12. Leiden: Brill.

- Rousseau, Adelin, and Louis Doutreleau, eds. (1974). *Irénée de Lyon, Contre les hérésies. Livre III. Édition critique. Tome II. Texte et Traduction*. SC 211. Paris: Cerf.
- Salvesen, Alison G. (2005). 'Psalm 135(136).25 in a Jewish Greek Inscription from Nicea', in G. A. Khan, ed., *Semitic Studies in Honour of Edward Ullendorff*. SSSL 47. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, pp. 212–21.
- Salvesen, A. (2011). 'Midrash in Greek? An Exploration of the Versions of Aquila and Symmachus in Exodus', in James K. Aitken, Katherine Dell, and Brian A. Mastin, eds., *On Stone and Scroll: Essays in Honour of Graham Ivor Davies*. BZAW 420. Berlin and Boston, MA: de Gruyter, pp. 523–36.
- Salvesen, A. (2012). 'Did Aquila and Symmachus Shelter under the Rabbinic Umbrella?', in T. M. Law and A. Salvesen, eds., *Greek Scripture and the Rabbis*. CBET 66. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 107–25.
- Salvesen, A. (2014). 'Aquila, Symmachus and the Translation of Proof-Texts', in Wolfgang Kraus and Siegfried Kreuzer, eds., *Die Septuaginta: Text, Wirkung, Rezeption. 4. Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D), Wuppertal 19.–22. Juli 2012*. WUNT 325. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 154–68.
- Salvesen, A. (2015). 'The "Three" in Early Christian Commentary: The Case of the "Song of the Vineyard" (Isaiah 5:1–7)'. *JSCS* 48: 73–86.
- Salvesen, A. (2017). 'A "New Field" for the Twenty-First Century? Rationale for the Hexapla Project, and a Report on Its Progress', in A. Piqer Otero and P. Torijano Morales, eds., *The Text of the Hebrew Bible and Its Editions: Studies in Celebration of the Fifth Centennial of the Complutensian Polyglot*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 286–309.
- Schürer, Emil (1986). *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, Vol. III/1, eds. G. Vermes, F. Millar, M. Black, and M. Goodman. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, pp. 493–9.
- Silverstone, Alec Eli (1931). *Aquila and Onkelos*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Smelik, Willem F. (2012). 'Justinian's Novella 146 and Contemporary Judaism', in Timothy Michael Law and Alison G. Salvesen, eds., *Greek Scriptures and the Rabbis*. CBET 66. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 141–63.
- Smelik, Willem F. (2013). *Rabbis, Language and Translation in Late Antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sokoloff, Michael, and Joseph Yahalom (1979). 'Christian Palimpsests from the Cairo Geniza'. *Revue d'histoire des textes* 8: 109–32.
- Taylor, Charles (1900). *Hebrew–Greek Cairo Geniza Palimpsests from the Taylor-Schechter Collection*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Treat, Jay Curry (1998). 'Aquila, Field, and the Song of Songs', in A. Salvesen, ed., *Origen's Hexapla and Fragments*. TSAJ 58. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 136–76.
- Tov, Emanuel (1973). 'Some Corrections to Reider–Turner's Index to Aquila'. *Textus* 8: 164–74.
- Veltri, Giuseppe (1994). 'Der griechische Targum Aquilas: Ein Beitrag zum rabbinischen Übersetzungsverständnis', in M. Hengel and A. M. Schwemer, eds., *Die Septuaginta zwischen Judentum und Christentum*. WUNT 172. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 92–115.
- Veltri, G. (2002). *Gegenwart der Tradition: Studien zur jüdischen Literatur und Kulturgeschichte*. JSJSup 69. Leiden: Brill.
- Veltri, G. (2006). *Libraries, Translations, and 'Canonic' Texts: The Septuagint, Aquila and Ben Sira in the Jewish and Christian Traditions*. SupJSJ 109. Leiden: Brill, pp. 147–89.

CHAPTER 32

SYMMACHUS

MICHAËL N. VAN DER MEER

THE TRANSLATION AND ITS INFLUENCE

THE third of the Jewish revisions of the Septuagint to be included in Origen's Hexapla is that ascribed to Symmachus. Compared to the other Greek translations and revisions of Jewish Scriptures this translation has probably suffered the most from neglect. Unlike the other two revisions, those of Kaige-Theodotion and Aquila, Symmachus's translation apparently did not find acceptance in Jewish circles. Christian authors such as Eusebius of Caesarea and Jerome of Stridon were more positive about this translation and regularly quoted from it. They praise his translation for being 'more intelligible' (*σαφέστερος*; Eusebius, *Comm. Isa.* 1.85 on 25:6–8), 'more lucid' (*λευκότερος*; Eusebius, *Comm. Isa.* 1.71 on 16:6–14), 'more clearly' (*manifestius*) and 'more openly' (*apertius*) than the other revisions, which they scorn for their bad style (*κακοζήλεια*; cf. Jerome, *Comm. Am.* on 3:11).

Characteristics of this relatively free translation technique are variation in Greek equivalents for the same Hebrew expression, avoidance of *καί* for clause-initial *wāw*, the use of Greek idiomatic expressions and greater lexical accuracy, the substitution of perfect tenses by the aorist, the addition of discourse particles, and paraphrastic renderings (Thieme 1755; Field 1875: xxx–xxxvii; Norton 2005: 61–71; Salvesen 1991: 195–254). Symmachus was almost certainly familiar not only with the Septuagint, but also with the Hebraizing revisions by Theodotion and Aquila (see Chapters 30 and 31 in this volume). However, he rejected their translation technique and offered a comprehensible and elegant Greek translation instead (Salvesen 1991: 255–64). Jerome's *Iuxta Hebraeos* (Vulgate) version depends in more instances on Symmachus than any other version of the Old Testament (Ziegler 1943–4; González Luis 1983; Salvesen 1991: 265–81).

Despite their admiration for this version, these and other Church authorities maintained the authority of the Septuagint. Hence all that remains are isolated words in the margins of Septuagint manuscripts, a few fragments of running Psalm texts, and

sometimes more extensive quotations in patristic works (Fernández Marcos 2000: 109–54). Thanks to the rediscovery of fragments of Symmachus’s version of the Psalms in the Cairo Genizah and the Fayum (Busto Saiz 1985: 401–35) and extensive additional fragments of Eusebius’s *Commentary on Isaiah* (Ziegler 1975; Armstrong 2013), Symmachus now seems best preserved for the Pentateuch, the Psalter, and Isaiah.

THE IDENTITY OF THE TRANSLATOR

Much of the rather modest amount of research on Symmachus has revolved around the question of the identity and religious affiliation of Symmachus. According to Eusebius of Caesarea (c.265–340 CE), Symmachus was an Ebionite (cf. *Dem. ev.* VII.1.33), who produced his version of the Old Testament before the days of Origen (c.165–254 CE):

Of these translators it should be stated that Symmachus was an Ebionite . . . Writings (ὑπομνήματα) of Symmachus are still extant in which he appears (ἐν οἷς δοκεῖ) to support this heresy by attacking the Gospel of Matthew. Origen states that he obtained these and other commentaries of Symmachus on the Scriptures from a certain Juliana, who, he says, received the books by inheritance from Symmachus himself. (*Hist. eccl.* VI.17, c.325 CE)

The reference to Origen and Juliana connects this notice to the year 215 CE when Origen fled persecution from Alexandria to Caesarea Maritima. Apparently by that time Symmachus’s translation was already completed. Eusebius infers (δοκεῖ) Symmachus’s Jewish-Christian background from a refutation of Jesus’s divine parentage. This may refer to the Greek translation of Isa. 7:14 where the mother of Immanuel is either called a ‘virgin’ (παρθένος LXX Isa. 7:14; Matt. 1:18–23) or ‘young girl’ (νεάνις in the later versions to Isa. 7:14). Since Irenaeus of Lyons (*Haer.* III.21.1; c.180 CE) does not mention Symmachus but only the translation of Theodotion and Aquila of the same disputed passage, it is likely that Symmachus’s translation was not produced or known before the end of the second century CE.

Whereas the context of late second-century CE Caesarea for Symmachus’s translation has been widely accepted in modern scholarship, the theory of an Ebionite background of Symmachus, which was once taken for granted (Zahn 1923; Schoeps 1950), is now completely abandoned (Salvesen 1991: 289–92). Moreover, examination of proof texts popular with Christians shows that anti-Christian polemic did not play an important role in the production of Symmachus’s revision of these verses (Salvesen 2014). In all likelihood Symmachus simply took over the Greek translation of Theodotion and Aquila in Isa. 7:14 (νεάνις instead of παρθένος), which implies that his rendering here hardly has any bearing on his religious affiliation.

In his work *De mensuris et ponderibus* (written 392 CE; PG 43.3:264; Moutsoula 1973), Epiphanius of Salamis (315–403 CE) discussed the history of the Greek versions of the

Bible in his polemic against heterodox and non-Christian sects. According to him Symmachus was originally a Samaritan who converted to Judaism during the reign of Severus:

Concerning Symmachus. In the time of Severus there was a certain Symmachus, a Samaritan, of their wise men, but not honoured by his own people. He was afflicted with the lust for power and became angry with his tribe. He approached the Jews, became a proselyte, and was circumcised a second time... So this Symmachus, translating in order to pervert (*πρὸς διαστροφῆν*) the translation current among the Samaritans, published the third translation.

This information dates the work of Symmachus to the reign of Lucius Septimius Severus Pertinax (193–211 CE). Since, however, the Syriac version of *De mens. et pond.* reads ‘Verus’ (Dean 1935: fol. 55c, line 17: *’wrws*), some scholars (Mercati 1892; Barthélemy 1974) were inclined to date the translation of Symmachus several decades earlier, during the reign of Marcus Aurelius Verus (161–80 CE). Yet the Syriac reading is probably an error for *S’wrws*, ‘Severus’, as Van der Kooij has demonstrated (1981: 133–6). Hence the date of Symmachus’s revision/translation can be set around the year 200 CE.

Yet another identification is made by Palladius of Galatia (c.363–c.425 CE) in his praise of the virgin Juliana of Caesarea (*Hist. Laus.* 64; Butler 1898; written in 419–20 CE). Symmachus is called ‘the translator of the Jews’ in a note written by Origen himself:

I found these words written in a very old book of verse (*γεγραμμένα ἐν παλαιστάτῳ βιβλίῳ στιχηρῷ*), in which was written in Origen’s own hand, ‘I found this book with Juliana the virgin in Caesarea, when I was hiding in her house. She said she had received it from Symmachus, the translator of the Jews, himself.’

Although the statements by Origen (in Palladius), Eusebius, and Epiphanius are not completely mutually exclusive, it does make a difference for the translation if it was made either for Christian, (anti-)Samaritan, or Jewish purposes. Since the translation of Symmachus contains not only translations of the Pentateuch but the entire Jewish canon, and since no traces of anti-Samaritan renderings can be found in the extant fragments of Symmachus’s translation apart from a few rather incidental agreements between his version and the Samaritan Pentateuch (Heidenheim 1867), the identification made by Epiphanius is discarded by all modern scholars (see e.g. Salvesen 1991: 287–9).

A further identification was made by Abraham Geiger (1862). He made a connection between this Symmachus as *ἐρμηνεύς τῶν Ἰουδαίων* and the figure Symmachus son of Joseph (*Sumkhos ben Yosef*) known from rabbinic sources. This Symmachus was a pupil of Rabbi Meir (mid-second century CE), a Tannaitic authority second only to Rabbi Judah ha-Nasi, or ‘the Prince’ (135–217 CE), who was the leader of the Jewish community in the region of Galilee and the compiler of the Mishnah (Avi-Yonah 1962).

None of the many references to Rabbi Meir’s disciple Sumkhos can be connected directly with the extant fragments of Symmachus’s translation of the Hebrew Bible. Yet

there are quite a number of renderings that reflect rabbinic exegesis which in a few cases can be connected directly to a specific ruling by Rabbi Meir.

Geiger (1862), followed by Barthélemy (1974) and others, pointed to renderings in Symmachus's version that differ from his predecessors, but agree with interpretations found in Targum (González Luis 1984; Salvesen 2000) or other rabbinic literature, with respect to anti-anthropomorphisms, the belief in the resurrection of the dead, and specific halakhic rulings.

An example of the first category is offered by Symmachus's rendering of Gen. 1:27 where the Hebrew states that God made man according to his image, and LXX that he made him *κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ*. Symmachus, however, has it that God created man 'in a different image, upright' (*ἔκτισεν... ἐν εἰκόνι διαφόρῳ, ὀρθιον ὁ θεὸς ἔκτισεν αὐτόν*). A similar reluctance to portray man as a copy or image (*εἰκόν*) of God is found in the Targumim (Salvesen 1991: 5). According to Schoeps (1950: 117–19), the idea that God created man upright is derived from Qoh 7:29 'God made man upright (*yāšār*)' and its interpretation in the Midrash to that passage (see further Van der Kooij 1988: 13, and Salvesen 1991: 2–7 on Genesis Rabbah 8:11).

According to Geiger (1862: 47) and others (Schoeps 1950: 115–16; Busto Saiz 1985: 120; Van der Kooij 1981: 243–4; Van der Kooij 1988: 14) the rabbinic belief in the resurrection of the dead is introduced by Symmachus in many passages of Job (14:14, 20), the Psalms (49:9–10, 12; 119:112; 139:18), Qoheleth (3:14), and the Prophets (Isa. 26:14 and Hos. 6:2). Ps. 139:18b, for instance, contains the psalmist's affirmation that God is with him after the sleep (MT 'I awake and am still with You', cf. LXX *ἐξηγέρθη καὶ ἔτι εἰμι μετὰ σοῦ*, 'I awoke and I am still with you'). Symmachus transforms this into the statement that the psalmist will be with God in eternity (*ἐξυπνώσω καὶ εἰς ἀεὶ ἔσομαι μετὰ σου*, 'I shall wake from sleep and forever I shall be with you').

Specific halakhic rulings are found, for instance in Deut. 21:33 where the statement that 'a hanged man is accursed by God' (*ki qilēlat 'ēlōhīm tālūy*, cf. LXX *ὅτι κεκατηραμένος ὑπὸ θεοῦ πᾶς κρεμάμενος ἐπὶ ξύλου*, NETS 'for anyone hanging on a tree is cursed by a god') is transformed by Symmachus into a death penalty for a blasphemer: *ὅτι διὰ βλασφημίαν θεοῦ ἐκρεμάσθη* (cf. Targum Onkelos, Peshitta, m. Sanh. 6:4 and b. Sanh. 46b). By contrast, earlier interpretations extend the death penalty to traitors (11QT lxiv, 6–13) or give it a positive, Christological twist (Gal. 3:13).

Geiger (1862: 55–7, 64) finds a direct link between Symmachus and a ruling of Rabbi Meir in the interpretations of Qoh 5:3–4, a passage dealing with the desirability of making vows. By means of a different reading of Qoh 5:3b (MT 'fulfil what you vow', cf. LXX *ὅσα ἐὰν εὔξη ἀπόδος*, 'whatever you should vow, pay up') as 'if you vow (at all), then pay' (**ἐὰν εὔξη*), Symmachus is able to convey the opinion of Rabbi Meir that it is better not to vow at all (cf. *m. Ned.* 1:1; *b. Ned.* 9a; *b. Hul.* 2a; *b. Men.* 81a). In contrast, other interpreters appear more lenient (e.g. Rabbi Judah ha-Nasi) or make the statement more specific by interpreting the Hebrew word *ʔ* in Qoh 5:3b as *ʔth*, 'you': thus several LXX manuscripts (*σὸ οἶν*), the Targum and Peshitta to Qoh 5:3b.

In Gen. 22:1 the idea that God did not 'test' (*nissā*, cf. LXX *ἐπειράζειν*) Abraham but rather 'exalted' him finds a remarkable parallel both in Symmachus's translation

ἐδόξασεν ('he glorified him') and a rabbinic tradition found in Genesis Rabbah 55.1–6 where Rabbi Akiva rejects the position defended by Rabbi Jose the Galilean (Geiger 1862: 45; Van der Kooij 1988: 14; Salvesen 1991: 43–4).

Following Geiger's lead, Barthélemy (1974: 463, cf. González Luis 1978: 343–7; Van der Kooij 1988: 15; Van der Meer 2013) found another example of close alignment between a reading of Symmachus and a ruling of Rabbi Meir in the depiction of the land of Israel as 'an ornament (*šēbī*) for all the lands' (Ezek. 20:6, 15; cf. Jer. 3:19), as *θρησκεία*, 'cultic institution' 'worship', or 'religious observance'. This idea would fit the attempt of the rabbis to define Judaism as a religion rather than a nation, and more particularly, the ideas of Rabbi Meir, who in exile in Asia Minor viewed the land of Israel as the purifying Holy Land.

THE PURPOSE OF THE TRANSLATION

The discussion regarding the religious affiliation of Symmachus is closely connected to the question of the purpose of the translation. Symmachus breaks with the tradition of his predecessors, Theodotion and Aquila, who brought the tendency of literalistic, isomorphic renderings of the Hebrew text both to perfection and near-incomprehensibility. Instead, he offered a much more easily understood translation. Hence, the purpose of this third revision of the LXX was probably not confined to bringing the Greek text even closer to the sense of MT by perfecting the translation technique of his predecessors Theodotion and Aquila.

According to Schoeps (1950), the translator translated Scripture for his Ebionite audience. Since, however, Schoeps drew most of his parallels from rabbinic sources instead of the pseudo-Clementine writings, whose Ebionite background is disputed, his approach is now generally discarded. If, on the other hand, the translation is the result of the work of a pupil of Rabbi Meir, Symmachus's work may constitute a rabbinic adaptation of pre-rabbinic or, in the case of Qohelet, decidedly non-rabbinic ideas. Since the influence of Rabbi Meir was soon overshadowed by that of Rabbi Judah ha-Nasi, it would also explain why, if it was a rabbinic translation, it found no acceptance in later rabbinic circles (for the latter, see Salvesen 2012a).

Besides these religious motivations, one might also discern a political dimension. Van der Kooij (1981: 240–2; 1998; 2016), Van der Meer (2010; 2013), and Mulder (2016) have pointed to a quietist political attitude expressed in Symmachus's version of Isaiah by means of the ideas of rest (*ἡρεμία*, *ἡσυχία*, and *ἀνάπαυσις*), the faith that God would fight (*ὑπερμαχέω*) for his people Israel, implying that the people should refrain from revolt (*ἀνταρσις*) and war, since that had led to annihilation. Symmachus also seems to avoid the messianic interpretations of certain biblical passages that were common during the early Roman period up until the Bar Kokhba revolt.

In Isa. 30:15a Symmachus underlines the idea that Israel's strength and salvation lies 'in quietude and tranquillity': ἐν μετανοίᾳ καὶ ἀναπαύσει σωθήσεσθε· καὶ ἐν ἡρεμίᾳ καὶ ἐν

ἐλπίδι ἔσται ἡ δύναμις ὑμῶν, ‘in repentance and rest you shall be saved, and in quietude and in hope shall be your strength’ (compare LXX [NETS] ‘When you turn back and groan, then you shall be saved and realise where you were; when you placed your trust in vain things, your strength became vain’). In Isa. 51:22 Symmachus turns the idea of God contending (*yārīb*) with Israel in MT and LXX into the image of God waging battle for his people (καὶ ὁ θεός σου ὑπερμαχήσει τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ, cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 3.309), because God alone will bring the victory (cf. Sym. Isa. 63:3 ληνὸν ἐπάτησα μονώτατος, ‘I trod a winepress alone’) (Van der Kooij 1981: 240–1; Van der Meer 2010; 2013).

The idea that (human) insurrection leads to destruction may be found in Isa. 8:12a. Whereas MT and LXX refer to the obstinacy of the Israelite people (NRSV ‘Do not call conspiracy [*qešer*] all that this people calls conspiracy’; NETS ‘Never say “Hard,” [*σκληρόν*], for whatever this people says is hard’), Symmachus seems to refer to their rebellious nature (οὐκ ἐρέετε ἄνταρσις εἰς πᾶν ὃ ἐὰν εἴπῃ ὁ λαὸς οὗτος ἄνταρσις, ‘Do not say “Insurrection!” to everything this people calls insurrection’). The political reality of the situation after two major Palestinian revolts (66–70 and 132–5 CE) may be reflected in Symmachus’s rendering of Isa. 6:13, where the image of Jerusalem as a felled tree in MT is transformed into that of a second, complete erosion of vegetation (καὶ πάλιν ἔσται εἰς καταβόσκησιν ὡς δρύς καὶ ὡς βάλανος, ἥτις ἀποβαλοῦσα ἴσταται μόνη, ‘and again it shall be for grazing bare, like a tree and like an oak, which when it has shed [its leaves], stands alone’) (Van der Kooij 1981: 244–5; Van der Meer 2010; 2013).

In a similar vein, the passages that came to be understood in a messianic sense during the Roman period in the Second Temple and following periods (e.g. Aquila) seem to have been de-messianized and depoliticized as well (Salvesen 1991: 192; Mulder 2016). In Isa. 19:20 MT, Symmachus and LXX speak of God sending a saviour: however, in MT it is God who will defend and deliver them (MT *wā-rāb we-hiṣṣilām*), while in LXX the ‘saviour’ will judge and save them. In contrast Symmachus employs his theme of God waging war for his people to deliver them, καὶ ὑπερμαχήσει αὐτῶν καὶ ἐξελεῖται αὐτούς. The Hebrew text of Gen. 49:10 refers to lasting Judahite rule (‘the sceptre will not depart from Judah nor the ruler’s staff from between his feet until Shiloh comes [or “because tribute is brought to him”]: *ad kī yābō’ šilōh*). Some Jewish circles from the early Roman period interpreted this in a messianic sense (e.g. 4Q452 [CommGen^a] 5:3–4 and Targum Onkelos). However, Symmachus renders the Hebrew in a remarkably neutral way: οὐ περιαιρεθήσεται ἐξουσία ἀπὸ Ἰούδα... *ὃ ἀπόκειται, ‘authority shall not be removed from Judah, [until he comes?] for whom it is reserved’. Similar observations can be made with respect to Num. 24:17 where the MT’s ‘sceptre from Israel’ has been rendered by Symmachus in a rather straightforward way, as opposed to the many messianic interpretations (1QM ix:1–11; Targum Onkelos) that played an important role in the propaganda for Bar Kokhba.

According to Van der Kooij (1981: 248–55) Symmachus’s translation should not be seen as the product of Rabbi Meir’s pupil, but rather as authorization of the rule of Rabbi Judah ha-Nasi, the patriarch who restored good relations with the Roman (Antonine) emperors and compiled the Mishnah. The few messianic passages that have not been neutralized in Symmachus’s version of Isaiah (9:5–6; 11:9; 25:7–8) would allude to this teacher-messiah (Van der Kooij 1998).

The Hebrew version of Isa. 25:7–8a predicts that God ‘will destroy on this mountain the shroud that is cast over all peoples, the sheet that is spread over all nations’ and ‘will swallow up death forever’ (NRSV), a prophecy that in LXX is transformed into a prayer (NETS ‘Deliver all these things to the nations on this mountain, for this counsel is against the nations’) and a statement about the past (‘Death, having prevailed, swallowed them up’). In contrast, Symmachus provides an eschatological perspective in which God ‘will engulf the face of the ruler [reading $\sigma\upsilon\lambda\eta$ as $\sigma\iota\lambda\psi$] who rules over all the nations’ (*καὶ καταποντιεῖ ἐν τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ πρόσωπον τοῦ ἐξουσιαστοῦ τοῦ ἐξουσιάζοντος πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν*) and in which ‘the anointing which is anointed over all the nations will cause death to be swallowed up for ever’ (*καὶ ἡ χρίσις ἣ κεχρισμένη κατὰ πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν καταποθήναι ποιήσει τὸν θάνατον εἰς τέλος*). According to Van der Kooij (1981: 241; 1998) this alludes to the end of a last world ruler (the Roman emperor?) and the anointing of a messianic figure (cf. Sym.-Ps. 2:6) who will teach (Sym.-Isa. 2:2–4) worldwide peace (Sym.-Isa. 9:5–6) on mount Zion (Sym.-Isa. 11:9). This teacher-messiah would then best be identified as Rabbi Judah ha-Nasi.

A recent detailed investigation of all the rabbinic material related to Sumkhos ben Joseph makes clear that the question of the date (mid or late second century CE) and allegiance (rabbi Meir or rabbi Judah ha-Nasi) may rest on false presuppositions (Van der Meer 2016).

FUTURE RESEARCH

As part of Hexapla studies (see e.g. Salvesen 1998; Romeny and Gentry 2001) future research on the fragmentary remains of Symmachus’s revision will continue to involve text-critical study, particularly on the material in Syriac (see e.g. Law 2011) and Armenian biblical manuscripts (Anasyan 1983; Cox 1996). Fernández Marcos (2000: 127–8, 133–40) discusses recent discoveries and possible hidden manuscripts and material.

The extant material allows a systematic study of Symmachus’s vocabulary, which remains a desideratum in this field. Thus far only some partial studies of his lexicon are available. Busto Saiz (1985: 455–756) provides a Greek–Hebrew index for Symmachus in Psalms, and González Luis (1978: 371–542) has done the same for the Major Prophets. More recently Lust (2000) has published an online lexicon of Symmachus’s distinctive vocabulary in the Psalter and the first part of such a lexicon for Ezekiel (Lust and Scatolini Apostolo). Helpful as these word lists may be, they only cover parts of Symmachus’s translation. Moreover, they hardly examine the lexemes within the wider context of contemporary Greek writings of this so-called Second Sophistic era (Van der Meer 2013).

Some examples of this kind of research were already offered by Schoeps (1950: 89–100), where he examined echoes of Classical Greek mythological themes such as the *θεομάχοι*, the ‘primeval giants fighting with the gods’ (cf. Hesiod; Apollodorus; Plato

etc.) as a rendering for Hebrew *rfym*, ‘spirits of the dead’(?) in Ps. 87(88):11; Job 26:5; Prov. 9:18; 21:16 (contrast LXX *ιατροί*, ‘physicians’, or *γηγενεῖς*, ‘giants’, Theodotion *γίγαντες*, ‘giants’, and Aquila’s transliteration *ραφείμ*). Another echo of Greek epic imagery (*Odyssey*, Hesiod) is found in the theme of the ‘sirens’ (*σειρήνες*).

Several of Symmachus’s other lexical choices can only be understood in the light of Greek writings from the Imperial period, e.g. the image of Jerusalem as a ‘devastated’ city (*ὡς πόλις πεπορθημένη*) (Isa. 1:8) or a completely razed tree (*καταβόσκησις*) (Isa. 6:13) (Van der Meer 2010: 75–80).

Related to this largely unexplored field is that of a more systematic study of Symmachus’s translation of the Former Prophets and the Wisdom books. Geiger has shown that Symmachus relatively often corrected the Greek version of Qohelet, a translation that was probably made in the second century CE. Although the Greek versions of Job and Proverbs probably stem from a much earlier period (second century BCE), their semi-Hellenistic philosophical ideas would have required a rabbinic adaptation.

Finally, the curious afterlife of Symmachus’s revision requires further study. It remains an intriguing question whether the quietist political attitude voiced by Symmachus may in some way have paved the way for the theology of Eusebius of Caesarea that heralded the reign of the emperor Constantine as ‘godly polity’ and divinely inspired (Hollerich 1999).

SUGGESTED READING

Fernández Marcos (1990) discusses the relationship of Symmachus to his predecessors. Aspects of the use of Symmachus’s version in textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible are discussed by Salvesen (2012b) and Lust (2014). Salvesen gives examples of parallels between the renderings by Symmachus in Exodus and rabbinic midrash (2012a), the use of Symmachus by patristic writers (2014; 2015), and the potential for textual criticism of his version in the book of Job (2020).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Anasyan, Y. S. (1983). ‘Une Leçon symmachienne dans les manuscrits arméniens de la Bible: Pour une histoire du texte des Hexaples d’Origène.’ *Revue des Études Arméniennes* 17: 201–5.
- Armstrong, J. J. (2013). *Eusebius of Caesarea, Commentary on Isaiah*. Ancient Christian Texts. Downers Grove, IL: IVP Academic.
- Avi-Yonah, M. (1962). *Geschichte der Juden im Zeitalter des Talmuds: In den Tagen von Rom und Byzanz*. SJ 2. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Barthélemy, Dominique (1974). ‘Qui est Symmaque?’. *CBQ* 36: 451–65. Reprinted in D. Barthélemy (1978), *Études d’histoire du texte de l’Ancien Testament*. OBO 21. Fribourg: Éditions universitaires; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 307–21.
- Busto Saiz, José Ramon (1985). *La traducción de Símaco en el libro de los Salmos*. Textos y Estudios 22. Madrid: C.S.I.C.

- Butler, C. (1898). *The Lausiac History of Palladius*. TS 6. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cox, Claude E. (1996). *Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion in Armenia*. SBLSCS 42. Atlanta, GA: SBL Press.
- Dean, J. E., and M. Sprengling (1935). *Epiphanius' Treatise on Weights and Measures*. SAOC 11. Chicago, IL: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.
- Fernández Marcos, Natalio (1990). 'Símmaco y sus predecesores judíos', in A. Vivian, ed., *Biblische und judaistische Studien: Festschrift für Paolo Sacchi*. Judentum und Umwelt 29. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, pp. 193–202.
- Fernández Marcos, Natalio (2000). *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Version of the Bible*. Leiden: Brill.
- Field, Frederick (1875). *Origenis hexaplorum quae supersunt sive veterum interpretum graecorum in totum vetus testamentum fragmenta*. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Geiger, Abraham (1862). 'Symmachus, der Übersetzer der Bibel'. *Jüdische Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft und Leben* 1: 39–64.
- González Luis, José (1978). 'La Versión de Símaco a los profetas mayores'. PhD thesis, Madrid: Facultad de Filología. Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid.
- González Luis, J. (1983). 'La traducción Vulgata y Símaco'. *Tabona* 4: 267–80.
- González Luis, J. (1984). 'Los "targumim" y la versión de Símaco', in N. Fernández Marcos, ed., *Simposio Bíblico Español, Salamanca, 1982*. Madrid: Universidad Complutense, pp. 255–68.
- Heidenheim, M. (1867). 'Wer war Symmachus?'. *Deutsche Vierteljahrschrift für evangelisch-theologische Forschung und Kritik* 3: 463–6.
- Hollerich, Michael (1999). *Eusebius of Caesarea's 'Commentary on Isaiah': Christian Exegesis in the Age of Constantine*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Kooij, Arie van der (1981). *Die alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches: Ein Beitrag zur Textgeschichte des Alten Testaments*. OBO 35. Fribourg: Éditions universitaires; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Kooij, A. van der (1988). 'Symmachus, de "vertaler der Joden"'. *NedTT* 42: 1–20.
- Kooij, A. van der (1998). 'The Teacher Messiah and Worldwide Peace: Some Comments on Symmachus' Version of Isaiah 25:7–8'. *JNSL* 24: 75–82.
- Kooij, A. van der (2016). 'Isaiah in the Greek Bible of Symmachus and Second Century Judaism in Palestine', in F. Wilk and P. Gemeinhardt, eds., *Transmission and Interpretation of the Book of Isaiah in the Contexts of Intra- and Interreligious Debates*. BETL 280. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 99–111.
- Law, Timothy Michael (2009). 'The Use of the Greek Bible in Some Byzantine Jewish Glosses on Solomon's Building Campaign', in N. R. M. de Lange, J. Krivoruchko, and C. Boyd-Taylor, eds., *Jewish Reception of Greek Bible Versions: Studies in Their Use in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*. Texts and Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Judaism 23. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 263–83.
- Law, T. Michael (2011). *Origenes Orientalis: The Preservation of Origenes Hexapla in the Syrohexapla of 3 Kingdoms*. De Septuaginta Investigationes 2. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Lust, Johan (2000). 'A Lexicon of Symmachus' Special Vocabulary in His Translation of the Psalms'. *TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* 5 [online].
- Lust, Johan (2014). 'Ezekiel in Symmachus: Textual Criticism', in K. De Troyer, T. M. Law, and M. Liljeström, eds., *In the Footsteps of Sherlock Holmes: Studies in the Biblical Text in Honour of Anneli Aejmelaes*. CBET 72. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 437–50.
- Lust, Johan, and Scatolini Apostolo, S.S (no date). 'Greek-English Lexical Concordance of Variants in Symmachus' Ezekiel' [online].

- Meer, Michaël N. van der (2010). 'Entre Léontopolis et Byzance: La Version de Symmaque comme étape intermédiaire entre le Vieux Grec d'Isaïe et l'interprétation d'Eusèbe de Césarée.' *Semitica et Classica* 3: 67–83.
- Meer, M. N. van der (2013). 'Θρησκεία, Terra Incognita, and Terra Devastata: Vocabulary and Theology of Symmachus', in M. K. H. Peters, ed., *XIV Congress of the IOSCS, Helsinki, 2010*. SBLSCS 59. Atlanta, GA: SBL Press, pp. 499–514.
- Meer, M. N. van der (2016). 'Symmachus, the Septuagint and the Sages: An Examination of the References to Sumkhos ben Joseph in the Mishnah, Tosefta and Talmudim', in R. X. Gauthier, G. R. Kotzé, and G. J. Steyn, eds., *Septuagint, Sages and Scripture: Studies in Honour of Johann Cook*. VTSup 172. Leiden: Brill, pp. 336–55.
- Meer, M. N. van der (2018). 'Symmachus's Version of Joshua', in J. W. Barker, A. Le Donne, and J. N. Lohr, eds., *Found in Translation: Essays on Jewish Biblical Translation in Honor of Leonard J. Greenspoon*. West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, pp. 53–93.
- Mercati, Giovanni (1892). 'L' età di Simmaco e S. Epifanio', repr. in G. Mercati (1937), *Opere minore* 1. Studi e Testi 76. Vatican: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, pp. 21–101.
- Moutsoula, E. D. (1973). 'Τὸ "Περὶ μέτρων καὶ σταθμῶν" ἔργον Ἐπιφανίου τοῦ Σαλαμῖνος.' *Θεολογία* 44: 157–208.
- Mulder, Stefan (2016). "'A Conquering of Animals": Symmachus' Depoliticising Translation Re-Examined', in W. Kraus and M. Meiser, eds., *Die Septuaginta: Orte und Intentionen*. WUNT 361. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 437–47.
- Norton, Gerard J. (2005). *Frederick Field's Prolegomena*. CahRB 62. Paris: Gabalda.
- Romeny, R. B. ter Haar, and P. J. Gentry (2001). 'Towards a New Collection of Hexaplaric Material for the Book of Genesis', in B. A. Taylor, ed., *X Congress of the IOSCS, Oslo, 1998*. SBLSCS 51. Atlanta, GA: SBL Press, pp. 285–99.
- Salvesen, Alison G. (1991). *Symmachus in the Pentateuch*. Journal of Semitic Studies Monograph 15. Manchester: Victoria University of Manchester.
- Salvesen, Alison G. (1998). *Origen's Hexapla and Fragments: Papers Presented at the Rich Seminar of the Hexapla, Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies, 25th July–3rd August 1994*. TSAJ 58. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Salvesen, Alison G. (2000). 'Symmachus and the Dating of Targumic Traditions.' *Journal for the Aramaic Bible* 2: 233–45.
- Salvesen, Alison G. (2011). 'Midrash in Greek? An Exploration of the Versions of Aquila and Symmachus in Exodus', in J. K. Aitken, K. J. Dell, and B. A. Martin, eds., *On Stone and Scroll: Essays in Honour of Graham Ivor Davies*. BZAW. Berlin: de Gruyter, pp. 523–36.
- Salvesen, Alison G. (2012a). 'Did Aquila and Symmachus Shelter under the Rabbinic Umbrella?', in T. M. Law and A. G. Salvesen, eds., *Greek Scripture and the Rabbis*. CBET 66. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 107–25.
- Salvesen, Alison G. (2012b). 'The Role of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion in Modern Commentaries on the Bible', in I. Provan and M. J. Boda, eds., *Let Us Go up to Zion: Essays in Honour of H. G. M. Williamson on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*. VTS 153. Leiden: Brill, pp. 95–112.
- Salvesen, Alison G. (2014). 'Aquila, Symmachus and the Translation of Proof-Texts', in W. Kraus and S. Kreuzer, eds., *Die Septuaginta: Text, Wirkung, Rezeption. 4. Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D), Wuppertal 19.–22. Juli 2012*. WUNT 325. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, pp. 154–68.
- Salvesen, Alison G. (2015). 'The "Three" in Early Christian Commentary: The Case of the "Song of the Vineyard" (Isaiah 5:1–7)'. *JSCS* 48: 73–86.

- Salvesen, Alison G. (2020). 'Textual Criticism, Translation Studies, and Symmachus's Version in the Book of Job.' *Textus* 29.2: 1–21.
- Schoeps, Hans-Joachim (1950). 'Symmachusstudien I–III', in H.-J. Schoeps, *Aus frühchristlicher Zeit: Religionsgeschichtliche Studien*. Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, pp. 82–119.
- Thieme, M. C. A. (1755). *Pro puritate Symmachi disputatio*. Leipzig: Langenhemiana.
- Zahn, G. (1923). 'Herkunft und Lehrrichtung des Bibelübersetzers Symmachus.' *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift* 34: 197–209.
- Ziegler, Josef (1943–4). 'Die jüngeren griechischen Übersetzungen als Vorlagen der Vulgata in den prophetischen Schriften', Beilage zum Personal- und Vorlesungsverzeichnis der Staatlichen Akademie zu Braunschweig, 1–92, repr. in J. Ziegler (1971), *Sylloge: Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Septuaginta*. MSU 10. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 139–228.
- Ziegler, Josef (1975). *Der Jesajakommentar*. GCS, Eusebius Werke 9. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.

CHAPTER 33

QUINTA, SEXTA, AND SEPTIMA

BRADLEY JOHN MARSH, JR.

EARLY DESCRIPTIONS

ANTIQUE descriptions concerning Quinta, Sexta, and Septima exhibit two types: 1) those adhering to the outlines of Eusebius's narrative; and 2) explanations parroting Epiphanius's account. Roughly aligning with Epiphanius is the Pseudo-Athanasian *Synopsis Scripturae Sacrae*, which, among other differences, identifies Septima with Lucian's edition.

Eusebius of Caesarea (d. c.340 CE)

The first chief source describing these lesser known editions is that by Eusebius of Caesarea (*Hist. eccl.* 6.16.1–3; trans. Oulton, *LCL* 265.50–3):

... and besides the beaten track [κατημαξευμένως] of translations, that of Aquila and Symmachus and Theodotion, [Origen] discovered certain others [τινας ἑτέρας], which were used in turn [ἐναλλαττούσας; Kahle, following Mercati, understood this clause as 'and discovered certain others differing from the beaten track of translation' (1947: 161)], which, after lying hidden for a long time, he traced and brought to light, I know not from what recesses. [2] With regard to these, on account of their obscurity [ἐφ' ὧν διὰ τὴν ἀδηλόγητα] (not knowing whose in the world they were) he merely indicated this: [3] that the one [τὴν μὲν] he found at Nicopolis, near Actium, and the other in such another place [τὴν δὲ ἐν ἑτέρῳ τοιῶδε τόπῳ]. At any rate, in the Hexapla of the Psalms, after the four well-known editions, he placed beside them not only a fifth but also a sixth and a seventh translation [οὐ μόνον πέμπτην, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἕκτην καὶ

ἐβδόμην]; and in the case of one of these [ἐπὶ μίᾳς] he has indicated again that it was found at Jericho in a jar in the time of Antoninus the son of Severus...

With this description Eusebius specified that Origen's labours involved not merely the incorporation of these three anonymous editions but, for some, their very discovery. He continues rather imprecisely narrating that Origen, not knowing their authors, distinguished them by their location of discovery—remarking that 'the one' was discovered in Nicopolis while 'the other' was found at some other place. After this, Eusebius describes the *Hexapla Maior* of the Psalter in which Origen added not only a fifth, but a sixth, and a seventh (6.16.3). He then provides another location for one of these versions, claiming it was labelled as being from a jar in Jericho. Grammatically, it is difficult to determine which edition corresponds to which location, particularly with regard to Sexta (thus Jellicoe 1968: 119–21; cf. Field [1875] 2005: 84, 87). Nevertheless, many scholars follow Mercati (1901a; 1901b) in believing that Quinta was from Nicopolis and Sexta from Jericho (e.g. Jellicoe 1968: 119). This judgement is largely influenced by a scholion found in some Psalms catenae (see section 'Origen's Scholion') providing such details (Devreesse 1954: 107–8; Fernández Marcos 2000: 157 n. 6).

Eusebius's *Historia ecclesiastica* was translated into both Latin and Syriac. Rufinus's Latin translation made understandable efforts to resolve Eusebius's ambiguities (Oulton 1929). For 6.16, he reordered and simplified Eusebius's narrative (e.g. 'quod aliam quidem in Actio litore apud Nicopolim, aliam in Hiericho *atque in aliis alias repererit locis...*'). Though generally considered overly-interpretive (Mercati 1901b: 51), Oulton believed Rufinus gave an 'independent' and perhaps first-person account of the Hexapla, contending that some of his adjustments (e.g. 'in psalterio autem *et aliis nonnullis...*') attain greater accuracy (see Oulton 1929: 162–3).

The Syriac translation of *Hist. eccl.* 6.16 is known from one ninth-century manuscript (BL Add. 14,620) containing *variae* relating to, among other things, the Greek biblical versions. (As such, this manuscript also contains the Syriac translation of Epiphanius's *De Mensuris et Ponderibus*.) The Syriac translation of *Hist. eccl.*, unlike Rufinus's Latin, largely retains the obscurities of the Greek.

Later Byzantine chronographers variously interpreted Eusebius. For example, Johannes Zonaras (twelfth century) specifies Septima as the version from Jericho (*Ἐπιτομὴ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν* 12.11 [PG 134.1031–3]). Differently still, Nicephorus Callistus (c.1256–1335 CE) locates both Sexta and Septima with the Jericho jar (*Ecclesiasticae Historiae* 5.11 [PG 145.1091–2]).

Jerome's testimony adheres largely to Eusebius's information, explicitly confirming the existence of all three editions. (In this, he differed from Epiphanius, whom he knew personally.) In addition to his descriptions in *Vir. ill.* 54 and *Comm. Tit.* (at 3:9), Jerome even declared the anonymous editions authoritative: '[These], though no one knows to what authors they are to be attributed, exhibit so pleasing a variety of their own, that, in spite of their being anonymous, they have won an authoritative position [*ut auctoritatem sine nominibus meruerint*]' (Preface to Eusebius's *Chronicon*, Freemantle's translation [NPNF² 6.484], GSC 24:3). More specifically, Jerome states in his preface to Origen's

Homilies on Canticles that Origen himself identified Quinta as the edition found in Nicopolis: ‘... *et ad extremum quintam editionem, quam in Actio litore invenisse se scribit [Origenes]*’ (GCS 33:26).

In his exegetical works, Jerome cited Quinta (e.g. *Comm. Habuc.* 2.11) and even Sexta (e.g. *Comm. Habuc.* 3.13). Fernández Marcos contends that he never cited Septima by name (2000: 161). Nevertheless, Ziegler upheld Field’s original judgement in interpreting Jerome’s comments on Hab. 2:11 (‘Reperi... duas alias editiones...: Quia lapis... Lapis enim...’) as follows: ‘alia ed. (= ζ’) quia lapis... alia ed. (= ζ’) lapis enim... Hi’ (Ziegler 1984: 266, 108 with n. 1). Notwithstanding Eusebius’s and Jerome’s explicit, joint testimony, some scholars still doubt the existence of Septima.

Origen’s Scholion

Another tradition, more specific than Eusebius and confirming information provided by Jerome, is found in the prologues of Psalms catenae groups XV, XVI, XVIIab (see Karo-Lietzmann 1902: 44, 48, 50, and 52): ‘The fifth edition [is that] which I found in Nicopolis near Actium. The marginal notes in it show how far (another similar text) differs from it [τὰ δὲ παρακείμενα αὐτῇ ἐστὶν ὅσα ἐναλλάσσει παρ’ αὐτῆν]. The sixth edition [is that] which was found together with other Hebrew and Greek books [μετὰ καὶ ἄλλων βιβλίων Ἑβραϊκῶν καὶ Ἑλληνικῶν] in a jar near Jericho in the time of the reign of Antoninus the son of Severus’ (Kahlé’s translation [1947: 161–2]; for the full text, see Mercati 1901a: 29 or Schwartz 1903: 697). Many scholars believe this scholion reflects Origen’s first-person account (Mercati 1901a: 31; Kahle 1947: 161–3; Devreesse 1954: 107–8; Venetz 1974: 107; Fernández Marcos 2000: 157). Jerome’s aforementioned testimony would appear to favour this interpretation.

Epiphanius of Salamis (c.315–403 CE)

The second typological account is that by Epiphanius in his treatise *De Mensuris et Ponderibus*. After explaining the origin of Theodotion, he states that Origen added two more editions to his Hexapla. Specifically, he declares that Quinta was found during the time of Caracalla, in jars in Jericho—with other Hebrew and Greek books (*Mens. et Pond.* 18: ... εὐρέθησαν αἱ βίβλοι τῆς πέμπτης ἐκδόσεως ἐν πίθοις ἐν Ἱεριχῶ κεκρυμμένα μετὰ ἄλλων βιβλίων Ἑβραϊκῶν καὶ ἐλληνικῶν). The mention of ‘other Hebrew and Greek books’ is probably related to the above Psalms catenae scholion, but how the editions became confused is unclear. Sexta was discovered in Nicopolis, also in jars during the reign of Alexander son of Mammaea (*Mens. et Pond.* 18: ... εὐρέθη ἕκτῃ ἔκδοσιν καὶ αὐτὴ ἐν πίθοις κεκρυμμένη ἐν Νικοπόλει τῇ πρὸς Ἀκτίῳ). He then describes their nomenclature and the arrangements forming the Hexapla or Octapla (*Mens. et Pond.* 19). Epiphanius seems not to have mentioned Septima or Lucian’s recension in his extant works.

Some later Greek traditions reflect Epiphanius’s account. Nicetas of Heraclea (eleventh century) discusses Quinta and Sexta in his catenae prefaced to Cyril of Alexandria’s

work on the Psalter (PG 69:701). However, he describes them only with reference to the reigns during which they were discovered. The twelfth-century monk Nicephorus only describes two anonymous editions (PG 142:1324), one of which was found in a jar in Jericho during Caracalla's reign, while the other was from Nicopolis, though without mention of a jar, during Alexander Mammæa's rule. Both accounts mention Lucian's edition without any reference to Septima.

Another work of uncertain date (possibly early fifth century CE?) containing biblically themed *variae*, the *Hypomnestikon Biblion Ioseppou* (Grant and Menzies 1996: 20–3), declares Quinta to be from jars in Jericho and Sexta from Nicopolis after the Severan persecution (ch. 122). Remarkably, the text claims Quinta's translator was a woman (Grant and Menzies 1996: 250–1).

Epiphanius's account was predominant in the Syriac tradition. Among others, his version (with little variation) is found in at least one Syrohexaplaric manuscript (Paris Syr. 27, fols. 88a–90a [end matter after 4 Reigns]) as well as in the prefatory epistle of al-Ḥārīt ibn Sinān ibn Sunbat al-Ḥarrānī (White 1779: 12), the Arabic translator of the Syrohexapla Pentateuch (tenth century). The same is found in Syrohexaplaric-based commentaries including both the introduction to the biblical commentaries of East Syriac exegete Ishōdād of Merv (fl. c.850 CE) and the preface to the biblical scholia of West Syriac scholar Gregory bar Hebraeus (1225/6–1286 CE) (Sprengling and Graham 1931: 5).

Pseudo-Athanasius, *Synopsis Scripturae Sacrae*

Another source seemingly based upon traditions akin to those promoted by Epiphanius is that given in a *Synopsis* falsely attributed to Athanasius of Alexandria (CPG 2249, PG 28.435–6). Therein, Quinta was found in jars in Jericho (ch. 77: Πέμπτη ἐρμηνεία ἐστὶν ἡ ἐν πίθοις εὐρεθεῖσα κεκρυμμένη... ἐν Ἱεριχώ) without extra books, while Sexta was discovered in jars in Nicopolis (Ἑκτὴ ἐρμηνεία ἐστὶν ἡ ἐν πίθοις εὐρεθεῖσα καὶ αὐτὴ κεκρυμμένη... ἐν Νικοπόλει... ὑπὸ τινος τῶν Ὀριγένους γνωρίμων). Most interestingly, as Fernández Marcos points out (2000: 161 n. 27), the *Synopsis* attributes 'the seventh' to Lucian (Ἐβδόμη πάλιν καὶ τελευταία ἐρμηνεία ἡ τοῦ ἁγίου Λουκιανοῦ... μάρτυρος). (See further below, section 'Septima')

SPECIFICS OF THESE VERSIONS

Quinta

Quinta readings have survived in Leviticus, 4 Reigns (Syh), Psalms, Proverbs, Canticles, and the Twelve. Previously, Field claimed Quinta readings at Gen. 6:3 (Cyril's testimony), 34:15, and 35:19 (Ambrose's testimony). However, Wevers rejected the

patristic citations in Genesis (34:15 *σ' εὐνοήσομεν* 64); that at Leviticus 11:31 ('tenuous, but genuine', Field [1875] 2005: 85) was upheld (*ο' θ' ε' αὐτῶν τεθνηκότων* 85-130[s nom]-321' [s nom]). Additional occurrences in the Göttingen apparatuses include the following: Ezek. 10:2 *ε' τον ποδηρη* 86 (but cf. Field [1875] 2005: 86); Job 11:4b *ε' ✕ γενηθήσομαι* (mend *γεννηθ.*) Syh (see Ziegler's comments [1982: 95] and Field [1875] 2005: 85); Isa. 6:13 *ε' ητις εν τη αποβολη των εστηλωμενων εν αυτοις* 710; 8:12 *ε' ανταρσια* 710, as well as Isa. 11:3 *ε' ου τη ορασει* 710. Ziegler was suspicious of those in Isaiah (1983: 113 n. 1).

Quinta has received considerable attention owing both to the larger number of extant readings (relative to *ς' ζ'*) and Barthélemy's suggestion that Quinta ought to be associated with Kaige (1963: 213-27). His proposal elicited studies in 4 Reigns, the Twelve, and Psalms.

Deboys investigated Barthélemy's theory proposing a connection between Quinta and the Antiochian text (MSS 19 82 93 108 [βοc₂e₂]) in 4 Reigns (Barthélemy 1978: 273, 275; Deboys 1985: 167). However, Deboys's survey led him to conclude that Quinta 'can not [*sic*] be equated with the Lucianic text nor with the Old Greek (Barthélemy's "la Septante ancienne")' but rather 'contains a (partial) prehexaplaric revision towards the Hebrew' (1985: 176; cf. Burkitt 1902: 218).

Howard similarly responded to Barthélemy's assertion that Quinta represents Kaige in the Twelve ('Nos fragments présentement également des relations caractéristiques avec la Quinta...', Barthélemy 1963: 213). Specifically, Howard felt Barthélemy relied too much upon Jerome's imprecise Latin translations of Quinta (1974: 18); further he disagreed with Barthélemy's interpretation of the 'Quinta' readings in MS 86 (1974: 17). Concerning the latter, Barthélemy claimed that the thirty-five attestations (1960: 342) of 'ε' from the manuscript's second hand ought to be understood as an abbreviation for *ἔκδοσις κατὰ τοὺς Ἑβραίους*, a Greek version of Jerome's exegesis used by Cyril of Alexandria (1960: 345, 353), and thus must be omitted from analysis (Fernández Marcos 2000: 157-8; cf. Ziegler 1984: 108). Howard countered that the late, ninth-century manuscript likely contained ε' citations which had previously been partly contaminated by elements derived from Jerome, leaving Quinta untainted 'as a whole' in MS 86 and therefore perhaps still serviceable for analysis (1974: 17). Ultimately, he described Quinta's relationship to Kaige as one of 'kinship, not identity' (1974: 22).

For the Psalms, one of the manuscripts containing an abridgement (Mercati 1958: xxxi) of the columnar Hexapla is a palimpsest (MS 1098, Ambr. O 39 Sup) whose underlying text contains *secunda* (Mercati's 'b'), Aquila (c), Symmachus (d), LXX (e), and Quinta (f). In Venetz's study, *Die Quinta des Psalteriums*, he concludes that Quinta in the Psalter is to be included in the Kaige group (1974: 194). He was, however, surprised at the lack of demonstrable affiliation between Aquila and Quinta with regard to both vocabulary (1974: 157) and grammar (1974: 181); he explained this phenomenon as the result of their mutual homeland but disparate approaches (1974: 189-91).

Sexta

Sexta was reported by Field to occur in Psalms and Canticles (as attested in the Syrohexapla). Additionally, he claimed instances in Job (5:7b; 30:16 [Ziegler omits; cf. Field's *Auctarium*]) and Exodus 7:9 (rejected by Wevers 1991: 120). Another example Field cited ([1875] 2005: 88) is 3 Reigns 14:23 (*sic*, read 4 Reigns 14:23^{xt}, also at v. 29^{mg}). Additional instances are found in Amos 1:11 (Ziegler omitted but the annotation is present in the Syh manuscript), Hab. 2:11, and 3:13. Field muses ([1875] 2005: 88) that perhaps Jerome's comments on Hab. 1:5 could also include Sexta, but Ziegler listed both readings without judgement: 'alia ed. anon. videbitis calumniatores alia ed. anon. videbitis declinantes Hi' (1984: 261).

Mercati argued, based upon his interpretation of τὰ δὲ παρακείμενα αὐτῇ ἔστιν ὅσα ἐναλλάσσει παρ' αὐτήν from the above scholion, that the smaller-lettered, marginal readings next to the Quinta column of MS 1098 were Sexta. (Kahle, following Mercati's earlier opinion, believed that Origen had two copies of Quinta [1947: 162–3].) Mercati further argued that said readings were given in relation to Quinta only, thus allowing for reconstruction of the Sexta column by means of Quinta's readings (Mercati 1958: xxxii–xxxiii; a similar reasoning was applied to Theodotion's conspicuous absence [xxxiii]). Venetz confirmed the former conclusion but disagreed with the latter as he felt the manuscript made no effort to provide all known Sexta readings (1974: 118). Venetz further noted that Sexta's readings agreed with ο' so often that some knowledge of ο' must be assumed as it stands much closer to the ο'-text than Quinta (1974: 118–19). When considering Sexta as a possible member of the Kaige group, Venetz preliminarily concluded that Sexta is, in all probability, not a representative of the Kaige group (1974: 128). Rather Sexta is a great unknown (1974: 194) amongst the various translations and recensions.

In comparison to the presumed Jewish origins of Sexta (*Adv. Ruf.* 2.34), Jerome's comments on Hab. 3:13 are interesting. There he recorded Sexta as reading διὰ Ἰησοῦν τὸν χριστόν σου, something he described as 'prodens manifestissime sacramentum' (PL 25.1326). This previously has led some to claim Sexta was some sort of Christian translation (Field [1875] 2005: 87; Swete 1914: 56; see Mercati 1958: xxxii [!]). However, in light of the accompanying, most likely Jewish translations of the Three (and Quinta) for Hab. 3:13, Fernández Marcos is surely correct in asserting this is merely the plural LXX reading being adjusted to the Hebrew's singular (2000: 159; cf. Venetz 1974: 119 n. 376; see MT and MurXII col. xix ln. 14).

Finally, it should be mentioned that when determining the Sexta readings in manuscripts, Venetz recommends caution (especially when evaluating group attributions, e.g. ε' s' or θ' ε' s') as the siglum for Sexta can be confused with that for Symmachus as well as the commonplace καὶ ligature (1974: 119).

Septima

Despite testimony from Eusebius and Jerome, scholars doubt Septima existed (Jellicoe 1968: 120). This is due to the lack of extant readings from ancient commentators (Fernández Marcos 2000: 161). Additionally, as Field noted, and later scholarship

repeats, while an Octapla is mentioned, an Enneapla ‘was absolutely unheard of’ (Field [1875] 2005: 89; Fernández Marcos 2000: 161). Mercati proposed, hesitantly, that ‘Septima’ was really Origen’s corrected, ecclesiastical Koine text (Mercati 1958: xxxv)—an ‘edition’ which, he hypothesized, was added to the Psalter before Eusebius’s time (xxxiii). Given this lack of evidence, publications often lack clarity on the matter (e.g. Field [1875] 2005: 88 and 90; Fernández Marcos 2000: 159 n. 19 and 161).

Other sources identified Lucian’s recension as Septima in addition to those mentioned above. These include certain Psalms catenary manuscripts (Ra 292, 1138, et al.): *Ἐβδόμη τοῦ μεγάλου ἀσκητοῦ καὶ μάρτυρος Λουκιανοῦ* . . . (Dörrie 1940: 79). This association is echoed in parts of the manuscript tradition, especially after Chronicles or before the Twelve or the Psalter (Devreesse 1954: 118). Additional examples include the biblical edition lists found in Coislin Gr. 251 (Devreesse 1954: 118–19), two Venetian catenary Octateuch manuscripts (Bessarionis 15 and 534 [PG 106:125 n. 45]), and the *Hypomnestikon* of Pseudo-Theodoret (PG 84:29; really an excerpt from the catenae, see CPG 6202, n. a). How Lucian’s text came to be identified with Septima is unknown (Devreesse 1954: 119).

SUGGESTED READING

Research into the lesser known revisions of LXX is dependent upon new data. Such are most readily had in the second apparatus of the recent and forthcoming critical editions of the Göttingen Septuaginta series, such as Peter Gentry’s 2019 edition of Ecclesiastes. Those for the books of Judges, 1–4 Kingdoms, 1 Chronicles, Canticles, and 4 Maccabees are forthcoming. Discussion in each edition’s *Einleitung* should also be consulted. Two further projects related to the Hexapla Institute are of crucial importance. The first is the official publication of the institute’s efforts to produce an updated edition of Field’s fragments entitled *Origen’s Hexapla: A Critical Edition of the Extant Fragments* (Peeters). John Meade’s edition of fragments for Job 22–42 brings fresh data to light along with commentary (Meade 2020). Reinhart Ceulemans’s edition of those readings for Canticles is also nearing publication. A second project related to Hexaplaric fragments is the planned critical edition of the Syrohexapla. For the prospectus, see Carbajosa 2017.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Barthélemy, D. (1960). ‘Quinta ou version selon les Hébreux’. *TLZ* 16: 342–53.
- Barthélemy, D. (1963). *Les Devanciers d’Aquila*. VTSup 10. Leiden: Brill.
- Barthélemy, D. (1978). ‘Prise de position sur les autres communications du colloque de Los Angeles’, in Barthélemy, ed., *Études d’histoire du texte de l’Ancien Testament*. OBO 21. Fribourg: Éditions universitaires; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; Paris: Gabalda, pp. 255–88.
- Burkitt, F. C. (1902). ‘The So-Called Quinta of 4 Kings’. *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 24: 216–19.
- Carbajosa, Ignacio (2017). ‘Prolegomena to a (Critical) Edition of Syrohexapla’, in A. Piquer Otero and P. Torrijano Morales, eds., *The Text of the Hebrew Bible and Its Editions: Studies in Celebration of the Fifth Centennial of the Complutensian Polyglot*. Supplements to the Textual History of the Bible 1. Leiden: Brill, pp. 255–85.

- Deboys, D. G. (1985). 'Quinta/E' in Four Reigns.' *Tyndale Bulletin* 36: 163–78.
- Devreesse, R. (1954). *Introduction à l'étude des manuscrits grecs*. Paris: Impr. nationale, Librairie C. Klincksieck.
- Dörrie, H. (1940). 'Zur Geschichte der Septuaginta im Jahrhundert Konstantins.' *ZNW* 39: 57–110.
- Fernández Marcos, Natalio (2000). *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Version of the Bible*. Trans. W. G. E. Watson. Leiden: Brill.
- Field, Frederick ([1875] 2005). *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt*. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Introduction trans. Gérard J. Norton, with Carmen Hardin, *Frederick Field's Prolegomena*... Cahiers de la Revue Biblique 62. Paris: Gabalda, 2005.
- Gentry, Peter J. (2019). *Ecclesiastes*. VTG XI.2. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Grant, R. M. and G. Menzies (1996). *Joseph's Bible Notes*. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.
- Howard, G. E. (1974). 'The Quinta of the Minor Prophets: A First Century Septuagint Text?'. *Biblica* 55: 15–21.
- Jellicoe, S. (1968). *The Septuagint and Modern Study*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Kahle, P. (1947). *The Cairo Geniza*. London: for the British Academy by Oxford University Press.
- Karo, Georg, and Hans Lietzmann (1902). *Catenarum graecarum catalogus*. Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse. Göttingen: Horstmann.
- Meade, John D. (2020). *A Critical Edition of the Hexaplaric Fragments of Job 22–42*. Origen's Hexapla: A Critical Edition of the Extant Fragments. Leuven: Peeters.
- Mercati, G. (1901a). 'D'alcuni frammenti esaplarari sulla Va e VIa edizione greca della Bibbia.' *Studi e Testi* 5: 28–46.
- Mercati, G. (1901b). 'Sul testo e sul senso di Eusebio H.E. VI, 16.' *Studi e Testi* 5: 47–60.
- Mercati, G. (1958). *Psalterii Hexapli Reliquiae*. Pars Prima. Vatican City: Bibliotheca Vaticana.
- Moutsoula, Elia D. (1974). 'Τὸ "Περὶ μέτρων καὶ σταθμῶν" ἔργον Ἐπιφανίου τοῦ Σαλαμῖνος.' *Theologia* 44: 157–200 [Greek].
- Oulton, J. E. L. (1929). 'Rufinus's Translation of the Church History of Eusebius.' *JThS* 30: 150–74.
- Schwartz, E. (1903). *Eusebius' Werke*, Vol. 2, Pt 1: *Die Kirchengeschichte*. GCS 9.1. Leipzig: Hinrichs.
- Sprengling, M. and W. Graham (1931). *Barhebraeus' Scholia on the Old Testament*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Swartz, E. (1903). 'Zur Geschichte der Hexapla.' *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* 6: 693–700.
- Swete, H. B. (1914). *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*. 2nd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Venez, H.-J. (1974). *Die Quinta des Psalteriums: Ein Beitrag zur Septuaginta und Hexaplaforschung*. Collection Massorah. Série 1, Etudes classiques et textes. 2. Hildesheim: Gerstenberg.
- Wevers, J. W. (1974). *Genesis*. VTG 1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Wevers, J. W. (1986). *Leviticus*. VTG 2.2. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Wevers, J. W. (1991). *Exodus*. VTG 2.1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- White, Joseph (1779). *A Letter to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of London, Suggesting a Plan for a New Edition of the LXX*... Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Ziegler, Joseph (1982). *Iob*. VTG 11/4. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Ziegler, J., ed. (1984). *Duodecim Prophetiae*. VTG 13. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Ziegler, Joseph (1985). *Isaias*. 3rd edn. VTG 14. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

CHAPTER 34

THE SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH IN GREEK

BRADLEY JOHN MARSH, JR.

A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF SCHOLARSHIP

READINGS thought to be from a Greek version of the SP were first published in the notes to the Sixtine Septuagint (1587), a collection later reprinted in the London Polyglot (1653–7, ed. Brian Walton). These fragments, found in the margins of Christian manuscript sources under the designation τὸ σαμαρειτικόν ‘the Samaritan’, were presumed by early European scholars to have come from a Greek translation the Samaritans created around the time of Alexander the Great. This view was emended by Walton, who argued the work was to be dated later. Among his observations (*Proleg.* XI, §§15 and 22), Walton noticed that these readings often bear distinct connections with the Samaritans’ Aramaic Targum (ST). Edmund Castell, who collated the readings in volume 6 of the *Polyglot*, was more specific, claiming that readings marked τὸ σαμαρειτικόν always derived from ST (Field [1875] 2005: 156 n. 36). The Walton–Castell hypothesis, the theory that there is indeed a special relationship between the *Samaritikon* and ST, was accepted by Frederick Field, whose endorsement influenced subsequent scholarship.

Another set of Samaritan readings, different from those issued in the Sixtine, was first published in Bernard de Montfaucon’s edition of Hexaplaric fragments (1713). For these, Montfaucon argued that Origen not only transmitted snippets of an already existing Greek Samaritan translation (i.e. the *Samareitikon*), but that he also ‘translated’ portions from a *Hebrew* SP which varied quantitatively from LXX (and MT?). He created this ‘translation’ by adapting the relevant corresponding parallel passage(s) from LXX (*Prelim.*, ch. 1, §§VIII and IX). This presumably redundant process, he

claimed, was attested by a marginal scholion found in a tenth-century Septuagint manuscript (Ra 85 [at Num. 13:1]: ... ἐκ τοῦ τῶν Σαμαρειτῶν Ἑβραϊκοῦ μετεβάλομεν...). Montfaucon's reconstruction was adopted by Field, whose endorsement again carried great weight.

In 1911 Alfred Rahlfs and Paul Glaue published two fragmentary manuscripts containing portions of Genesis (P. Gen. Inv. 99, omitted from Wevers's apparatus) and Deuteronomy (Gießen Univ.-Bibl. P. Inv. 19), dated to the fifth or sixth century CE, which had been discovered in Egypt. Rahlfs and Glaue argued the fragments of Deuteronomy ('Gie' in Wevers's apparatus) represented the *Samareitikon*. They based this theory primarily on the reading Ἀργαριζιμ (presumably one word, see Pummer 1987) found in Deut. 27:4, 12 as well as other sundry agreements with Samaritan tradition, namely ST (Rahlfs and Glaue 1911: 55–6). In particular, the Greek rendering of the Samaritan temple mount Gerizim *hrgr(y)zm* as Ἀργαριζιμ, something later found in Samaritan inscriptions (see Yadin and Talmon 1999: 142–3), served in Rahlfs and Glaue's minds to confirm Montfaucon's theory since it was known, via Field's retroversion from the Syrohexapla, that 'Origen' translated *hrgr(y)zm* with (εν) ορει Γαριζειμ. Thus, Rahlfs and Glaue maintained both their analysis of Gie and also Field's (really Montfaucon's) outline of the data—despite the fact that no *σαμαρειτικόν* readings survive for the portions the fragments preserve. This analysis has been recently challenged, particularly by Emanuel Tov (1971; 1999). Nevertheless, some still uphold a Samaritan provenance, including Adrian Schenker (2010) and Jan Joosten (2014; 2015).

Similar to Rahlfs and Glaue, Marsh (2020) argues that a fragmentary witness (Copenhagen, Univ.-Bibl., P. Carlsberg 49) containing parts of Exodus ch. 3 transmits the *Samareitikon*. He argues this based on this manuscript's marked agreements with SP and ST against LXX, MT, and the Jewish Targumim, specifically the reading μη ενγυσης [σν]ναρπαγη 'do not approach hastily' in Exod. 3:5, a highly idiosyncratic rendering otherwise only attested by ST.

THE EVIDENCE IN OUTLINE

The extant data can be organized into three groups, the first two of which are found only in Christian manuscript sources, while the third may indeed comprise primary Samaritan evidence. Importantly, the organization of the Christian-derived evidence is not determined by attributive designations (i.e. τὸ σαμ[αρειτικόν] versus τοῦ τῶν Σαμαρειτῶν Ἑβραϊκοῦ), or *only* by a given reading's relative correspondence to ST, but from the nature of each group's overall typology (following Joosten 2014; cf. Pummer 1998). Thus, the first two groups can be consistently distinguished *typologically* in four key aspects: 1) codicological provenance, 2) textual nature, 3) Samaritan character, and 4) discernible historical context.

The *μόνον*-Group: Evidence from Hexaplaric Sources

The first group has been discussed at length by Marsh (2016). With respect to the above-mentioned typological categories, the group readings are as follows:

1) Codicologically, the *μόνον*-group is *solely* derived from Hexaplaric sources, namely: (a) explicitly attributed readings found in the Syrohexapla and associated literature (e.g. Jacob of Edessa, etc.), (b) certain Hexaplaric manuscripts (e.g. Ra 767, 58, 15, et al.) which most often integrated said readings directly into their running text unattributed, (c) the margins of later, independently collated s-group manuscripts (85-130-321-343-344-346), and (d) other bearers of Hexaplaric tradition, namely Procopius of Gaza's *Comm. in Deut.* As a rule, *μόνον*-readings can occur in non-Hexaplaric sources (i.e. the catena). However, the evidence shows that a Hexaplaric source likely lay behind any such occurrences. For example, the 'half tribe of Manasseh' reading found in the catena at Num. 32:33 is better understood as derived from a Hexaplaric source. This is because the Hexaplaric witness, Ra 15, preserves the same reading having been integrated into the running text, unattributed, at Num. 32:1, 29. This same manuscript also bears two other *μόνον*-readings at Num. 21:22 and Deut. 34:1-3, both extant, marginally, *with* attribution in the Syrohexapla. The same logic can be applied to the catena at Deut. 27:4, which states the *σαμαρειτικόν* reads Gerizim instead of Ebal; this is because Procopius of Gaza (d. c.538 CE), Jacob of Edessa (d. 708 CE), Ishōdad of Merv (fl. ninth century), and Barhebraeus (d. 1286) all identify the Samaritan reading here, while at the same time transmitting other *μόνον*-data from (Syro)hexaplaric sources elsewhere. Therefore, the Syrohexapla's (original) *Vorlage(n)* included this reading, and the catenist most likely adopted 'Gerizim' from a Hexaplaric source.

Altogether, the *μόνον*-group survives in Hexaplaric sources for Exodus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. Strangely, no such collation appears to have been executed in Genesis despite the fact that passages qualifying for this type occur, namely parts of the Samaritan chronologies of chs. 5 and 11, as well as the unique Samaritan readings at both Gen. 30:36 and 42:16.

2) The *μόνον*-group mostly represents *quantitatively* collated SP readings vis-à-vis the Hexaplaric LXX (not MT, *pace* Field et al.). Typically, these passages—largely representing textual 'pluses' or 'harmonizations'—are found in the margins of manuscripts sub asterisk (※) or lemniscus (÷) most often with an explicatory attributive formula reading: 'And this (passage/reading) is found only [Syriac: *balḥud* = *μόνον*] in the Hebrew edition [*mašlmānūtā* = *ἕκδοσις*]' (See Marsh 2016 on the varieties of the Syrohexaplaric formulae.) As a result of this distinct, Caesarean-based collation practice, readings where SP = LXX ≠ MT (e.g. Lev. 17:4 and Num. 4:14) were left unmarked.

3) The *μόνον*-readings bear no relationship whatsoever to ST or Samaritan exegesis, namely the Samaritan reading tradition (recorded in Ben-Ḥayyim 1977). Rather, they

appear to have been, as Montfaucon (1713) observed, adapted from the respective Septuagintal parallel passage. Such ‘cribbing’ of the LXX parallel is so thoroughgoing that it is manifest in every aspect of the translation (verbal expression, vocalization of defective spellings, lexical choice, preposition selection, etc.). Examples of these characteristics are numerous. For example, Samaritan exegesis holds the fourth plague was not one of flies (‘*ārōb* MT 4Q22, *κυνόμυια* LXX ‘dog-fly’) but of ravens (‘*ārāb* SP, ‘*rbh* ST). The latter is confirmed by the *Samareitikon* rendering, as transmitted in the catena (κόρακα). Nevertheless, the *μόνον*-passage in the Syrohexapla reads *debāb kalbā*, ‘dog-flies’ as LXX. Also noteworthy is that the *μόνον*-translator(s) nearly always rendered the Tetragrammaton with *IIIIII* (Syriac: *pyry*). This is a distinctively Hexaplaric practice bearing no relation to the Samaritan *Qere*, *šēmā* ‘the Name’. Further, the *μόνον*-collation demonstrates no knowledge of para-textual exegesis, given that the Gerizim-florilegium found after Exod. 20:17 and Deut. 5:21, both of which are preserved in the Syrohexapla (the latter in the colophon according to Masius’s testimony), are not labelled as the Samaritans’ Tenth Commandment (see Marsh 2016). In sum, the *μόνον*-translator(s) clearly used the LXX parallels in rendering the ‘Samaritan Hebrew *ἔκδοσις*’ and was utterly unfamiliar with Samaritan exegesis and perhaps not even a native Semitic speaker.

4) Fortunately, this group’s provenance is well attested, both by attributive scholia and the Hexaplaric colophons. With respect to the latter, the Syrohexapla preserves two colophons, namely Exodus (complete) and Numbers (incomplete). The first colophon describes the collation of the Hexaplaric text (i.e. the critical LXX) against the ‘Hebrew *ἔκδοσις* of the Samaritans’ (*hāy* [sc. *mašlmānutā*] ‘*ebrāytā d-šāmṛāye*’). The subscription for Numbers describes the same but in slightly different terms. (Deuteronomy’s colophon has been lost, though it too most likely mentioned the Samaritan collation.) Close analysis of the colophons reveals that these readings originated with Hexaplaric collation activity undertaken in Caesarea most likely under the aegis of Eusebius of Caesarea and his circle (Marsh 2016). No evidence indicates that such activity was undertaken by Origen or that the *μόνον*-readings were present in the columned *Hexapla Maior* (*contra* Kohn et al.). The language of the subscriptions rather indicates these passages were placed by Eusebius in the margins (thus the Numbers colophon: *d-‘al ’iqārā’ da-ktābā’...sām*) of the master copy of his own edition, being an *edited* Hexaplaric *ἔκδοσις* prepared for dissemination (see Jerome’s *Prolog. in Paralip.*).

As for the former, in addition to the Num. 13:1 scholion published by Montfaucon (provided in full in the edition of Brooke-McLean), there are other first-person notes occurring in s-group witnesses as well as the Syrohexapla. These include those in MSS 130-344 at Num. 21:11 and MSS 85-130-344 at 21:12 as well as an annotation extant only in the latter at Deut. 1:6–8 reading: ‘From here [i.e. Deut. 1:6–8], we supplied [*’awsepnan* = *προσθήκαμεν*] in Numbers those [sc. words/verses] which are found in Numbers [10:10] in the exemplar [*šhāḥā’* = *ἀντίγραφον*] of the Samaritans.’ This notice, part of an ancient, Caesarean cross-reference system implemented for most of those *μόνον*-passages in Numbers with parallels in Deuteronomy chs. 1–3, is interesting as its first-person witness bears a more direct provenance than those from the s-group, each of

which Marsh argues is textually secondary even if the information they transmit is correct. It is important for comparative dating to observe that Procopius of Gaza reflects these cross-references despite his never transmitting any *σαμαρειτικόν* readings.

The *σαμ*-Group: Post-Hexaplaric Evidence

The second group of readings, the *σαμ*-group, has been discussed more widely in the literature; nevertheless, the above-mentioned typological categories are still pertinent.

1) Unlike the *μόνον*-group, the *σαμ*-readings cannot in any way be connected with primary Hexaplaric sources (Joosten 2015). The long-held assertion that Origen himself had taken said readings from a Greek Samaritan translation and incorporated them into the Hexaplaric manuscript tradition lacks any evidence whatsoever. Better is Joosten's reckoning (2014), comparing them with the *Σύρος* readings which are similarly post-Origenic. Indeed, catena and related manuscript sources, largely dating to the tenth century and later (e.g. MSS 128, 135, 416, 130, 321, 344), are the primary conduit through which the majority of *σαμαρειτικόν* readings were transmitted.

The earliest attributed *σαμ*-readings are those from the margins of Codex M (seventh century, see below). Based on collations undertaken by D. Fraenkel, Wevers (1986: 30–1) held that M bore many more such readings in Leviticus (around seventy!), which while unattributed significantly agree with ST. (These are marked 'Sam^{Aram}' in the second apparatus.) Pummer contests this connection (1998: 287–95), while Joosten defends it (2015: 6–8). Nevertheless, other manuscripts transmitting attributed *σαμ*-readings similarly bear further *unattributed* *σαμαρειτικόν* snippets; these include MSS 128 (Num. 26:10), 130 (Num. 23:4, 5; 23:22), as well as 321 and 346 (Num. 23:4, 22, and 26:10).

2) The textual nature of the *σαμ*-group comprises of *qualitatively* collated readings taken from, presumably, a pre-existing Samaritan Greek source. Some of the difficulty in categorizing the data in this respect has resulted from misapprehensions of previous studies. Thus, Wevers mislabelled Deut. 34:12 (= 5:21) as a *σαμ*-reading. However, this passage belongs to the *μόνον*-group, being part of the Caesarean collation transmitted in the *Vorlage*(n) of the Syrohexapla (Marsh 2016). Field similarly mislabelled the *μόνον*-passage at Deut. 34:1–3 (Rahlfs and Glaue 1911: 61 n. 2). As above, ostensible exceptions to the qualitative character of the *σαμ*-group are superficial (e.g. 'the half tribe of Manasseh').

Additionally, there are other readings found sub τὸ *σαμ*(*α*ρειτικόν) in the manuscript tradition which do not actually reflect a reading taken directly from a Samaritan source. For example, a '*σαμ*' reading was recorded at Gen. 5:25 in the margin of MS 17. However, since the reading better reflects MT (cf. Field 1875 *ad loc.*) and disagrees with SP, scholars have regarded this attribution as a mistake (Field 1875; Pummer 1998; Joosten 2015),

likely derived from information taken from Jerome's *Hebraicae Quaestiones in Genesim* (Geiger 1876: 122). Something similar probably lay behind the 'σαμαρειτικόν' scholion at Gen. 4:8 in s-group manuscripts 127 and 344 (see *HQG* 4:8; so Marsh 2016, *contra* Kohn 1894). Other readings often categorized as belonging to this group, which Marsh argues belong to the *μόνον*-group, include Exod. 23:19 and Deut. 27:26, while the unique reading at Deut. 14:20(21) is held as an old exegetical gloss (following Kahle 1947: 145–46).

3) Contrary to the *μόνον*-group, the *σαμ*-readings bear a distinct correlation to Samaritan exegesis, particularly ST. Pummer, whose 1998 survey is the most thorough, believes this correspondence is clear for those readings at Gen. 49:24, Exod. 8:17(21), 9:4, 10:7(a), 13:13, 16:31, 28:11, Lev. 25:5, 26:24, Num. 29:1, and 31:16. He also classifies others as derived from targumic interpretations 'common to [both] Samaritans and Jews' (Gen. 4:8; 44:5, 15; 50:19; Exod. 14:20; 32:18; rendering *zqnyym* 'elders' as if *hkmym* 'wise men').

It is important to note that the Walton–Castell hypothesis has been variously evaluated. Field held that while not every *σαμ*-reading aligned with ST, a sufficient number of the readings bore such a resemblance as to support the theory ([1875] 2005: 155–6, with n. 36). Both Geiger and Kohn held that the *σαμ*-group represented a direct translation of ST. However, the former believed they were only marginal glosses based on ST (Geiger 1876), while the latter argued the Samaritans created a complete, continuous translation of ST, which at times even displaced the original LXX (e.g. Gen. 4:8). Pummer argues that only those readings agreeing with MS J, the earliest strand of ST, are 'potentially significant'. Since the *σαμ*-group collectively fails to show adequate *exclusive* correspondence to ST¹, he concludes: 'it can no longer be taken for granted that the Samareitikon passages have a close affinity to [ST]' (1998: 310). More recently, Joosten has argued against Pummer's effort 'to relativize the alliance between the Samareitikon readings and [ST]' (2014: 354). Rather, he insists that 'Samaritan traditions, like Jewish ones, are multiple, and sometimes contradictory' (2014: 350). As such, *σαμ*-readings agreeing with late ST manuscripts (e.g. Gen. 50:19, Exod. 13:13, Lev. 25:5) are not problematic; further, those disagreeing with ST may transmit exegesis the Samaritan tradition no longer preserves (e.g. Exod. 3:22 and probably 16:31). Consequently, Joosten concludes that ST was not necessarily the basis of the *Samareitikon* but 'one of the inputs which went into [its] production' (2014: 353–4).

4) The *Samareitikon*'s origins are obscure. Presumably the Samaritan Diaspora would have needed a Greek translation. Joosten (2014) believes the exegesis in common with ST implies a time close to the latter's development. He further argues Epiphanius's (d. 403 CE) testimony regarding Symmachus's translation (*Mens. et Pond.* §16) implies the *Samareitikon* existed before 200 CE (2015: 8, 13). If this was indeed the case, it is remarkable that Origen, Pamphilus, and Eusebius would not have quoted from any such translation. (Marsh [2016] believes Eusebius's interactions with Samaritan chronologies in his *Chronicon* were directly related to the *μόνον*-collations.) This is especially so, as each scholar actively searched for editions of the Greek Bible and are known to have lived in or visited Egypt where Gie was found. Subsequent Fathers interested in the Pentateuch, such as Apollinaris (d. c.390),

Theodoret of Cyrillus (d. c.460), and Procopius of Gaza (d. c.538), also failed to cite this text, even when such readings were exegetically useful (e.g. Exod. 3:22; 16:33; Num. 32:33). Exceptionally, Cyril of Alexandria (d. 444 CE) *may* have quoted the *Samareitikon* given the catena evidence quoted by Wevers at Num. 29:35 and Deut. 10:22. However, Pummer holds the first instance was misattributed to *σαμ'* (1998: 301–2), and the second's ascription to Cyril has been questioned since its publication (Field 1875: 289 n. 24).

Whatever its origins, as Joosten points out (2014), the earliest explicit quotations of *σαμ'*-readings are found in the seventh-century Codex M. There, the scribe(s) variously labelled readings at Exod. 28:9 (fol. 38b): ΤΟ ΣΑΜ', Lev. 15:3 (fol. 81b): ΤΟ ΣΑΜΑΡ', and Lev. 15:8 (fol. 81b): ΤΟ ΣΩΜΑ (*sic*). Other unattributed readings in Codex M, which are labelled *σαμ'* by other sources, are found at Lev. 1:15, 8:15, 25:25, 26:24, 41, 43, and 27:23. The codex also transmits a reading at Exod. 3:6 sub ΑΚ' (= *a*) and 'ΚΑΤΑ ΣΑΜΑΡΕΙΤΩΝ'. This last occurrence is believed to represent *σαμ'* by Kohn (1894), Pummer (1998: 305 [vid.]), and Marsh (2020: 290–3 [hesitantly]). Field was unsure, and most others have either disregarded this case or been unaware of it.

THE GIEßEN AND GENEVA FRAGMENTS, THE THESSALONICA SYNAGOGUE INSCRIPTION, AND P. CARL 49

Since the publication of the Gießen fragments, the text has been generally regarded as a Samaritan Greek version. Aside from the use of *Αργαριζιμ* (1911: 47–8), Rahlfs and Glaue felt that Gie's translation of *zqnym* 'elders' with *συνετοί* 'wise men' was reflective of ST's *ἡκμυμν* (1911: 45–6). (Rahlfs also argued thus for the reading *σοφῶν* '(of) wise men' at Gen. 37:3 in the Geneva fragments [1911: 66–7].) In the end, they contended that the character of Gie was 'identical' with the *σαμαρειτικόν* cited (supposedly) by Origen, and as such, must antedate him (1911: 60). Further, while they acknowledged that there was sufficient correspondence between τὸ *σαμαρειτικόν*/Gie and ST, the former was *not* a direct translation of the latter (1911: 62, *contra* Kohn), in part because the translator appeared to have intentionally incorporated elements from LXX (1911: 56–7). Nevertheless, they acknowledged their argument's chief weakness—no *σαμαρειτικόν* readings survive for the passages in Deuteronomy that the fragments preserve (1911: 62; Tov 1971: 362).

The Rahlfs–Glaue hypothesis was challenged by Tov (1971; 1999) and Pummer (1987), both of whom believe Gie was not a translation of SP or ST, but a revision of LXX towards a Semitic source, which the former argues was MT (1971: 371). Tov further disputes their view, arguing that (a) *συνετοί* is insufficient to prove Samaritan provenance since this correspondence also occurs in Jewish Targumim (1971: 369–70). Likewise, (b) *Αργαριζιμ* cannot be viewed as a specifically Samaritan sectarian reading, since the *Vetus Latina* reads '(in) monte Garzin' in Deut. 27:4 and 12. Gie thus transmits 'an ancient, not

yet sectarian, variant reading' (1971: 374). Pummer (1987) explored this point in greater detail, arguing that the use of *Αργαριζιμ* (or other similar spelling), taken alone, is unable to corroborate Gie's Samaritan origins, as parallel occurrences in Jewish, Christian, and Roman sources demonstrate. Tov further (c) claims Gie's use of the 'Jewish' *Qere perpetuum κύριος* could not be Samaritan since they used the *Qere šēmā* or pronounced the Tetragrammaton outright (1971: 375; citing Theodoret's *Quaest. in Exod* 15). In the end, though Tov admits Gie *could be* Samaritan, he considers this unlikely, instead believing Gie to be parallel to the *recentiores* (1971: 376–7, esp. 382).

Reactions to Tov's analysis have varied. Pummer (1998) largely supports him with respect to his *textual* analysis but differs on other points. For instance, Tov accepts the Walton–Castell hypothesis (via Field and Kohn) and uses this theory to support his notion that Gie cannot be the *Samareitikon*, since Gie and ST differ at times (1971: 375, esp. n. 28). However, Pummer rejects the Walton–Castell hypothesis; and, as such, he does not utterly reject the notion that Gie could be Samaritan (1998: 310). Adrian Schenker also contested Tov's 'either/or' perspective on Gie's character vis-à-vis LXX (2010: 111). To him, the *Samareitikon* can—and indeed should be expected to—reflect a specifically Samaritan *revision* of LXX (2010: 119). For Schenker, the key instance where Gie has been revised was *Αργαριζιμ* (2010: 109–10). The very act of *transliterating* this specific location, something which is never evinced in LXX, reveals the Samaritan reviser. Additionally, he argues against Tov's interpretation of the *Vetus Latina*, since *hr* ('mountain') was still *translated* (via Greek) as (*in*) *monte* (2010: 110–12). Joosten also similarly argues against Tov (2014 and 2015). Because he accepts a modified version of the Walton–Castell hypothesis (see above), Joosten contends the Samaritans revised a text of LXX, based upon their own developing textual and exegetical traditions, ST included (2015: 14–15). Indeed, he holds that the connections between Gie and LXX may reflect a time when the Samaritans regarded LXX as much theirs 'as belonging to the Jerusalem-based Judaism with which they had fallen out' (2014: 358; also 2015: 13–15).

While the provenance of Gie is debated, a fourth-century bilingual inscription quoting Num. 6:22–7 in Greek was found in a Samaritan synagogue in Thessalonica ('Thess' in Wevers's apparatus; see Rahlfs and Fraenkel 2004: 368–9). The excerpt was studied by Tov (1974; 1999) who notes many divergences from LXX (including verse order) but feels these discrepancies differ too greatly from ST to qualify the text as an example of the *Samareitikon* (1999: 517 n. 13, again following Walton–Castell via Kohn). This, in addition to the inscription's use of the 'Jewish' *Qere κύριος*, prompted Tov to characterize Thess only as a revision of LXX (1999: 514–15, esp. 517). Recently Joosten (2015) has responded to Tov's hypothesis, arguing the inscription bears previously unrecognized Samaritan exegesis. For example, in v. 27 (v. 24 in LXX), Thess reads (καὶ) θήσεται (≠ ἐπιθήσουσιν LXX = MT), which Tov interprets as a future passive 3 sing. reflecting a variant *hophal* vocalization, *wayyušam* (1999: 516). Joosten suggests (2015: 11 nn. 36–7) this form should be read as a future active 2 pl. (= θήσετε) which corresponds to the 2 pl. imperative in both ST (*wšww* = *wšymw* in most SP MSS) and the Samaritan reading tradition (*wšīmu* [the Samaritans read š as ṣ], see Ben-Ḥayyim 1977: 271, 483). Joosten also believes the spelling of Moses in Thess *Μουση* (in v. 22), itself rare in LXX, reflects the Samaritan pronunciation *mūši* (2015: 11; see Ben-Ḥayyim 1977: 336–7).

Marsh (2020) argues that an obscure manuscript denoted ‘Carl 49’ in Wevers’s edition is the *Samareitikon*. This fragmentary fifth-century witness discovered in Egypt contains bits of Exodus ch. 3 which had clearly been revised towards a Semitic source. Previously, Wevers stated in his edition that the base on which the reviser worked was MT (1991: 16). Against this, Marsh argues that closer examination of Carl 49’s variant readings supports the hypothesis that its text was revised towards Samaritan, not Jewish, textual traditions. This is shown by a number of variants which equate SP and ST against LXX, MT, and the Jewish Targumim. These include the reading $\theta\bar{\varsigma}$ in the first half of Exod. 3: 4, $\tau\omega\nu \overline{\pi\rho\omega\nu} \sigma\omicron\upsilon$ in v. 6, and the order of the nations in v. 17 (all of which, Girgashites included, are provided in the singular). Also of note is the translation equivalent [οι] *συναιτοι* for *zqny(m)* in v. 18, something already evinced in Gie and supported by ST. Yet beyond these examples, Marsh contends that Carl 49’s Samaritan provenance is most clearly revealed by an unusual reading found in v. 5: $\mu\eta \epsilon\nu\gamma\iota\sigma\eta\varsigma$ [σν] *ναρπαγγη*. This highly idiosyncratic rendering of the Hebrew *hlm* ‘here/hither’ is supported only by ST ($\text{ʔ}l \text{tqr}b \text{ʔ}p$). Marsh also considers whether the ‘ΚΑΤΑ ΣΑΜΑΡΕΙΤΩΝ’ annotation found in Codex M at Exod. 3:6 might provide external confirmation of Carl 49’s proposed Samaritan character given that both ΚΑΤΑ ΣΑΜΑΡΕΙΤΩΝ and Carl 49 read $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\rho\nu\psi\epsilon\nu$ for the same lemma (see section ‘The *σαμ*-Group: Post-Hexaplaric Evidence’). In the end, Marsh holds that while it is possible that the ΚΑΤΑ ΣΑΜΑΡΕΙΤΩΝ annotation may denote a genuine *Samareitikon* reading at Exod. 3:6, Carl 49’s Samaritan origins do not depend upon any such interpretation.

RESEARCH PROSPECTS

Excluding further manuscript discoveries, those areas of research most likely to provide fruitful trajectories include: (a) re-examination of the anonymous marginal readings in *σαμ*-bearing LXX manuscripts, namely Codex M, s-group manuscripts, and others (e.g. 128); (b) perhaps future studies on the catena traditions of Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy may also unearth further evidence; (c) lastly, investigation into those early fragmentary manuscripts transmitting LXX texts revised towards a Semitic source may also prove worthwhile, as the case of Carl 49 suggests. (See those others listed in Rahlfs and Fraenkel 2004: 132–3.) Naturally, readings from any source would need to be carefully examined, taking into account their respective correspondence to SP, ST, and the Samaritan reading tradition.

SUGGESTED READING

Research into the Samaritan Pentateuch is currently experiencing a renaissance in the wake of the complete publication of the Dead Sea Scrolls. As paradigms framing the development of the Hebrew Bible shift, scholarly understanding of the Samaritan Bible changes as well. Among present research, the forthcoming critical editions of the Hebrew Samaritan Pentateuch by Stefan Schorch will be highly significant. The book of Leviticus has already been published

(2018), with the remainder to follow. Given the importance of the Samaritan Targum for the study of the *Samareitikon*, the editions of ST published by Abraham Tal (1980–3) are essential. Revisions of these editions are also forthcoming. Owing to the unique words (or usages of words) found in the Samaritan Aramaic dialect, the editions are best used in conjunction with Tal's accompanying *Dictionary of Samaritan Aramaic* (2000; 2 vols.). Studies on Samaritan exegesis, linguistics, and history can be found in recent collected works published in de Gruyter's *Studia Samaritana* series. (Six volumes of essays by leading scholars have been published since 2010, with more to come.) The recent handbook on the Samaritans was published by Pummer (2016). This work flags up many Samaritan exegetical works that remain unpublished.

Lastly, Jan Joosten has recently published fresh research on the anonymous readings in Codex M (2019). Joosten's work should serve as a template for future studies.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ben-Hayyim, Zé'ev (1977). *The Words of the Pentateuch*. The Academy of the Hebrew Language, Texts and Studies 10. Vol. 4. Jerusalem. [Hebrew with English summary.]
- Field, Frederick ([1875] 2005). *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt*. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Trans. Gérard J. Norton, with Carmen Hardin, *Frederick Field's Prolegomena . . . Cahiers de la Revue Biblique* 62. Paris: Gabalda, 2005.
- Geiger, Abraham (1876). 'Einleitung in die biblischen Schriften', in L. Geiger, ed., *Nachgelassene Schriften*, Vol 4. Berlin: Louis Gershel Verlagsbuchhandlung, pp. 1–279.
- Joosten, Jan (2014). 'The Samareitikon and the Samaritan Tradition', in W. Kraus and S. Kreuzer, eds., *Die Septuaginta: Text, Wirkung, Rezeption. 4. Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch. (LXX.D), Wuppertal 19.–22. Juli 2012*. WUNT 325. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 346–59.
- Joosten, Jan (2015). 'Septuagint and Samareitikon', in C. Werman, ed., *Author to Copyist: Essays on the Composition, Redaction, and Transmission of the Hebrew Bible in Honor of Zipi Talshir*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, pp. 1–15.
- Joosten, Jan (2016). '1.3.2 Samareitikon', in Armin Lange and Emanuel Tov, eds., *Textual History of the Bible*, Vol. 1A. Leiden: Brill, pp. 235–8.
- Joosten, Jan (2019). 'Biblical Interpretation in the *Samareitikon* as Exemplified in Anonymous Readings in Leviticus Attested in M', in M. Langlois, ed., *The Samaritan Pentateuch and the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 313–25.
- Kohn, Samuel (1894). 'Samareitikon und Septuaginta'. *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 38: 1–7, 49–67.
- Marsh, Bradley J., Jr. (2016). 'Early Christian Scripture and the Samaritan Pentateuch: A Study in Hexaplaric Manuscript Activity'. Unpublished DPhil. thesis, University of Oxford.
- Marsh, Bradley J., Jr. (2020). 'The Samareitikon, the "κατὰ Σαμαρειτῶν" Marginalia in Codex M, and P. Carl 49'. *Vetus Testamentum* 70: 285–97.
- Montfaucon, Bernard de (1713). *Hexaplorum Origenis quae supersunt. Ex MSS. & libris eruit & notis illustr. B. de Montfaucon. Accedunt lexicon Hebraicum itemque lexicon Graecum*. 2 vols. Paris: Lud. Guerin.
- Pummer, Reinhard (1987). 'APTAPIZIN: A Criterion for Samaritan Provenance?'. *JSJ* 18: 18–25.
- Pummer, Reinhard (1998). 'The Greek Bible and the Samaritans'. *REJ* 157:3–4: 269–358.

- Pummer, Reinhard (2016). *The Samaritans: A Profile*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans.
- Rahlfs, Alfred, and Detlef Fraenkel (2004). *Supplementum*, Vol. I/1. *Vetus Testamentum Graecum: Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Rahlfs, Alfred, and Paul Glaué (1911). *Fragmente einer griechischen Übersetzung des samaritanischen Pentateuchs*. MSU 1.2. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung.
- Schenker, Adrian (2010). 'Textgeschichtliches zum Samaritanischen Pentateuch und Samareitikon zur Textgeschichte des Pentateuchs im 2. Jh. v. Chr.,' in M. Mor and F. V. Reiterer, eds., *Studia Samaritana: Samaritans—Past and Present*. Berlin: de Gruyter, pp. 105–21.
- Schorch, Stefan, ed. (2018). *The Samaritan Pentateuch*, Vol. 3: *Leviticus*, in collaboration with Evelyn Burkhardt and Ramona Fändrich. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Tal, Abraham, ed. (1980). *The Samaritan Targum of the Pentateuch: A Critical Edition*, Part I: *Genesis, Exodus*. Texts and Studies in the Hebrew Language and Related Subjects 4. Tel-Aviv: Tel-Aviv University.
- Tal, Abraham, ed. (1981). *The Samaritan Targum of the Pentateuch: A Critical Edition*, Part II: *Leviticus, Numeri, Deuteronomium*. Texts and Studies in the Hebrew Language and Related Subjects 5. Tel-Aviv: Tel-Aviv University.
- Tal, Abraham, ed. (1983). *The Samaritan Targum of the Pentateuch: A Critical Edition*, Part III: *Introduction*. Texts and Studies in the Hebrew Language and Related Subjects 6. Tel-Aviv: Tel-Aviv University.
- Tal, Abraham (2000). *A Dictionary of Samaritan Aramaic*. Handbuch der Orientalistik. Erste Abteilung, Nahe und der Mittlere Osten 50. Leiden: Brill.
- Tov, Emanuel (1971). 'Pap. Giessen 13, 19, 22, 26: A Revision of the LXX?'. *RB* 78: 355–83.
- Tov, E. (1974). 'Une Inscription grecque d'origine samaritaine trouvée à Thessalonique'. *RB* 81: 43–8. Repr. in Tov, ed., *The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint*. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 1999, pp. 513–18.
- Tov, E. (1999). 'Pap. Giessen 13, 19, 22, 26: A Revision of the Septuagint?', in Tov, ed., *The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 439–75. [For discrepancies between Tov's data as presented in his 1971 article and the revised form, see Schenker 2010: 107–8 n. 12.]
- Wevers, J. W. (1974). *Genesis*. VTG 1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Wevers, J. W. (1986). *Leviticus*. VTG 2.2. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. [Collations of M^{ms} against ST undertaken by Detlef Fraenkel.]
- Wevers, J. W. (1991). *Exodus*. VTG 2.1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Yadin, Y., and Sh. Talmon (1999). *Masada VI: The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963–1965, Final Reports—Hebrew Fragments from Masada—The Ben Sira Scroll from Masada*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.

CHAPTER 35

THE CONSTANTINOPL PENTATEUCH AND MIEV JEWISH USE OF GREEK BIBLICAL TEXTS

JULIA G. KRIVORUCHKO

INTRODUCTION

IN the last half of the nineteenth century most Greek biblical texts other than the Septuagint were known from Christian manuscripts and early Church writings. The Hexaplaric fragments collected by Field (1867–75) came from various sources, yet most of the textual witnesses were of non-Jewish authorship and were associated with the Church. In the eyes of many researchers, the canonization of the LXX seemed symbolically to erase its Jewish authorship, and in as far as the Church and the Synagogue were viewed as two hypostatized inimical entities, it has been assumed that the Christian and Jewish sacred texts must have diverged. A then-popular belief held that since the Church embraced the Septuagint, Jews must have stopped using it from the early second century (Schurer 1886: 33.1.1; Swete 1900: 30; cf. Jellicoe 1968: 353).

This position became known as the ‘abandonment theory’ (Rajak 2009: 288–90; de Lange 2013). The somewhat unilateral vision of Christian scholars was reinforced from the Jewish side by the anachronistic perceptions of Jewish scholarship and lack of knowledge about the culture of Greek-speaking Jews in the post-Hellenistic period. Inauspicious timing also played its role: in 1875 the so-called *Graecus Venetus* was published, a version of the Pentateuch translated from Hebrew into a peculiar mixture of

Homeric, Doric, and Attic Greek (Gil 1999: 114). It felt so alien to Septuagint scholars that P. F. Frankl reacted to its publication by stating that ‘between the Hellenistic Jewish literature and the works of Greek Jews of the fourteenth or fifteenth century, no continuity can be recognized or even presupposed’ (Frankl 1875: 516; my translations).

Towards the last decade of the nineteenth century new materials pushed the scientific community to revise this established attitude. Dutch linguist and neo-Hellenist D. C. Hesseling transcribed into Greek letters the translation of the Pentateuch, originally published in Hebrew script in mid-sixteenth century Constantinople (henceforth CP) (Hesseling 1897). Four years later he also transliterated the complete translation of the book of Jonah (Hesseling 1901). The first Greek Jew to appear on the scholarly scene, Lazare Belléli, claimed that CP was the basis of the biblical translation currently used on his native island of Corfu (Belléli 1891: 251–2). Having thus created a bridge between the CP and the modern era, tracing the process of biblical translation backwards from CP became only a matter of time, as also finding a link between the CP and its Hellenistic ancestors.

The encounter between the historian J. Mann and the Romance philologist D.-S. Blondheim proved crucial in this aspect: Mann directed his learned colleague to the manuscript preserved in the Taylor-Schechter Collection of the University Library in Cambridge (henceforth T-S), which contained a translation of Ecclesiastes 2:13–2:23 into Greek in Hebrew script. Impressed by its similarity to ancient versions, Blondheim embarked on reclaiming the continuity of the Judeo-Greek (JG) translational traditions. The continuity, which he perceived as rather self-evident and ‘not a new idea’, needed to be ‘demonstrat[ed] precisely and systematically’ (Blondheim 1924: 2). For this purpose he compiled a list of sixty-two items shared between seven texts: the *Arukhs*, compiled by Nathan bar Yehiel of Rome in the late eleventh century, the abovementioned editions of Gerhard and Hesseling together with the Cambridge Ecclesiastes, the marginal glosses to the uncial Octateuch Codex Ambrosianus A 147 Inf. (F^b), and a seventeenth-century translation of the Aramaic parts of the Bible known as *Meirath Enaim* (Danon 1914).

The means of comparison employed by Blondheim are highly instructive, as the article exhibits *in nuce* the methodological ambiguities inherent to the research field for decades to come. The translational equivalents he discussed often did not appear in the same biblical passage, nor, for obvious reasons, did they occur in all the texts under comparison. He dedicated considerable attention to the important terms of cult (*ναός*, *ἄγγελος*, *κιβωτός*, *σωτηρία*, etc.) and the theonyms, while the choice of other lexemes was unsystematic and their order alphabetical. The coincidences discovered by Blondheim were unlikely to impress a narrowly focused textual researcher, for whom ‘tradition’ meant the faithful copying of a text rather than the transmission of sense irrespective of wording. Yet Blondheim was a staunch oralist, and for him it was ‘clear that Jewish schoolteachers from antiquity to our times, continued in their translating the Bible orally, to use expressions borrowed from the Septuagint and mostly from Aquila’ (1924: 1–2).

Blondheim ventured no further into the Greek material. It took more than seventy years for his conclusions to be upheld by Natalio Fernández Marcos (1979: 163–9) and

Nicholas de Lange (1980; 1996). Since the late 1970s the growing interest in orality led to extensive research into oral aspects of rabbinic tradition, translation, and Targum, some of it of relevance for later JG translations (Smelik 2003; Alexander 2007; Krivoruchko 2012).

On the verge of the twenty-first century, it became evident to social historians that the boundaries between Hellenistic and medieval Jewish and Christian groups were flexible, and expressions of religiosity varied to a previously inconceivable degree (e.g. Becker and Reed 2003). The ‘abandonment theory’ was losing its persuasiveness (Greenspoon 2008). Textual criticism could not provide many independent arguments to contest such conclusions, and the reverse swing of the pendulum was completed with attempts to show the survival of the LXX in later Jewish tradition on the textual level (Boyd-Taylor 2008, 2010; Rajak 2009).

As the centenary of Blondheim’s article approaches, a more historically, linguistically, and geographically nuanced picture of post-Hellenistic Jewish use of Greek biblical texts emerges. Much new information has appeared that allows us to fill the gaps in our knowledge.

It is expedient to distinguish between these main periods:

1. Early Byzantine period (before 800);
2. Middle Byzantine period (800–1204);
3. Late Byzantine–Early Modern period.

While the chronological boundaries are by necessity approximate, each of these periods is marked by unique artefacts and socio-cultural settings.

EARLY BYZANTINE PERIOD (BEFORE 800)

The information we possess on the Jewish use of Greek biblical texts in early Byzantium is based on the following groups of sources: manuscripts with consecutive Greek biblical texts, quotations, or fragments of such texts; biblical reminiscences in other texts originating from a Jewish environment; and indirect evidence suggesting the use of Greek biblical texts. Unfortunately research on this period is severely hindered by lack of direct evidence: very few artefacts have reached us from that time.

Early Septuagint manuscripts have been thoroughly studied since the Renaissance, but distinguishing between ‘Jewish’ and ‘Christian’ copies of the LXX still poses a problem. While the abandonment theory prevailed, it was expected that Christian and Jewish manuscripts should differ in their formal features, such as format (scrolls being associated with a Jewish milieu, and codices with a Christian one), material (papyrus being apparently unfit for Jewish content), use of the abbreviated form of numbers and the ‘nomina sacra’ (presumably Christian), treatment of the Tetragrammaton (supposedly always written in Paleo-Hebrew script by Jews), and palaeographic quality

(Jewish hands being more elaborate). As more Greek manuscripts were discovered in Egypt and Palestine, it became clear that each tradition exhibited great internal variation, and the differences were less significant than previously believed (Kraft 2009). If the technical qualities of the earliest LXX manuscripts tell us little about their producers, they tell us even less about their users, since the members of either group could make use of the others' products.

Two sets of Genizah folia are particularly relevant for this period, namely T-S 12.184 + T-S 20.50 and T-S 12.186–8. On both, Hebrew texts in square oriental hands overwrite Greek translations, written in biblical majuscule of the sixth century. The first set comprises a version of 1 Kgs 20:7–17, 2 Kgs 23:11–27, and the second of Pss 90(89):17–92(91):10, 96(95):7–12, 98(97):3, 102(101):16–103(102):13. The facsimile editions of these palimpsests were published respectively by Francis Burkitt (1897) and Charles Taylor (1900). For more than a century it has been assumed that the manuscripts were created and used by Jews (Swete 1910: 34; Schürer 1986: 495; Fernández Marcos 2000: 113). The large size and accurate scribal performance show that the texts may have served in public worship. Though the Jewishness of these palimpsests was challenged by Gallagher (2013), who suggested that they might be a work of a Christian unsuccessfully trying to copy a Jewish text, and could have had a Christian readership, such arguments for a particular social setting on the basis of technical details are not wholly convincing. Be that as it may, scholarly consensus still tends to identify the above texts as fragments of Aquila.

The Jewish Greek Bible surfaced in various texts, permeating society and finding its way into a wide range of discourse types or cultural settings. Partial quotations and glosses containing JG translations abound, but the value of the information provided by them is difficult to assess. One cannot be sure whether the text to which a source refers as being from Symmachus or Aquila indeed stems from there, and even if it were, the specifics of textual history, place in the stemma, and so on, are lacking.

Funerary, dedicatory, and decorative inscriptions and even magic spells occasionally contained biblical quotations. Prov. 10:7 (LXX *μνήμη δικαίων μετ' ἐγκωμίων*, Aq. *μνεία δικαίου εἰς εὐλογίαν*) was popular on tombs, and Ps. 90 (91) on amulets. However, this evidence is of little use for assessing the spread of specific versions. It is probable that the texts of funerary inscriptions functioned as formulae in their own right, having lost their association with biblical passages (van der Horst 2014). The provenance of amulets is also typically uncertain, and it is unclear whether the religious affiliation of the client could have influenced the wording (Bohak 2008). The Nicaean inscription containing Ps. 195(196):25 arguably reflects Aquilan tendencies (Salvesen 2005).

The most important indirect source about the Jewish use of Greek translations in early Byzantium is undoubtedly the Novella 146, promulgated by the emperor Justinian in 553 CE. It has generated a rich bibliography (Kahle 1959; Colorni 1964; Linder 1987; Klingenberg 1996; Labendz 2009; Smelik 2012, etc.), including some conspiracy theories (Veltri 1994; Rutgers 2003; Irshai 2012: 56). According to the text of the Novella, the emperor was approached by Jews who objected to the introduction of the Hebrew Bible for public reading in their synagogues. The Novella ruled that Scripture should be read

in a language understood by the members of the congregation, and advocated the LXX while not forbidding Aquila (Linder 1987: 411). From a sociolinguistic point of view the straightforward interpretation of this narrative makes good sense: imposing incomprehensible sacred texts or even simply altering the established sphere of language functioning would have been an act aimed at restructuring, even destroying, group identity. As such, it constituted a danger to social order in Jewish communities, to which government needed to react. The emperor chose to respond by reaffirming the status quo, thus protecting both his subjects and his own interests: a less linguistically isolated group would be easier to control. As expected, the occasion was used to promote the state religion, including its version of the sacred text—the LXX. For our purposes, it is important to note that no other translations are mentioned apart from LXX and Aquila. On the basis of the Novella alone, it is impossible to conclude with certainty whether the practice of reading both or neither was widespread, and in which regions of the empire. The preferential endorsement of LXX needed not be a missionary novelty, but could well be a reinforcement of pre-existing practices. It is unknown what effect, if any, Novella 146 had on the Jewish use of Greek translations: many Byzantine legislative acts needed to be repeated to ensure compliance. It is also unclear how control over the Jewish versions could be exercised. Provided the Novella was indeed enforced by local administration, the new translations would not be welcome, and it would be safer to keep ‘illegal’ versions in Jewish script rather than Greek, in order to limit access to them.

Since most historical data mentioned above are contradictory and inconclusive, and the question of number, authorship, and circulation of biblical translations in early Byzantium remains open, theoretical sociolinguistic considerations are worth keeping in mind. As the language moved further away from Classical Greek and the classicizing forms of Koine, it is evident that, other things being equal, the texts that were more progressive linguistically had better chances of survival. The centuries that divided Aquila from the earliest parts of the Septuagint corpus were crucial for the development of Koine Greek, and later readers would find his version more accessible in terms of syntax, if not vocabulary. On the other hand, catering for Atticist standards, as practised by Symmachus, effectively narrowed the window of transmission.

A major disruption in the written transmission of earlier translations in the Jewish environment was, undoubtedly, the change of script. Following the Arab invasion, Greek lost its position as the *lingua franca* of the eastern Mediterranean, and acquiring Greek education ceased to be a priority. In the West, with the partition of the empire Greek was already giving way to Latin. Greek language competence must have persisted for several generations in the Western Jewish communities that used it, but learning it as a non-native tongue became a less important pursuit, and with time it dwindled to a bare minimum. Instead, Jewish education would have created a readership employing the Hebrew alphabet as its primary and often sole script. This change would have made the older Jewish Greek renderings unintelligible, unless one had also studied Greek writing. It is probable that, initially, individuals could have transliterated important synagogue readings, such as special passages for festivals, for their personal convenience. This activity was unlikely to be systematic, and its products had fewer chances of

survival than authoritative or collective enterprises. However, no large-scale rewriting is mentioned in historical sources.

The devaluing of Greek would not have touched predominantly Greek-speaking areas, including parts of Asia Minor and South Italy, where Greek-script education would always be in demand. Unfortunately, we cannot make any estimates about the basic usage of scripts and languages in the local Jewish communities, due to the lack of data.

Upper-class Jews of early Byzantium undoubtedly had the means and leisure to master numerous scripts. Middle Byzantine sources attest to Jewish doctors using the works of their Hellenistic predecessors, Jewish traders negotiating with gentile contractors, and Jewish imperial translators engaging in administration. Such professionals would have been capable of writing in Greek script, and some may have been interested in alternative versions of Scriptures or even sophisticated classicizing stylizations thereof. For example, a note in Greek minuscule in a Jewish Bible (Olszowy-Schlanger 2003) is likely to indicate Jewish competence in Greek script. However, it is unclear to what extent the elite's intellectual endeavours could influence basic Torah teaching and translation, which is responsible for the bulk of surviving documents of the next period.

MIDDLE BYZANTINE PERIOD (800–1204)

The data concerning the Middle Byzantine period is more extensive. It includes glossaries, exegetical notes, and coherent translations, other texts containing fragments of the Jewish Greek Bible, glosses and marginalia in the LXX manuscripts, and indirect evidence. Particularly important findings come from the Ben Ezra synagogue in Fustat, Old Cairo. According to Jewish tradition, worn-out writings containing the divine name should be kept in a special repository called a *genizah*, to be buried later. Thanks to the dry climate of Egypt, thousands of medieval and later texts have been preserved in this storehouse known as the 'Cairo Geniza'. Unfortunately, as might be expected of discarded materials, all of them are fragmentary and/or badly damaged.

The oldest stratum of this material coming from the ninth century is represented by the palimpsest T-S F17.4, where under the Palestinian Talmud one finds a glossary to Exod. 7:27–28:17, Isa. 66:11–24, and Jer. 2:13–36:22 (Tchernetska et al. 2007). It features rough-looking unprofessional Greek uncial script, mostly illegible because of the over-written text. In all cases but one it agrees with Aquila's version, where the latter survives; many agreements with LXX are also found.

Greek-script glosses also occur in the margins and interlinear spaces of Hebrew Bibles. They are more difficult to date, since they can be later than the main text, and one can rely only on palaeographical criteria for their chronology. Two Greek uncial glosses to Judg. 8:12–9:54 are found in the Genizah fragment T-S NS 250.7–8 (c. twelfth century; de Lange and Tchernetska 2014). Four interlinear Greek glosses are preserved on fol. 51, MS Heb. e. 43, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Prov. 17:16–19:3, Greek majuscule

(eleventh–thirteenth century) (Rüger 1959; de Lange and Tchernetska 2014). The latter seem consistently Aquilan; both manuscripts show non-standard Greek spelling.

Several manuscripts combine Greek writing with Greek in Hebrew letters. For example, the eleventh- or twelfth-century manuscript of a Rabbanite commentary on Gen. 8:9–49:20 and Exod. 1:21–34:26 (T-S C6.117 + Lewis-Gibson, Bodleian Libraries and Cambridge University Library, Talm. I.110) is divided into liturgical readings. It includes glosses spanning Gen. 14:23–49:19 and Exod. 8:20–31:10. Most of the Greek cannot be convincingly linked to any known translation, and may represent purely ad hoc solutions (Steiner 2007).

Other manuscripts, although dated by the palaeographers to the same period, contain only Greek glosses in Hebrew letters. The MS T-S NS 309.9 is a glossary to Zechariah, Malachi, and Job. Greek glosses in unsystematically vocalized Hebrew letters span Mal. 1:10–3:21 and Job 26:13–30:16. The glossator supplied non-Aquilan interpretations (e.g. Mal. 3:1 *καὶ εὐκαιρέσει*, cf. Aq. *ἀποσκευάσει*, LXX *καὶ ἐπιβλέψεται*) side by side with Aquilan ones (Mal. 2:2 *τὴν ἰσπάνην*, cf. Aq. *σπάνιν*, LXX *τὴν κατάραν*).

Part of MS T-S C6.133 preserves a commentary to Genesis and Joshua (Gen. 6:21–14:24, Josh. 13:5). It was written in the eleventh or twelfth century and includes Greek glosses in contemporaneous colloquial without deeper roots.

The longest Byzantine text to be retrieved from the Cairo Genizah so far is a commentary on Ezekiel and the Twelve Minor Prophets (Ezek. 6:4–Zech. 12:6). It is a rotulus (long, narrow scroll) consisting of MSS Heb. 40 577.7/1 Jerusalem, JNUL + T-S C2.87 + T-S F2(1).211 + T-S 32.1 + T-S K27.46 + T-S K25.288 + T-S K27.47, whose authorship is ascribed to the (otherwise unknown) Rabbanite Reuel (for a discussion of dating and authorship see de Lange 2015). The degree of closeness to Aquila is difficult to access due to the paucity of Hexaplaric material, but there are coincidences with the Three (Ezek. 10:5 *qōl βροντή*, LXX *φωνή*, Sym. and Theod. *βροντή* [Aq. unknown]), as well as exegetical matches with Aquila (*haqqeset* in Ezek. 9:11 is glossed *τὸ καλαμάρι*, cf. LXX *τῆ ζώνη*, Aq. *μελανοδοχέλον*, Sym. *τὴν πινακίδα*).

Among Genizah discoveries only two cover the same biblical passage, and the overlap is not great. The first, MS T-S C6.133 (part) + MS Heb. d. 43 fols. 25–6, Oxford, Bodleian Library, is an almost complete quire with discursive commentary on 1 Kgs 7:25–10:21 and a few Greek words starting from 1 Kgs 7:29. According to Steiner (2007), the text belongs to the Karaite scholar Tobias b. Moses. It is presumed that at the early stages of the Karaite movement, the ‘mourners of Zion’ spoke the majority languages of their regions, namely Persian and Arabic. As the Byzantine Empire recovered its eastern territories from the Arabs, some Karaites moved westward, adopting Greek as the new language of everyday communication and basic Torah teaching.

Another fragment dedicated to the same biblical book, MS T-S K24.14 (1 Kgs 6:20–8:37), is a rich glossary that has little in common with the first one. Only a few coincidences link it with the translations from antiquity.

The only continuous Greek biblical translation in Hebrew letters in the Genizah is T-S Misc.28.74 containing Eccl. 2:13–23. It is written in a Byzantine hand and can be dated to around the eleventh century (for text see Blondheim 1924; de Lange 1982; 1996: 71–8).

The translation was aimed to be used in parallel with the Hebrew text, as it contains the initial words of Hebrew verses. It is carefully written and vocalized throughout, which would make it a good copy for study and/or public performance. The Genizah fragment follows the original closely, but employs different translational equivalents to the LXX (γάρ vs. καίγῃ). The choice of vocabulary shows modernized morphology (ἄφρων > χωρικός) and perhaps a somewhat different understanding of the original (μνήμη > μνημόσυνον). The hallmark of Aquilan renderings, σύν for the direct object marker 'et, is systematically used. At the same time, the translation does not use stereotyped renderings, as a single Hebrew root can be rendered by several different Greek stems. It employs equivalents that are likely to continue other older versions, but the lack of readings preserved from the 'Three' for the passage hinders further enquiry.

Remnants of Greek biblical translations are found also in manuscripts that do not originate from the Genizah. MS 364* from Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum is an incomplete parchment codex of Former Prophets (Josh. 3:10–2 Kgs 25:15), paleographically dated to the eleventh or twelfth century (Olszowy-Schlanger 2003). The Greek glosses in Hebrew script were added to it by at least four hands of differing proficiency, possibly teachers and pupils (de Lange 2002; 2015). One glossator could have been also the scribe for the masorah, which gives us a terminus ante quem for some glosses. Many are unlikely to perpetuate Aquilan word-stock, since they are linguistically modern.

Codex Ambrosianus MS A 147 Inf. (Martini-Bassi 808), from Milan, Ambrosian Library, is a fifth-century uncial Hexateuch with Greek material spanning Gen. 31:15–Josh. 12:12 and containing Hexaplaric glosses. It was partially retraced and restored in the eleventh century. The restorers supplied a version of Exodus chs. 36–9 closely following MT, as well as extra glosses and variant readings, collectively known as F^b. We have little data about the restorers: from the content of the codex one may conclude that they were Christian (Fincati 2016: 426). It is often presumed that the restorer garnered his material from sources in Greek script. Another possibility would be a convert capable of transcribing the JG into common Greek spelling, or writing the translation down from memory, as well as a scribe of any denomination if the text was dictated. Some rare lexemes mentioned in F^b coincide with those found in the Fitzwilliam Bible and CP, which suggests that their scribes or authors had access to some common sources, oral or written. Of the 488 readings that F^b preserves in the book of Exodus, one hundred are shared with the CP, while the proportion of coincidences in Genesis is lower (Fernández Marcos 2000: 176).

F^b, as well as MS RA 56 (Quinslinianus), occasionally presents glosses from a source called τὸ ἰουδ[αϊκόν]. The authorship of these readings is unknown, and it is unclear whether they constitute the remains of a complete or only partial version of Scripture. In all probability, the scribes believed τὸ ἰουδ[αϊκόν] was distinct from οἱ γ' and other standard Hexaplaric tags, since there is no obvious reason to introduce a synonymous but longer siglum into the margin where space was limited. The difficulty of identifying τὸ ἰουδαϊκόν is exacerbated by the fact that it appears in only a few manuscripts. Many glosses in Christian transmission are anonymous, and one should allow for the possibility that more material could have originated from τὸ ἰουδαϊκόν.

Data about the Greek Jewish Bible in the period before the Crusades is not limited to the Cairo Genizah. Nathan ben Yehiel, an encyclopaedic scholar from Rome, compiled a dictionary called the *Arukhs* in 1101, which included the explanations of Graecisms mainly in rabbinic works, but also in Scripture. Apart from Aquila, he adduces ‘other *lē ‘āzîm*’, i.e. single words from other translations. Given his tendency to quote secondary lexicographical works of every provenance, these occurrences cannot testify to the use of specific translations in a Jewish environment.

Still, integration of characteristic details and even entire plots from the Greek Bible into Jewish historical narratives is an indirect proof of the continuing interest in Greek biblical versions on the part of Jewish readers. For example, *Sefer Yosippon* re-narrates the story of Susannah, but there is no way to determine which version(s) of Greek Scripture was used (Dönitz 2013).

The total number of Greek glosses found in the Cairo Genizah (de Lange 1996; Rüter 1959) together with the glosses in the Fitzwilliam Bible and the Ambrosianus is about a thousand words. This includes repetitive glosses, numerous occurrences of the conjunction *καί*, articles, and possessive pronouns, which are only minimally informative. Thus, the size of the corpus is incomparably smaller than even the shortest books of the Septuagint. Consequently, the insights that they can provide are extremely limited.

From the survey above it is obvious that research on the JG translations of the Genizah period faces numerous problems resulting from both the nature of its data and its methodology. The expectations of scholars go far beyond what the Hexaplaric material, itself known from marginalia, fragmentary secondary quotations, and retroversions, is able to provide, so that they are often confined to uncertain conclusions. For instance, if a gloss resembles a Greek stem used by Aquila elsewhere to translate a derivative from the same Hebrew root, the Aquilan origin of the gloss is commonly accepted, even if it cannot be validated by an actual attribution in the manuscript.

The major problem is the fragmentary nature of the Genizah material itself. It is assumed by default that the *modus vivendi* of the medieval Jewish Bible is essentially similar to that of Christian Bible, and it can be approached with similar research questions. For instance, it is common to search for the textual source of a gloss. In fact, in the absence of text, there can be hardly any solid textual research. The question whether X originates from the translation A or B is supplanted by the question of whether it looks more like A or B, thus departing from textual criticism into the domain of comparative lexico-semantic inquiry. The latter, however, is exercised in the still insufficiently researched field of medieval Greek, often requiring significant knowledge of grammar and dialects, while the criteria of what constitutes ‘dependence’, ‘similarity’, ‘adoption of methods’, ‘marks of approach’, ‘affinities in vocabulary’, etc. between translations are extremely loose. The quantitative data that could bring more order into the chaos are used rarely, and the judgements about the frequency of lexemes tend to be intuitive.

Few points are certain. As predicted already by Blondheim (1924), and as expected on theoretical grounds, by far the most popular source of Greek translations for the medieval Jewish scholars was Aquila. In the cases where we have the version of Aquila, the medieval glosses agree with it against the Septuagint, and wherever other versions have

survived, also against these versions. Didactic advantages offered by Aquila were significant: relatively consistent usage of the same Greek root for the Hebrew root was a useful mnemonic tool, and so was homoeophony between the word and its rendering.

LATE BYZANTINE–EARLY MODERN PERIOD

The period after the First Crusade is the first from which the Jewish Greek versions of complete biblical books have survived. It produced the longest consecutive Jewish Greek biblical text, the largest glossary, and the most linguistically unusual Greek biblical translation.

The translation of the book of Jonah survived in two variants: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Opp. Add. 80 19 (Neubauer 1144), and Bologna, University Library, MS Ebr. 3574 (Modona 12). Both manuscripts are prayer books, dating respectively to the fourteenth (Neubauer et al. 1994) and fifteenth centuries; they are not copies of one another (Hesseling 1901: 209). Linguistically the Bologna MS is older than that of Oxford, and Hesseling would have better chosen it as a base for his edition. It has been suggested (Neubauer et al. 1994; cf. Fernández Marcos 2000: 184) that the Oxford text was created on Corfu, since the MS originates from there. This is very unlikely: there is not a single linguistic phenomenon in the whole text that could be characterized as unambiguously Corfiot.

The translation called *Graecus Venetus* is preserved in a single MS, Gr. 7 in St Mark's Library, Venice. It is written in the late fourteenth to early fifteenth century and includes the Pentateuch, Proverbs, Ruth, Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, Lamentations, and Daniel (Gebhardt 1875). The only source of information about the translation is the text itself. In general, the work constitutes a rewriting of the Septuagint, with inconsistent moves both towards MT (calquing Hebrew gender, verbal forms, etc.) and away from it (misrepresentation of nominal and verbal categories). More work is needed to establish what manuscripts of what kind of Greek versions could have been available to the translator.

It has been suggested that the author was a converted Jew who later progressed in the ecclesiastical hierarchy (Aslanov 1999b) or a Christian scholar helped by a Jew(s) (Aslanov 2012). Whoever the author was, it is evident that the intended reader would require, in addition to familiarity with MT and/or LXX, a knowledge of ancient Greek dialects. This alone would preclude the more widespread transmission of the *Graecus Venetus* among Jews. Indeed, the work seems to have had no further impact, and perhaps was a solitary exercise typical of the early Renaissance fascination with the Classics.

The glossary to the Former and Latter Prophets, covering Judges (from 7:3), 1 and 2 Samuel, 1 and 2 Kings, Isaiah, and Jeremiah (up to 16:21), is preserved in MS Evr. IIa 1980 (National Library of Russia, St. Petersburg). It is the largest of surviving medieval JG biblical glossaries, whose quantity of Greek material exceeds all other glossaries combined. The codicological features and linguistic peculiarities of MS Evr. IIa 1980 place it in the first half of the fourteenth century, in the northern or western part of Asia Minor

(Krivoruchko 2014b). It must have served as a teaching aid, probably originally covering all the Prophetic books.

Hebrew and Aramaic glosses of the manuscript represent straightforward and mostly traditional *peshat*. However, remarkable exegetical tolerance is shown by offering numerous (up to five) alternatives for many lemmas. Greek interpretative solutions for anthropomorphisms are frequent and repetitive.

Glosses coinciding with the LXX, such as Jer. 1:6 *δέσποτα* for *ʾăhāh*, are rare. Many interpretations use the same root as Aquila, e.g. *kēlūlōtāyik* in Jer. 2:2 is glossed as *νυφρέων σου*, cf. *ἀσ' νυμφρέων* (as attested by the Syrohexapla). Aquilan strategies are often employed: in Isa. 13:21 *ʾōhīm* is given the homoeophonic rendering *ὄχιάδες* 'vipers'.

A significant proportion of the Greek glosses result from ad hoc translations without any evident historical connections. However, there are also commonalities with earlier sources that are too idiomatic to be attributed to pure coincidence, e.g. the Genizah glossary to 1 Kings translates 1 Kgs 8:27 *yēkalkēlūkā* as *ἰπιχωροῦσίν σε*, cf. *ἐπιχωροῦν σε* in MS Ebr. Ila 1980 with the same prefix. Judg. 15:8 *šōq ʿal-yārēk* is rendered in this glossary as *πεζὸν καὶ καβαλ[λάρη]* 'infantry and cavalry', also found in the Fitzwilliam Bible.

THE CONSTANTINOPLE PENTATEUCH

The longest biblical translation produced in the Greek-speaking Jewish environment since Hellenistic times survived as a part of polyglot Bible printed in the Ottoman capital in 1547 by Eliezer (Albert) Soncino, a scion of the famous Italian printers' dynasty. Apart from a Greek translation in Hebrew characters, the edition contained the MT, Targum Onkelos, Rashi, and a Judeo-Spanish (Ladino) translation. The haftaroth and megilloth promised on the title page do not seem to have been printed.

No external historical data illuminate the process of creation of this remarkable work or its sources. All the information at our disposal derives from the book itself and its comparison with other chronologically and thematically similar products. The surviving copies of the book allow us to suggest that it was not planned as a luxury edition, but as a practical one (Krivoruchko 2008). The purpose of the publication is defined on the title page of its Jerusalem copies:

...in order to aid the young of the house of Israel... we decided to print in it the translation of Mikra into the Greek tongue and the foreign tongue, two tongues widespread among the sons of our people, 'the captivity of this host' (Obad 1:20), noblemen of Yehuda and Israel dwelling in the country of Togarma.

The lack of information about the technical aspects of the edition is remarkable: no author of either translation is mentioned on the title page, neither are any other considerations that could have made the book particularly desirable. As against the common marketing practice of the period, the book was not advertised as copied from an old

source or collated from reliable manuscripts, neither was it supervised by a rabbinic authority, or edited or sponsored by a personality of importance.

Since the didactic purpose of the edition features prominently in the introduction to this and other books produced by the Soncino family, it may be that the project was initiated by the publisher. As to the author(s) of the translations, they were either not considered to be of sufficient standing to deserve a mention, or the success of the venture looked so certain that any further publicity was deemed unnecessary.

The unusual book attracted learned attention already in the early eighteenth century (Wolf [1727] 1967). Samples of the book were transliterated into Greek script in the last decade of the nineteenth century (Belléli 1890), and the complete transliteration was accomplished by D. C. Hesseling (1897; see also Belléli 1897). Hesseling hardly considered the possibility that CP had a longer history, or that it could be the creation of a number of authors (Hesseling 1897: ii, v–vi). At most, he was ready to acknowledge that the text was the result of several sittings undertaken by the same individual, thus following Belléli.

Since the text contained a few Turkish words, he believed it to be produced after the Ottoman conquest, i.e. shortly before it was printed (Hesseling 1897: xx–xxi). Notably, Belléli, who worked through only a part of Genesis and Exodus and found no Turkisms, was ready to believe it was older.

As a staunch demoticist, Belléli saw in CP an example of authentic local creativity unfettered by the canonized Septuagint and artificial conventions of learned discourse. His CP was a people's text 'without any attempt to correct or to approximate to the classical idiom' (Belléli 1890: 289), reflecting 'the language as it was spoken in Constantinople by illiterate people' (Belléli 1890: 290). His approach was embraced by Hesseling, whose original conclusions about the linguistic background of the translation sound meandering and uncertain (1897: lix). Hesseling even refrained from positioning CP on either side of the major isogloss between Modern Greek dialects with southern and northern vocalism. He located this all-permissive language variety in Constantinople, the capital of the empire, to which Greek-speakers from various regions would have flocked.

A discussion of the similarities between the Septuagint and CP was offered by Aslanov (1999a), who compared the Greek and Ladino versions of the first five verses of Genesis. According to him, both LXX and Vulgate 'functioned as counter-models, against which the Jewish translators tried to react' (1999a: 396). The proof for this thesis was sought mainly in the linguistic features of the Greek translation. In particular, the closure of final syllables with [-n] was viewed as a 'pressure exerted by the written patterns of the Septuagint' (1999a: 390). However, it seems unlikely that it can be attributed to the influence of a specific text, as the phenomenon has been widespread in eastern Greek dialects for millennia.

It was suggested that the use of genitive in the phrase *ἐπὶ πρόσωπα τῶν νερῶν* is a remnant of the Septuagintal *ἐπάνω τῶν ὑδάτων* (Aslanov 1999a). This observation presumes that the expected rendering of 'water' should have been in the accusative. Indeed, the second part of the construct state in CP occasionally may be translated by the accusative

(Hesseling 1897: xlv), but this is by no means a universal rule. In any case, the explanation does not clarify why the LXX's genitive ἐπάνω τῆς ἀβύσσου did not influence the CP translation ἐπὶ πρόσωπα ἄβυσσο.

According to Aslanov (1999a: 390), LXX 'permeates and often shapes the formulation of entire verses', since the word order of CP and LXX in Gen. 1:4 is identical, and untypical for the non-translational varieties of Greek. However, the word order in question is a precise calque of the Hebrew original. In general, CP implements the principle of morpheme-to-morpheme equivalency with great consistency, while LXX follows Hebrew word order less systematically. Thus, the similarity of word order in the particular verse is of little value for establishing CP's reliance on LXX—it only means that in the given verse the LXX happens to follow the original Hebrew.

Some researchers were impressed by the lexical coincidences between CP and LXX, such as the use of ἀρχή for *rešit* in Gen. 1:1, and the translation of the theonyms (Aslanov 1999a; de Lange 2015; Fernández Marcos 1988). Yet in order to prove convincingly that a particular word usage reflects the impact of LXX, one has to be sure that it could not be generated otherwise. If a word survived from Koine until the CP period without significant semantic changes, its use in the translation of specific Hebrew lemmata only proves that the understanding of the Hebrew words by both translators happens to be identical. Take for example the coincidences in Gen. 1:1:

CP: *Εἰς ἀρχὴν ἔπλασεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν*

LXX: *Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν*

Aquila: *Ἐν κεφαλαίῳ ἔκτισεν θεὸς σὺν τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ σὺν τὴν γῆν*

This cannot prove that the translator of CP used LXX or was even familiar with it, since the words *θεός*, *οὐρανός*, *γῆ* continued to be used without semantic changes, and *ἀρχή* preserved its meaning 'beginning', so—provided the understanding was identical—these words were bound to reappear. The CP translator would have had to use *ποιέω* to demonstrate influence from LXX, a marked usage as opposed to the common *πλάσσω*. To prove unambiguously that a re-emergence of a LXX word is a Septuagintalism, one has to show that it could not be used in the translator's environment as a natural translational equivalent for the Hebrew meaning.

On the other hand, the passage cannot be used to prove independence from or unfamiliarity with Aquila either. *Κεφάλαιον* and *κτίζω* could be understood by a contemporary as 'main part', 'capital', 'part of the document', and 'to build' respectively (Kriaras 1968 ad loc.), so even if the author was familiar with Aquila, he would better avoid these words in a translation aimed for complete beginners or children. Adding an extra commentary for the translation on an already overcrowded page was not an option, neither was deterring a student by a non-standard wording and unusual grammatical conventions already from the first sentence.

Innovations in the translation of theonyms in a work aimed for public usage were equally unlikely. Once translated, the theonyms were commonly rendered through the same strictly traditional equivalents, with non-standard appellations limited to individual

phraseology. The Genizah materials show the usage of the old time-approved Hellenistic equivalents, namely YHWH = κύριος, *ʾēlōhîm* = θεός. Therefore, the continuation of this tradition by the CP is not an evidence of familiarity with the text of Septuagint *qua* text, but a mark of allegiance to the Judeo-Greek biblical tradition, of which the LXX was the foundational stone.

The phenomena that do not coincide with the LXX, e.g. *rûah* (*ʾēlōhîm*) rendered as *ἄνεμος* instead of *πνεῦμα*, are explained by Aslanov (1999a: 390) as evidence for conscious avoidance of Christian associations on behalf of the translator. However, attributing every coincidence to imitation and every divergence to ideological dissent is a form of circular reasoning, since no external data about the theology of the CP's author is available. In general, the analysis of the beginning of Genesis fails to persuade that '[t]he Judeo-Greek column gives the impression of being a revision of the Septuaginta text in a more vernacular and literal way' (1999a: 391). No cases where the exegesis of CP would coincide with LXX as against a traditional Jewish understanding of MT have been identified. Since neither independent textual nor exegetical impact could be found, there is no proof of familiarity of the author of CP with LXX as of now.

The coincidences between the glossaries, F^b, and CP point to a traditional basis of CP, but are insufficient to postulate a single unique consecutive prototypical text behind these sources. The CP could have been produced ad hoc in the Constantinopolitan milieu, using translation aids of local and/or imported provenance. These sources needed not be homogeneous, co-territorial, or contemporaneous. The linguistic features of the text do not preclude its being created in Thrace, Pontus, Asia Minor, or even the islands of the Aegean.

Specialists in Judeo-Spanish language varieties believe that the Ladino version, printed in parallel to the Greek one, is a product of oral translation, one of many similar texts, and not a unique authoritative version of any kind. In all probability, the same holds true for the Greek.

CONCLUSION

It is currently impossible to prove that between the period of the Hexapla and the CP any complete new written translations of Hebrew Bible were created. The consecutive translation of the Torah into Greek during the synagogue liturgy was halachically permitted (see Mishnah *Meg.* 1.8), but no such practice is evidenced for the nineteenth- or twentieth-century Romaniote communities. Were such translations used, they could have provoked the interest of medieval travellers and/or rabbinic discussions, but such are unknown. In all probability, the practice was marginalized and/or abandoned. The reading of the translated haftaroth on major holidays, on the other side, is confirmed by modern scholars (Matsas 1953), as well as by a modern manuscript with consecutive translations of the Prophets (Sznol 2000; Krivoruchko 1999). Most medieval glosses also explain the prophetic parts of the Bible, which may point to different approach to

these parts of Scripture. The basic Torah instruction could have been covered by ad hoc partial translations.

Greek-speaking Jews would not be the only Jewish group without consecutive translations of the biblical corpus, but with significant manuscript glossaries, cf. the French tradition described in Banitt (1972; 1995–2005). Moreover, the existence of old authoritative biblical translations could in fact hinder the emergence of new ones, cf. the relatively late emergence of *sharḥ* due to Tafsir, and the persistence of Targum in Yemen.

Several considerations favour the existence of a Greek oral translational tradition analogous to that of other Jewish communities (Krivoruchko 2012). First, medieval Jewish glossaries in contradistinction to Christian manuscripts lack interest in the provenance of individual glosses. Early Genizah glossaries mention no sources at all, and the later glossary to the Prophets limits itself to generalities like ‘others say’, ‘another opinion [is]’. Such attitude on behalf of the glossaries’ compilers is characteristic to oral traditions that concentrate on the message rather than its source. Second, both the glossaries and CP do not contain examples of morphology or vocabulary that can confidently be characterized as archaistic and outdated for the time they were produced. The grammar and the realia were constantly modernized. Similar translations from the modern period, whose linguistic background is better known, are fine tuned for the speakers of specific dialects.

The predominantly oral *modus vivendi* of the translation does not mean it was never recorded: many products of medieval oral culture found their way to writing, and repeatedly so. It is possible that an updated version of Aquila generated by adaptation to the new linguistic and liturgical settings was written down as well. This (type of) translation(s) could have become known to Christian scholars as ‘τὸ ἰουδαϊκόν’ or ‘τὸ ἐβραϊκόν’—an anonymous product of the Jewish environment. F^b and CP would have been other examples of such products.

SUGGESTED READING

De Lange (2015) provides a comprehensive and detailed account of the debates surrounding the medieval Jewish use of Greek Bible and the manuscript evidence. The full text and translation of most Genizah fragments can be found in de Lange (1996) and Tchernetska et al. (2007). Basic linguistic information for dealing with later materials is concentrated in Holton et al. (2019), while the sociolinguistic aspects of Jewish biblical translations are addressed in Krivoruchko (2014a).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alexander, Elizabeth (2007). ‘The Orality of Rabbinic Writing’, in C. E. Fonrobert and M. S. Jaffee, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to the Talmud and Rabbinic Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 38–57.

- Aslanov, Cyril (1999a). 'The Judeo-Greek and Ladino Columns in the Constantinople Edition of the Pentateuch (1547): A Linguistic Commentary on Gn 1:1–5.' *REJ* 158: 385–97.
- Aslanov, Cyril (1999b). 'La Place du Venetus Graecus dans l'histoire des traductions grecques de la Bible.' *Revue de philologie* 123.2: 155–74.
- Aslanov, Cyril (2012). 'Homer within the Bible: Homerisms in the Graecus Venetus,' in *Homer and the Bible in the Eyes of Ancient Interpreters*. Jerusalem Studies in Religion and Culture 16. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, pp. 199–218.
- Banitt, Menahem (1972). *Le Glossaire de Bâle*. 2 vols. Corpus glossariorum Biblicorum Hebraico-Gallicorum Medii Aevi. Jérusalem: Académie nationale des sciences et des lettres d'Israël.
- Banitt, Menahem (1995–2005). *Le Glossaire de Leipzig*. 4 vols. Corpus glossariorum Biblicorum Hebraico-Gallicorum Medii Aevi, II. Jerusalem: Académie nationale des sciences et des lettres d'Israël.
- Becker, Adam H., and Annette Yoshiko Reed (2003). *The Ways That Never Parted: Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*. TSAJ 95. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Belléli, Lazare (1890). 'Une Version grecque du Pentateuque du seizième siècle.' *Revue des Études Grecques* 3: 289–308.
- Belléli, Lazare (1891). 'Deux Versions peu connues du Pentateuque faites à Constantinople au seizième siècle.' *REJ* 22: 250–63.
- Belléli, Lazare (1897). Review of D. C. Hesseling, *Les Cinq Livres de la loi (le Pentateuque)*. *REJ* 35: 132–56.
- Blondheim, D. S. (1924). 'Échos du Judéo-Hellénisme: Étude sur l'influence de la Septante et d'Aquila sur les versions néo-grecques des Juifs.' *REJ* 78: 1–14.
- Bohak, Gideon (2008). *Ancient Jewish Magic: A History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Boyd-Taylor, Cameron (2008). 'The Greek Bible among Jews and Christians in the Middle Ages: The Evidence of Codex Ambrosianus,' in M. K. H. Peters, ed., *XIII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies*. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, pp. 29–39.
- Boyd-Taylor, Cameron (2010). 'Echoes of the Septuagint in Byzantine Judaism,' in W. Kraus, M. Karrer, and M. Meiser, eds., *Die Septuaginta: Texte, Theologien, Einflüsse. 2. Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D), Wuppertal 23.–27.7.2008*. WUNT 252. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 272–88.
- Burkitt, Francis C. (1897). *Fragments of the Book of Kings According to the Translation of Aquila*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Colorni, Vittore (1964). 'L'uso del greco nella liturgia del giudaismo ellenistico e la novella 146 di Giustiniano.' *Annali del storia del diritto* 8: 19–80.
- Danon, Abraham (1914). 'Meïrath 'Enaïm, version en néo-grec et en caractères hébraïques de Jérémie x,11; de Daniel II, 5–vii 28; et d'Esdras iv, 7–vi, 26, du caraïte Élie Aféda Béghi (1627).' *Journal Asiatique, 11 e serie* 4: 5–65.
- de Lange, N. R. M. (1980). 'Some New Fragments of Aquila on Malachi and Job.' *VT* 30.3: 291–4.
- de Lange, N. R. M. (1982). 'Two Genizah Fragments in Hebrew and Greek,' in J. A. Emerton and Stefan C. Reif, eds., *Interpreting the Hebrew Bible: Essays in Honour of Erwin I. J. Rosenthal*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 61–83.

- de Lange, N. R. M. (1996). *Greek Jewish Texts from the Cairo Genizah*. TSAJ 51. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck).
- de Lange, N. R. M. (2002). 'The Greek Glosses of the Fitzwilliam Museum Bible.' *Zutot* Vol. 2, issue 1: 138–47.
- de Lange, N. R. M. (2013). 'The Septuagint as a Jewish Classic', in S. C. Humphreys and R. G. Wagner, eds., *Modernity's Classics*. Heidelberg: Springer, pp. 143–63.
- de Lange, N. R. M. (2015). *Japheth in the Tents of Shem: Greek Bible Translations in Byzantine Judaism*. TSMEMJ 30. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- de Lange, N. R. M., and Natalie Tchernetska (2014). 'Glosses in Greek Script and Language in Medieval Hebrew Manuscripts.' *Scriptorium* 68: 253–64.
- Dönitz, Saskia (2013). *Überlieferung und Rezeption des Sefer Yosippon*. TSMEMJ 29. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Fernández Marcos, Natalio (1979). *Introducción a las versiones griegas de la Biblia*, ed. F. Pérez Castro. Textos y Estudios 'Cardenal Cisneros'. Madrid: CSIC.
- Fernández Marcos, Natalio (1988). 'Some Thoughts on the Later Judaeo-Greek Biblical Tradition.' *Bulletin of Judaeo-Greek Studies* 2: 14–15.
- Fernández Marcos, Natalio (2000). *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Version of the Bible*. Trans. W. G. E. Watson. Leiden: Brill.
- Field, Frederick (1867–75). *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt sive veterum interpretum Graecorum in totum Vetus Testamentum fragmenta*. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Fincati, Mariachiara (2016). *The Medieval Revision of the Ambrosian Hexateuch: Critical Editing between Septuaginta and Hebraica Veritas in Ms. Ambrosianus A 147 inf. De Septuaginta Investigationes* 5. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Frankl, P. F. (1875). Review of *Graecus Venetus*, ed. O. Gebhardt. *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 24: 372–6, 419–27, 513–16.
- Gallagher, Edmon (2013). 'The Religious Provenance of the Aquila Manuscripts from the Cairo Genizah.' *JJS* 64.2: 283–305.
- Gebhardt, Oscar, ed. (1875). *Graecus Venetus: Pentateuchi, Proverbiorum, Ruth, Cantici, Ecclesiastae, Threnorum, Danielis versio Graeca: ex unico Bibliothecae S. Marci Venetae codice*. Leipzig: Brockhaus.
- Gil, Louis (1999). 'Sobre un curioso pastiche medieval: "el dórico" del Graecus Venetus.' *Erytheia* 20: 113–52.
- Greenspoon, Leonard J. (2008). "'Reclaiming" the Septuagint for Jews and Judaism', in A. Voitila and J. Jokiranta, eds., *Scripture in Transition: Essays on Septuagint, Hebrew Bible, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of Raija Sollamo*. SupJSJ 126. Leiden: Brill, pp. 661–70.
- Hesseling, Dirk Chr. (1897). *Les Cinq Livres de la loi (le Pentateuque): Traduction en néo-grec publiée en caractères hébraïques à Constantinople en 1547, transcrite et accompagnée d'une introduction d'un glossaire et d'un fac-simile*. Leiden and Leipzig: van Doesburgh & Harrasowitz.
- Hesseling, Dirk Chr. (1901). 'Le Livre de Jonas.' *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 10: 208–17.
- Holton, David, et al. (2019). *The Cambridge Grammar of Medieval and Early Modern Greek*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Irshai, Oded (2012). 'Confronting a Christian Empire: Jewish Life and Culture in the World of Early Byzantium', in Robert Bonfil et al., eds., *Jews in Byzantium: Dialectics of Minority and Majority Cultures*. Jerusalem Studies in Religion and Culture 14. Leiden: Brill, pp. 17–64.
- Jellicoe, Sidney (1968). *The Septuagint and Modern Study*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Kahle, Paul E. (1959). *The Cairo Geniza*. 2nd edn. Oxford: Blackwell.

- Klingenberg, E. (1996). 'Justinian's Novella Concerning the Jews.' *Jewish Law Association Studies* 8: 79–99.
- Kraft, Robert A. (2009). *Exploring the Scripturesque: Jewish Texts and Their Christian Contexts*. SupJSJ 137. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill.
- Kriaras, E. (1968–). *Lexiko tēs mesaionikēs Hellēnikēs dēmōdous grammateias, 1100–1669*. 19 vols. Thessalonike: Hypourgeio Ethnikēs Paideias kai Thrēskeumatōn, Kentro Hellēnikēs Glōssas.
- Krivoruchko, Julia G. (1999). 'Τα ελληνικά χειρόγραφα σε Εβραϊκή γραφή, η προέλευση και τα κύρια χαρακτηριστικά της γλώσσας τους [The Greek manuscripts in Hebrew script: principal linguistic features and provenance]; in A. Argyriou, K. Dimadis, and A. D. Lazaridou, eds., *The Greek World between East and West: Proceedings of the First European Congress of Modern Greek Studies, Berlin, 2.–4.10.1998*, Vol. 1. Athens: Ellinika Grammata, pp. 647–60.
- Krivoruchko, Julia G. (2008). 'The Constantinople Pentateuch within the Context of Septuagint Studies', in Melvin K. H. Peters, ed., *XIII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Ljubljana, 2007*. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, pp. 255–76.
- Krivoruchko, Julia G. (2012). 'Η ποιητική των Ρωμανιώτικων βιβλικών μεταφράσεων: Μεταξύ προφορικότητας και εγγραμματοσύνης', in Giannis K. Mavromatis and Nikos Agiotis, eds., *Πρώμη νεοελληνική δημόδης γραμματεία. Πρακτικά του 6ου Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Neograeca Medii Aevi. Ηράκλειο: Βικελαία Δημοτική Βιβλιοθήκη*, pp. 71–86.
- Krivoruchko, Julia G. (2014a). 'Medieval and Early Modern Judaeo-Greek Biblical Translations: A Linguistic Perspective', in James K. Aitken and James Carleton Paget, eds., *The Jewish-Greek Tradition in Antiquity and the Byzantine Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 152–70.
- Krivoruchko, Julia G. (2014b). 'גלוסר יהודי-יווני לנביאים מן המאה ה־14: שבעים פנים לתורה', in Y. Henshke, A. Maman, and T. Zewi, eds., *Karmilim* 10: 79–90.
- Krivoruchko, Julia G. (forthcoming). *The Late Byzantine Hebrew-Greek Glossary to the Prophets*. Leiden: Brill.
- Labendz, Jenny R. (2009). 'Aquila's Bible Translation in Late Antiquity: Jewish and Christian Perspectives.' *Harvard Theological Review* 102.3: 353–88.
- Linder, Amnon (1987). *The Jews in Roman Imperial Legislation*. Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press.
- Matsas, Joseph [Μάτσας, Ιωσήφ] (1953). *Γιαννιώτικα εβραϊκά τραγούδια [Ianniote Jewish Songs]*. Ioannina: Epeiroitiki Estia.
- Neubauer, Adolf, Malachi Beit-Arié, and R. A. May (1994). *Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Olszowy-Schlanger, Judith (2003). 'An Early Hebrew Manuscript from Byzantium', in S. Berger, M. Brocke, and I. Zwiép, eds., *Zutot 2002*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, pp. 148–55.
- Rajak, Tessa (2009). *Translation and Survival: The Greek Bible and the Jewish Diaspora*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rüger, Hans-Peter (1959). 'Vier Aquila-Glossen in einem hebraischen Proverben-Fragment aus der Kairo-Geniza.' *ZNW* 50: 275–7.
- Rutgers, Leonard V. (2003). 'Justinian's Novella 146 between Jews and Christians', in R. Kalmin and S. Schwartz, eds., *Jewish Culture and Society under the Christian Roman Empire*. ISACR 3. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 385–407.

- Salvesen, Alison G. (2005). 'Psalm 135 (136): 25 in a Jewish Greek Inscription from Nicaea', in E. Ullendorff and G. Khan, eds., *Semitic Studies in Honour of Edward Ullendorff*. Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics 47. Leiden: Brill, pp. 212–21.
- Schürer, E. (1886). *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.
- Schürer, E. (1979). *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*. 4 vols. Edinburgh: T&T Clark.
- Schürer, E. (1986). *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.–A.D. 135)*. Volume III, Part I. A new English version revised and edited by Geza Vermes, Fergus Millar, and Martin Goodman. Edinburgh: T&T Clark.
- Smelik, Willem (2003). 'Orality, Manuscript Reproduction and the Targums', in A. den Hollander, U. Schmid, and W. Smelik, eds., *Paratext and Megatext as Channels of Jewish and Christian Traditions: The Textual Markers of Contextualization*. Jewish and Christian Perspectives 6. Leiden: Brill, pp. 49–81.
- Smelik, Willem (2012). 'Justinian's Novella 146 and Contemporary Judaism', in T. M. Law and A. Salvesen, eds., *Greek Scripture and the Rabbis*. CBET 66. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 141–63.
- Steiner, Richard C. (2007). 'The Byzantine Biblical Commentaries from the Genizah: Rabbanite vs. Karaitic', in M. Bar-Asher and R. Clements, eds., *Shai le-Sara Japhet: Studies in the Bible, Its Exegesis and Its Language*. Jerusalem: Mosad Byalik, pp. 243–62.
- Swete, H. B. (1900). *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek. With an Appendix Containing the Letter of Aristeas edited by H. St. J. Thackeray*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sznol, Shifra (2000). 'Tirgum be-yavanit-yehudit le-haftara "Ve-ethanen" le-shabat Nahamu (Is. 50, 1–26)'. *Textus* 20: 9–32.
- Taylor, C. (1900). *Hebrew-Greek Cairo Genizah Palimpsests from the Taylor-Schlechter Collection Including a Fragment of the Twenty-Second Psalm According to Origen's Hexapla*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tchernetska, Natalie, Judith Olszowy-Schlanger, and Nicholas de Lange (2007). 'An Early Hebrew-Greek Biblical Glossary from the Cairo Genizah'. *REJ* 166: 91–128.
- van der Horst, Pieter Willem (2014). 'Biblical Quotations in Judaeo-Greek Inscriptions', in P. W. van der Horst, ed., *Studies in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*. Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity 87. Leiden: Brill, pp. 66–79.
- van Gemert, A. F. (2005). '*Η παράδοση και η έκδοση έργων του Στέφανου Σαχλίκη*', in E. Jeffreys and M. Jeffreys, eds., *Anadromika kai Prodromika: Neograeca Medii Aevi 5. Oxford, September 2000*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 411–26.
- Veltri, Giuseppe (1994). *Eine Tora für den König Talmai: Untersuchungen zum Übersetzungsverständnis in der jüdisch-hellenistischen und rabbinischen Literatur*. TSAJ 41. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Veltri, Giuseppe (2006). *Libraries, Translations, and 'Canonic' Texts: The Septuagint, Aquila, and Ben Sira in Jewish and Christian Tradition*. SupJSJ 109. Leiden: Brill.
- Wolf, Johann Christoph ([1727] 1967). *Bibliotheca Hebraea*, Vol. 3. Bologna: Forni.

PART V

THE
SEPTUAGINT AS
CHRISTIAN
SCRIPTURE

CHAPTER 36

CITATIONS IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

DAVID LINCICUM

INTRODUCTION

THE evaluation of the Septuagint has, since at least the second century, been bound up with the ways in which it was received in the New Testament (see for instance Justin Martyr, *Dial.* 71–2; Irenaeus, *Haer.* 3.21.1–10; and later, Ps.-Justin [Marcellus of Ancyra?], *Cohortatio ad Graecos* 13). That the authors of the documents that became the New Testament had frequent recourse to the Greek Bible played a significant role in subsequent Christian reception of the Septuagint (Müller 1996: 68–97; Hengel 2002; Wasserstein and Wasserstein 2006: 95–131). Jerome found it necessary to deny the use of the Septuagint by the New Testament authors to accomplish his reprimand of the Hebrew, in contrast to Augustine’s preference for the ‘church’s Bible’ (*Civ. Dei* 18.42–4; for a useful overview, see Law 2013).

This dual fate of the Septuagint and the New Testament continued in the early modern period. In the sixteenth century, John Fisher defended the inspiration of the Septuagint in part by its use in the New Testament (see his ‘axiom 21’ in Rex 1992). The differences between the Hebrew text and the Greek text that the New Testament authors seemed to be using had already been recognized and systematically investigated in the mid-seventeenth century (Capellus 1650: 53–67, 443–557). Some seventy-five years later, the Cambridge Newtonian William Whiston accidentally anticipated some later developments concerning the textual plurality of the Hebrew by arguing—on theological and apologetic rather than on strictly textual grounds—that the Septuagint (along with the Samaritan Pentateuch) represented the most original Old Testament text, and that the Hebrew underlying the present MT was polemically altered at the beginning of the second century by Jewish opposition to the new Christian movement. In this way, he hoped

to show that the New Testament citations that agree with the Septuagint against the Masoretic Text preserve the original, uncorrupted text (Whiston 1722). These ideas were successfully and swiftly opposed by Anthony Collins (1724) and J. G. Carpzov (1729), but nevertheless shed light on the doctrinal pressure that was felt at the dawning, though by no means universal, consensus that the Septuagint was the favoured *Vorlage* of the New Testament. Similarly, Edward Grinfield pleaded in the nineteenth century for the inspiration of the Septuagint, largely by arguing from its reception in the New Testament (1850).

Yet already in the nineteenth century, it was clear that the textual evidence could not be neatly bifurcated into the Masoretic Text on the one hand and the Greek Septuagint on the other. Rather, scholars such as E. Böhl (1873; 1878) sought to grapple with the textual complexity of the New Testament evidence by proposing novel theories about the state of the biblical text in the first century. Böhl's own contention that there was a Targum-like Greek *Volksbibel* from which the New Testament authors drew their citations outran the evidence, but had the merit of pointing to some irreducible textual plurality reflected in the New Testament citations. More mainstream investigations often weighed the differing proximity of New Testament citations to the Hebrew or the Greek text, usually taking into consideration variations among the major uncial manuscripts of the Septuagint, but it was not until after the manuscripts discovered near the Dead Sea were published that the true extent of textual plurality in the first century began to be grasped.

In current scholarship, of course, the Septuagint does not need to be 'validated' by the New Testament, nor is discussion freighted with the same theological and apologetic tensions that once prevailed. But neither have the twinned fates of the Septuagint and the New Testament separated entirely, and critical investigation into one often sheds light on the other. In this chapter, particular attention will be paid to some of the ways in which that interrelationship manifests itself by examining the shape of the indebtedness of the New Testament authors to the Jewish Greek scriptures, and conversely by asking what light consideration of this indebtedness sheds on the *Nachleben* of the Septuagint in the first century.

THE LXX AS THE 'ENCYCLOPAEDIA' OF EARLY CHRISTIAN LITERATURE AND THEOLOGY

We will shortly turn our attention to discrete citations of the Septuagint, but it would be a mistake to limit the influence of the Greek Bible to those places where specific textual engagements are found. The Septuagint was the great mediator of the Jewish Scriptures to the early Christians, and in this sense stands behind the New Testament as the 'encyclopaedia' which informs the beliefs and practices we see reflected in the New Testament writings. In the early twentieth century, Henry Barclay Swete pronounced a judgement

that is still valid today: ‘It is not too much to say that in its literary form and expression the New Testament would have been a widely different book had it been written by authors who knew the Old Testament only in the original, or who knew it in a Greek version other than that of the LXX’ (1914: 404).

The historical Jesus probably spoke mainly Aramaic (though a few scholars have argued for some basic knowledge of Greek), and the earliest Palestinian communities continued in this Aramaic tradition. But very early on the Jesus tradition was translated into Greek, and many of the movement’s earliest adherents probably came from Greek-speaking Jewish and god-fearing Gentile circles. The book of Acts plausibly envisages these ‘Hellenists,’ that is, Greek-speaking Jews, among the Jerusalem followers of the Jesus movement, and these Jewish believers would have been thoroughly exposed to the Greek Bible in liturgical contexts from an early age. This appropriation of the Jewish Greek scriptures soon passed into the lifeblood of the early Christian movement, and the Septuagint, in its various forms in the first century, provided a rich source of reflection for the early interpretation and propagation of belief in Jesus as the messiah.

The Septuagint does not exhaust the stream that watered the New Testament imagination, and one can point to a number of other significant sources—dominical traditions, Hellenistic popular morality, everyday life in the Greco-Roman world—on which the authors who penned the New Testament texts drew. Riddle (1928), for example, demonstrated that a notable portion of Paul’s vocabulary is non-Septuagintal in origin. But even where the Septuagint is not formally cited, its language often permeates the New Testament, whether in retellings of the history of Israel (as in Acts 7:2–53 and 13:16–41; for the latter, note Sterling 2009: 115–18), or in the myriad of ritual, theological, ethical, geographical, and prosopographical terms with which it resources the New Testament authors. This linguistic debt has been explored since the nineteenth century (e.g. Hatch 1889; Kennedy 1895), and there is a broad consensus that the Septuagint has mediated to the New Testament authors a vocabulary that has been marked, in part, by semantic shifts through its translation character (e.g. Harl 1994: 280–2; Fernández Marcos 2000: 332–5; Joosten and Tomson 2007; Nicklas 2011). Quantifying the extent of this debt is more difficult, particularly since the extant evidence is insufficient to support claims that the Septuagint is the *exclusive* source from which a word or concept was drawn. But on the whole the language of the New Testament is often drawn from the rich stock of theological terms that the Septuagint bequeathed to Hellenistic Jewish circles (though for cautions about overstating the nature of this influence, see Silva 1994: 53–74).

To demonstrate this point exhaustively would be tedious and unnecessary, but some examples may be briefly noted. The widespread designation of the Christian assembly as the ἐκκλησία seems to harken back to the Septuagintal term to designate the assembly of Israel (e.g. Deut. 31:30; Horbury 1997). Or again, the Levitical designation of sacrifices ‘for sin’ recurs in Paul’s description of God’s purposes in sending Christ *περὶ ἁμαρτίας* (Rom. 8:3). Similarly, the Greek Psalms and the prophets furnish Paul and others with a rich conceptual vocabulary to describe the righteousness of God, redemption, sin, and wrath (Turner 2010). At times the semantic shifts involved are pronounced, especially as

the base language (Hebrew) exercises a semantic imprint on the target language (Greek). It does so famously in the language of ‘covenant’, in which the Hebrew *bērit* is rendered in Greek as *διαθήκη*, which bears connotations of ‘will, testament’ (the various shades of meaning are exploited in Hebrews ch. 9). The Septuagint’s translation of *‘almâ* as *παρθένος* in Isa. 7:14 similarly resourced Matthew’s presentation of the birth of Jesus (Matt. 1:23). And the widespread rendering of the Tetragrammaton by the Greek *κύριος*—whether or not this was the earliest translation—provided an important and subtle means for a variety of New Testament authors to suggest that the God of Israel was acting uniquely in Jesus, without crassly identifying the two.

The influence of the Septuagint goes beyond individual lexical equivalences, however, and extends to stylistic influence. Many of the so-called ‘Semitisms’ in the Gospels are better explained as ‘Septuagintalisms’ or biblicalizing prose that, whether by intention or accident, mimics scriptural cadences and turns of phrase (e.g. the infancy narrative in Luke chs. 1–2).

In all this, the Septuagint is the great predecessor text whose influence suffuses the New Testament in every corner. In this sense, the Greek Scriptures occupy a privileged relation to the New Testament, in that no other body of external texts provides this sort of normative grounding and orientating function. One can, therefore, speak without exaggeration of the Septuagint as the ‘encyclopaedia’ of early Christian literature and theology, the knowledge of which is often presupposed and exploited by early Christian authors (Nicklas 2011: 204–6 has also suggested the metaphor of the encyclopaedia).

DID THE NEW TESTAMENT AUTHORS KNOW AN ‘ALEXANDRIAN’ CANON?

But what counts as ‘the Septuagint’ for the New Testament? Can we say much with confidence about the canon presupposed by the New Testament authors? It has become increasingly clear in recent decades that the canon of Jewish Scripture was not fixed in the first century CE, and much energy has been devoted to the controverted questions concerning canon formation more broadly (for an introduction to these discussions, see Barton 2013). Scholars sometimes suggest that because the New Testament does not cite as authoritative Scripture writings from beyond the Hebrew Bible, their functional canon was co-extensive with that later adopted by rabbinic Judaism (and eventually, Protestantism). But attempts to see the Lukan reference to ‘the law of Moses, the prophets, and the Psalms’ (Luke 24:44) as indicating a tripartite ‘canon’ outrun the evidence, particularly when the simple phrase ‘the law and the prophets’ is more widespread (Matt. 5:17; 7:12; Luke 6:16). While it is strictly true that other texts are not cited with introductory formulae such as ‘it is written’ or ‘for Scripture says’, we do see a clear reference to 1 Enoch 1:9 in Jude vv. 14–15, extra-canonical traditions in Hebrews ch. 11 (e.g. Heb. 11:37), and mention of Jannes and Jambres in 2 Tim. 3:8 (McLay 2003: 138).

Conversely, some books from the Hebrew canon are represented much less in the New Testament (e.g. Esther or Song of Songs). Moreover, in its table of ‘loci citati vel allegati’, NA²⁸ lists nearly eighteen columns of possible allusions or verbal parallels to apocryphal and pseudepigraphical books. Even if one should discount many of these, significant relationships exist between the New Testament and certain apocryphal or deuterocanonical books—particularly Sirach, Wisdom of Solomon, and Enochic traditions. The number of these allusions militates against any attempt to limit the influence on the New Testament to only those books that were translated from the Hebrew Bible.

More broadly, it is true that the authors of the New Testament operate with varying functional canons, in which certain books are more important for them than others, judged according to the volume of citations and allusions. Naturally the precise indebtedness differs by author, but on the whole the Pentateuch (especially Genesis and Deuteronomy), the Psalms, and Isaiah are the most frequently cited books, with Daniel and the Minor Prophets also strongly represented. In this, the New Testament bears some similarity to the Dead Sea Scrolls in terms of preference (Brooke 1997).

THE QUEST FOR THE *VORLAGE*, AND TEXTUAL PLURALITY IN THE FIRST CENTURY CE

The attentive reader quickly comes to realize that the textual form of the scriptural citations in the New Testament differs from the Septuagint published by Rahlfs–Hanhart. While the problem has been evident since the early Christian apologists, modern scholarship has increasingly seen two factors at play in these differences: on the one hand, authorial citation techniques that exhibit a degree of freedom, and on the other, a state of textual pluriformity in which Greek texts at various stages of revision towards the Hebrew existed alongside the Septuagint. Deciding where the balance of probability lies in any given instance between authorial discretion and variant *Vorlage* is a difficult task, and has continued to sustain a healthy industry of scholarship on the question.

Alexander Sperber (1940), faced with the incongruity of New Testament citations and the Septuagint as known from Codex Vaticanus, suggested that there was a single, targum-like Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible which competed with the Septuagint, and in many cases had been favoured by the New Testament authors (in fact, Sperber labels this ‘the Bible of the Apostles’). Sperber, however, rejected Lagarde’s theory of an archetypal translation of the LXX, and instead followed Kahle’s hypothesis of multiple, competing translations of the Hebrew into Greek, made independently and circulating freely. But particularly after the publication of the Greek Minor Prophets scroll from Naḥal Ḥever by Barthélemy in 1963, it became evident that the process of revising the Old Greek towards the Hebrew must have begun long before the historical existence of ‘the Three’, i.e. Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion (see Kraft 2004). The Hebrew biblical manuscripts from Qumran, moreover, demonstrated the fluidity, within bounds, of

the textual tradition, and so also raised the question of alternative Hebrew *Vorlagen* for non-standard Greek citations (Tov 2011: 155–90). In the light of this textual uncertainty, the New Testament has become, together with Philo and Josephus, one of the most important witnesses for the state of the Greek Bible in the first century (Wilk 2006; Karrer, Schmid, and Sigismund 2008).

Recent textual work has also called into question the assumption, long-entrenched, that the New Testament textual tradition must have exercised a homogenizing influence on the Septuagint textual tradition. Robert Kraft (1978) and Robert Hanhart (1984) argued that there are, in fact, quite separate textual traditions and that intentional changes to the Septuagint on the basis of the New Testament are difficult to demonstrate. The research of the Wuppertal Institut für Septuaginta und biblische Textforschung has so far confirmed that ‘direct relationships between the transmission of the New Testament and the Septuagint are rarer than is often assumed’ (Karrer and Schmid 2010: 164; contrast Dines 2007). So it has become more precarious to assume that apparent agreements between New Testament citations and distinct Septuagintal textual traditions should be ascribed to harmonizations, though such judgements must be made on an individual basis.

There is virtually no citation in the New Testament that *requires* that an author has made an independent translation from the Hebrew for its explanation, though it is not unlikely that, in the complex imperial world of the first-century Mediterranean, polyglot authors will have sometimes mediated mnemonically a knowledge of the Hebrew tradition and so altered their citations occasionally. But the nature of the Hebraizing revisional process we observe in the first century CE makes definitive judgements difficult: if a citation clearly seems to agree with the Hebrew more than the Old Greek, should we ascribe this to independent rendering by the author, knowledge of a text that has been revised closer to the Hebrew, or perhaps simply an accident due to the citation style and rhetorical purposes of the author?

A BRIEF SURVEY OF NEW TESTAMENT CITATIONS

As much as the situation of textual pluriformity has become increasingly clear in recent decades, it is equally true that, especially since Richard Hays’s groundbreaking work, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (1989), hermeneutical questions about the ways in which the New Testament authors have appropriated Jewish Scripture have come to the fore. The significance of allusions and echoes has been stressed with increasing regularity, particularly as models of intertextuality have been applied to the way in which the New Testament appropriates the Jewish Scriptures. In some ways, allusions may tell us more than quotations about the significance of a given text for an author, since they provide a glimpse into the intellectual architecture of a writer’s perspective, in ways that do

not always rise to the level of communicative intention or rhetorical strategy. Allusions do, naturally, have a rhetorical function, and distinguishing between intentional allusions and unintentional echoes, or weighing the relative assertorial weight of non-explicit textual engagements, is necessarily a tricky, subjective process (as is the language used to describe these phenomena: see Porter 1997; 2006). In this context, however, it will suffice to indicate in broad strokes the general approach of the major New Testament authors to their predecessor texts, without dwelling on hermeneutical matters that are highly significant in themselves (for a recent overview, see Allison 2013b). But one must keep in mind that the quest for the *Vorlage* employed by New Testament authors has sometimes been characterized by an overly textual perspective, as though every variation between quotation and source should be ascribed to a pre-existing textual variant. As we have just discussed, such textual pluriformity is well established for the first century CE, but account must also be taken of the citation techniques of individual authors, including particularly the pressure exercised by the rhetorical context of the letter or gospel in which the citation is embedded. It has become increasingly clear that the New Testament authors are, on the whole, Jewish readers of Scripture who perform the same sort of hermeneutical transformations evident elsewhere in Second Temple Judaism. We should also expect some variations in text form due to the nature of working with texts in antiquity. Scrolls were often prohibitively expensive, and scriptural texts would have been mostly encountered in the habituating rhythms of liturgical reading and so recalled by memory (Lincicum 2010: 21–58). While it is certainly clear that the authors of the New Testament favoured certain ‘text plots’ of the Jewish Scripture in their selection process (so famously Dodd 1952), the evidence is not sufficient to support at so early a date so-called *testimonia* theories that envisage the major mode of engagement with the Scriptures to have occurred through traditional collections of excerpted texts (classically Harris 1916–20; more defensibly, if not persuasively, Albl 1999).

Among the synoptic Gospels, the scriptural citations in Mark’s Gospel are for the most part Septuagintal, though Mark at times abbreviates, transposes words, conflates multiple texts (especially 1:2–3), or relies on alternative Greek *Vorlagen* (see O’Brien 2010: 36–41, 203–14). Both Matthew and Luke separate Mark’s composite citation of Isa. 40:3, Mal. 3:1, and Exod. 23:20 in Mark 1:2–3. This suggests the latter two evangelists worked with some level of sophistication in taking over Markan scriptural quotations (Goodacre 2011). In addition to the Septuagintal texture of the Markan texts that Matthew has taken over, Matthew has ten distinctive so-called ‘fulfilment’ or ‘formula citations’, emphasizing the way in which Jesus fulfils both spoken prophecies and scriptural events. These formula citations include Isa. 7:14 in Matt. 1:22–23; Hos. 11:1 in Matt. 2:15; Jer. 31:15 in Matt. 2:17–18; Judg. 13:5, 7 [?] in Matt. 2:23; Isa. 8:23–9:1 in Matt. 4:14–16; Isa. 53:4 in Matt. 8:17; Isa. 42:1–4 in Matt. 12:17–21; Ps. 78:2 in Matt. 13:35; Zech. 9:9 in Matt. 21:4–5; and Zech. 11:13 in Matt. 27:9–10. The variations and oddities in this group of citations have led some to suggest that Matthew was largely reliant on preformulated *testimonia* collections, or that he made an independent translation from the Hebrew. However, Maarten Menken has persuasively argued that their textual form is ‘best described as a revised LXX’ (2004: 280). In double tradition (ascribed by many to Q),

engagement with Scripture is more often allusive than explicit (though see Q 4:4, 8, 10; 7:27), and no clear consensus about the possible Septuagintal colouring of these citations and allusions has emerged. The citations and allusions in Luke and Acts are almost wholly Septuagintal in nature (see Rusam 2003; Sterling 2009; Holladay 2011: 254–95; Müller 2012; though see the reservations in Harl 1994: 277). We also see evidence of revised Greek texts in Luke and Acts as well; for example, the so-called Kaige Revision comes to evidence in the citation of Joel 2:29 LXX in Acts 2:18 (Karrer and Schmid 2010: 180).

The explicit citations in the Fourth Gospel agree almost entirely with the Septuagint, with three verbatim citations (John 10:34; 12:38; 19:24) and others with clear proximity to the Septuagint (John 1:23; 2:17; 6:31, 45; 7:38; 12:15; 15:25; 19:36). The quotations in John 12:40, 13:18, and 19:37 are less aligned with a known Greek text, and may demonstrate some influence of the Hebrew, or the fourth evangelist's independent reworking of the text (note that the last three words of the citation in 12:40 come directly from the LXX). Menken suggests that the proto-Theodotonic quotation in 19:37 derives from an early Christian *testimonium*, since it is cited elsewhere in a similar form. However, it may simply be that Zechariah circulated in a revised form in the first century (see Menken 1996, which remains the most penetrating analysis of John's *Vorlage*). The Johannine epistles (1–3 John) contain no explicit quotations of scriptural texts, though allusions are made to, for example, the figure of Cain (1 John 3:12).

The apostle Paul cites Scripture nearly one hundred times, half of which are in Romans, with half of those concentrated in chapters 9–11. Curiously, his scriptural citations are almost wholly concentrated in the *Hauptbriefe*, with mere allusions in Philippians, 1 and 2 Thessalonians, and Philemon. Paul shows a particular affinity for Isaiah (Wilk 1998; Wagner 2002), the Psalms (Silva 2001), Deuteronomy (Lincicum 2010), and Genesis (Lincicum 2012). His citations seem to depend on a Greek *Vorlage*, even if his citation technique and occasional freedom with the wording of the text complicates our ability to isolate his sources precisely (but see the sophisticated work in Koch 1986; Stanley 1992). At times we see clear evidence of his reliance on a revised Greek text. For example, in 1 Cor. 15:54 his citation of Isa. 25:8 is proto-Theodotonic, and in Rom. 11:4 he seems to cite an Antiochian version of 3 Kgdms 19:18 (Stanley 1993).

Among the deutero-Pauline letters, Colossians is entirely allusive in its appropriation of Scripture, while Ephesians almost reads as, in part, a scripturalization of Colossians. The citations and major allusions in Ephesians are mostly Septuagintal, but curiously the only citation marked by an introductory formula (*διὸ λέγει*) departs significantly from the Old Greek and approximates a text later known from the Targumic tradition (Lincoln 1982; Moritz 1996). The Pastoral Epistles, for all their interest in traditional materials, cite Scripture surprisingly seldom (1 Tim. 5:18–19; 2 Tim. 2:19). 1 Tim. 5:18–19 cites two texts from Deuteronomy (25:4 and 19:15) elsewhere cited by Paul (1 Cor. 9:9 and 2 Cor. 13:1 respectively) in a way that suggests that Scripture has been mediated to the author via the Pauline letters (for full discussion, see Häfner 2000).

The epistle to the Hebrews offers a sustained and involved engagement with the Greek Bible, citing twenty-nine texts of Scripture in thirty-five instances (Karrer 2006: 336). In

addition to significant texts from the Pentateuch and Jeremiah, the Psalms provide a particularly high number of texts for Hebrews, and determining their textual provenance is complicated by the weaknesses of Rahlfs's Göttingen edition of the Psalms. Nevertheless, recent work has indicated that some variations from Rahlfs's text, such as the citations of Pss. 101:27, 103:4, and 94:9, may be attributable to an underlying revised Greek text rather than to authorial freedom in citation (see Docherty 2009: 121–42, and especially Steyn 2011). Hebrews shows no knowledge of the Hebrew text (see especially 11:21), and also shares a striking number of citations with the Pauline letters, including some distinct textual traditions (e.g. Deut. 32:36) that may indicate some reliance of the former on the latter.

The epistle of James includes citations from the Septuagint versions of Gen. 15:6 in 2:23; Exod. 20:13–14 = Deut. 5:17–18 in 2:11; Lev. 19:18 in 2:8; Prov. 3:34 in 4:6; a possible citation of Eldad and Modad (?) in 4:5; and a number of summaries and allusions to other stories and scriptural texts (Allison 2013a: 51–4). The textual tradition in 1 Peter is overwhelmingly Septuagintal (Jobes 2006). Leviticus is cited once (Lev. 19:2 in 1:16), Psalms and Proverbs three times each (Ps. 33:9[34:8] in 2:3; Ps. 33:13–16 [34:14–17] in 3:10–12; Ps. 117:22 [118:22] in 2:7; Prov. 3:34 in 5:5; 10:12 in 4:8; 11:31 in 4:18), and Isaiah seven times (Isa. 8:12, 13 in 3:14, 15; 10:3 in 2:12; 28:16 in 2:6; 40:6–8 in 1:24–5; 53:4, 5, 12b in 2:24; 53:9 in 2:22; cf. Egan 2011). The cluster of citations in 1 Pet. 2:6–8 show a striking textual affinity to Rom. 9:33, and it may be that we see here traces of a *testimonium*, or (more likely, in my view) an indication that Romans has influenced 1 Peter. Other variations are generally consistent with reliance on Greek *Vorlagen* with some variations from the Old Greek (though the quotation of Prov. 10:12 seems to be a free rendering). Jude preserves no explicit citations, but virtually cites 1 En. 1:9 and refers to a number of scriptural and apocryphal stories, including from the *Assumption of Moses* (Charles 1990). 2 Peter, which has borrowed from Jude, has removed the apocryphal references and added further scriptural allusions, though without formal citations.

Commentators on Revelation never tire of repeating the adage that no book is as saturated with Scripture as this final book in the canon, even if its style of engagement with the Old Testament is not marked by explicit citation formulae and lemmatized quotation. Rather, the book is thoroughly allusive, with the density of its scriptural imagery baffling readers that lack the requisite background knowledge to assess its outlandish visions. Because of this indirect style, older scholarship debated whether the author of Revelation was exclusively dependent on the Septuagint (especially Swete) or (also) worked from a Hebrew *Vorlage* (especially R. H. Charles). In light of the textual plurality and the variety of Greek revisional activity to which we have called attention, more recent commentators have opted for more complex solutions (see Beale 1999: 76–99 for a broad survey). There are certainly numerous non-Septuagintal renderings (e.g. Ps. 2:9 in Rev. 2:27; cf. Trudinger 1966), and it seems that Revelation refers to both the Old Greek and Theodotonic versions of Daniel, though quite how much Theodotion has been disputed. It seems clear that the seer is working at least in large part with Greek texts, but allowance should be made, as Michael Labahn has persuasively suggested, for the power of the seer's creative memory to draw on the Hebrew textual tradition as well (2010).

CONCLUSION

The dual fate of the Septuagint and the New Testament continues to flourish. The Septuagint provides a rich universe of meaning in which many of the New Testament's apparent oddities find their meaning. The New Testament, conversely, supplies a unique window into the shifting state of the Greek text in the first century, and marks a key stage in the Septuagint's journey to become Christian Scripture (Hübner 1988; Wagner 2008). Arguably this reception of the Septuagint set hermeneutical trajectories for the appropriation of the Jewish Greek Scriptures in the decades and centuries to come, and a reasonable case can be made for suggesting that at least some of the evidence once marshalled for the existence of a primitive book of testimonies can be better explained by the influence of earlier writers and their selection of citations upon later authors. We have every reason to believe that these two great corpora will continue to reward those who examine them in tandem.

Most attempts to indicate the 'theology of the Septuagint', if undertaken at all, have been approached from the standpoint of the *production* of the Septuagint, including especially the question of its relationship to a Hebrew *Vorlage* and the degree to which it may introduce theological innovation or actualizing interpretation. But the evidence of the New Testament suggests that it would be equally possible, as a heuristic approach to the question, to craft a theology of the Septuagint from the standpoint of *reception* (see Chapter 7 in this volume). We could learn much from an imaginative venture to produce, by taking into consideration the Christian literature of the first two or three centuries CE, an 'early Christian theology of the Septuagint', since for these early Christians who first received and appropriated Jewish Scripture as their own, the operative vantage point was not backward-looking, towards the Hebrew, but forward-looking, towards the arrival of God's promised messiah and the eschatological age that his coming signalled. Such a thought experiment has yet to be undertaken in full, but in this flourishing of Septuagint studies and the fruitfulness of its interaction with New Testament and early Christian studies we can be sure that many questions have yet to be answered.

SUGGESTED READING

Introductory surveys are available in Harl 1994; Fernández Marcos 2000: 320–37; McLay 2003 (the latter is helpful but not entirely reliable). Carson and Williamson (1988) is still worth consulting. Model studies of the *Vorlage* behind New Testament citations include Koch 1986; Stanley 1992; Menken 1996; 2004; and Steyn 2011. The series begun in Hübner (1997) offers an accessible means of adjudicating possible sources. For the hermeneutical techniques of the New Testament authors in their appropriation of scripture, see Hays (1989); Allison (2013b). Beale and Carson (2007) tends to overstate the degree of contextual awareness on the New Testament authors' part, but provides a useful running commentary on the entire New Testament. For an introduction to the physical form of the texts used by Christians, see Hurtado (2006).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Albl, Martin C. (1999). *'And Scripture Cannot Be Broken': The Form and Function of the Early Christian Testimonia Collections*. NovTSup 96. Leiden, Boston, MA, and Cologne: Brill.
- Allison, Dale C. (2013a). *James*. ICC. London: T&T Clark.
- Allison, Dale C. (2013b). 'The Old Testament in the New Testament', in J. Carleton Paget and J. Schaper, eds., *The New Cambridge History of the Bible*, Vol. 1: *From the Beginnings to 600*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 479–502.
- Barton, John (2013). 'The Old Testament Canons', in J. Carleton Paget and J. Schaper, eds., *The New Cambridge History of the Bible*, Vol. 1: *From the Beginnings to 600*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 145–64.
- Beale, Gregory K. (1999). *The Book of Revelation*. NIGTC. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans.
- Beale, Gregory K., and D. A. Carson, eds. (2007). *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker.
- Böhl, Eduard (1873). *Forschungen nach einer Volksbibel zur Zeit Jesu und deren Zusammenhang mit der Septuaginta-Übersetzung*. Vienna: Braumüller.
- Böhl, Eduard (1878). *Die alttestamentlichen Citate im Neuen Testament*. Vienna: Braumüller.
- Brooke, George J. (1997). "'The Canon within the Canon" at Qumran and in the New Testament', in S. E. Porter and C.A. Evans, eds., *The Scrolls and the Scriptures*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, pp. 242–66.
- Capellus, Ludovicus (1650). *Critica Sacra, sive de variis quae in sacris veteris testamenti libris occurrunt lectionibus. Libri Sex*. Lutetiae Parisiorum.
- Carpzov, Johann G. (1729). *A Defence of the Hebrew Bible in Answer to the Charge of Corruption Brought against it by Mr. Whiston, in his Essay towards restoring the true Text of the Old Testament, &c. Wherein Mr. Whiston's Pretences are particularly Examined and Confuted*. Trans. M. Marcus. London: Bernard Lintot.
- Carson, D. A., and Hugh G. M. Williamson, eds. (1988). *It Is Written: Scripture Citing Scripture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Charles, J. Daryl (1990). "'Those" and "These": The Use of the Old Testament in the Epistle of Jude'. *JSNT* 38: 109–24.
- Collins, Anthony (1724). *A Discourse on the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion*. London: n.p.
- Dines, Jennifer M. (2007). 'Light from the Septuagint on the New Testament: Or Vice Versa?', in J. Joosten and P. J. Tomson, eds., *Voces Biblicae: Septuagint Greek and Its Significance for the New Testament*. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 17–34.
- Docherty, Susan E. (2009). *The Use of the Old Testament in Hebrews: A Case Study in Early Jewish Bible Interpretation*. WUNT 2.260. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Dodd, Charles H. (1952). *According to the Scriptures: The Sub-Structure of New Testament Theology*. London: Nisbet.
- Egan, Patrick (2011). "'This Word Is the Gospel Preached to You": Ecclesiology and the Isaianic Narrative in 1 Peter'. PhD thesis, University of St Andrews.
- Fernández Marcos, Natalio (2000). *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Versions of the Bible*. Trans. W. G. E. Watson. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill.
- Goodacre, Mark (2011). 'The Evangelists' Use of the Old Testament and the Synoptic Problem', in P. Foster, A. Gregory, J. S. Kloppenborg, and J. Verheyden, eds., *New Studies in the Synoptic Problem, Oxford Conference, April 2008: Essays in Honour of Christopher M. Tuckett*. BETL 239. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 281–98.

- Grinfield, Edward W. (1850). *An Apology for the Septuagint*. London: William Pickering.
- Häfner, Gerd (2000). 'Nützlich zur Belehrung' (2 Tim 3,16): *Die Rolle der Schrift in den Pastoralbriefen im Rahmen der Paulusrezeption*. HBS 25. Freiburg: Herder.
- Hanhart, Robert (1984). 'Die Bedeutung der Septuaginta in neutestamentlicher Zeit'. *ZTK* 81: 395–416.
- Harl, Marguerite (1994). 'La Septante aux abords de l'ère chrétienne: Sa place dans le Nouveau Testament', in G. Dorival, M. Harl, and O. Munnich, eds., *La Bible grecque des Septante: Du judaïsme hellénistique au christianisme ancien*. Paris: Cerf, pp. 269–88.
- Harris, J. Rendel (1916–20). *Testimonies*. 2 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hatch, Edwin (1889). *Essays in Biblical Greek*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Hays, Richard B. (1989). *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Hengel, Martin (2002). *The Septuagint as Christian Scripture*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic.
- Holladay, Carl R. (2011). 'Luke's Use of the LXX in Acts: A Review of the Debate and a Look at Acts 1:15–26', in Th. S. Cauley and H. Lichtenberger, eds., *Die Septuaginta und das frühe Christentum. The Septuagint and Christian Origins*. WUNT 277. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 233–300.
- Horbury, William (1997). 'Septuagintal and New Testament Conceptions of the Church', in M. Bockmuehl and M. B. Thompson, eds., *A Vision for the Church: Studies in Early Christian Ecclesiology*. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, pp. 1–17.
- Hübner, Hans (1988). 'Vetus Testamentum und Vetus Testamentum in Novo receptum: Die Frage nach dem Kanon des Alten Testaments aus neutestamentlicher Sicht'. *JBTh* 3: 147–62.
- Hübner, Hans (1997–). *Vetus Testamentum in Novo*. 3 vols. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Hurtado, Larry W. (2006). *The Earliest Christian Artifacts: Manuscripts and Christian Origins*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans.
- Jobs, Karen H. (2006). 'The Septuagint Textual Tradition in 1 Peter', in W. Kraus and R. G. Wooden, eds., *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures*. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, pp. 311–33.
- Joosten, Jan, and Peter J. Tomson, eds. (2007). *Voces Biblicae: Septuagint Greek and Its Significance for the New Testament*. Leuven: Peeters.
- Karrer, Martin (2006). 'The Epistle to the Hebrews and the Septuagint', in W. Kraus and R. G. Wooden, eds., *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures*. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, pp. 335–53.
- Karrer, Martin, and Ulrich Schmid (2010). 'Old Testament Quotations in the New Testament and the Textual History of the Bible: The Wuppertal Research Project', in M. Karrer, S. Kreuzer, and M. Sigismund, eds., *Von der Septuaginta zum Neuen Testament: Textgeschichtliche Erörterungen*. Berlin: de Gruyter, pp. 155–96.
- Karrer, Martin, Ulrich Schmid, and Martin Sigismund (2008). 'Das lukanische Doppelwerk als Zeuge für den LXX-Text des Jesaja-Buches', in H. Ausloos, B. Lemmelijn, and M. Vervenne, eds., *Florilegium lovaniense: Studies in Septuagint and Textual Criticism in Honour of Florentino García Martínez*. BETL 224. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 253–74.
- Kennedy, Harry A. A. (1895). *Sources of New Testament Greek, or The Influence of the Septuagint on the Vocabulary of the New Testament*. Edinburgh: T&T Clark.

- Koch, Dietrich-Alex (1986). *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums: Untersuchungen zur Verwendung und zum Verständnis der Schrift bei Paulus*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Kraft, Robert (1978). 'Christian Transmission of Greek Jewish Scriptures: A Methodological Probe', in A. Benoit, M. Philonenko, and C. Vogel, eds., *Paganisme, judaïsme, christianisme: Influences et affrontements dans le monde antique*. Paris: Éditions E. de Boccard, pp. 207–26.
- Kraft, Robert (2004). 'Reassessing the Impact of Barthélemy's *Devanciers*, 40 Years Later.' *BIOSCS* 37: 1–28.
- Labahn, Michael (2010). 'Die Macht des Gedächtnisses: Überlegungen zu Möglichkeit und Grenzen des Einflusses hebräischer Texttradition auf die Johannesapokalypse', in M. Karrer, S. Kreuzer, and M. Sigismund, eds., *Von der Septuaginta zum Neuen Testament: Textgeschichtliche Erörterungen*. Berlin: de Gruyter, pp. 385–416.
- Law, T. Michael (2013). *When God Spoke Greek*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Lincicum, David (2010). *Paul and the Early Jewish Encounter with Deuteronomy*. WUNT 2.284. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Lincicum, David (2012). 'Genesis in Paul', in S. Moyise and M. Menken, eds., *Genesis in the New Testament*. London: T&T Clark, pp. 99–116.
- Lincoln, Andrew T. (1982). 'The Use of the Old Testament in Ephesians.' *JSNT* 14: 16–57.
- McLay, Timothy (2003). *The Use of the Septuagint in New Testament Research*. Grand Rapids, MI and Cambridge: Eerdmans.
- Menken, Maarten J. J. (1996). *Old Testament Quotations in the Fourth Gospel: Studies in Textual Form*. CBET 15. Kampen: Kok Pharos.
- Menken, Maarten J. J. (2004). *Matthew's Bible: The Old Testament Text of the Evangelist*. BETL 173. Leuven: University Press.
- Moritz, Thorsten (1996). *A Profound Mystery: The Use of the Old Testament in Ephesians*. NovTSup 85. Leiden: Brill.
- Moyise, Steve, and Maarten J. J. Menken, eds. *The New Testament and the Scriptures of Israel*. London: Continuum. Individual volumes: *Psalms in the New Testament* (2004); *Isaiah in the New Testament* (2005); *Deuteronomy in the New Testament* (2007); *The Minor Prophets in the New Testament* (2009); and *Genesis in the New Testament* (2012).
- Müller, Mogens (1996). *The First Bible of the Church: A Plea for the Septuagint*. JSOTSup 206. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- Müller, Mogens (2012). 'Die Lukasschriften und die Septuaginta', in S. Kreuzer, M. Meiser, and M. Sigismund, eds., *Die Septuaginta: Entstehung, Sprache, Geschichte*. WUNT 286. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 465–79.
- Nicklas, Tobias (2011). "'Zwischen Hebräischer Bibel und Neuen Testament': Dimensionen der Bedeutung der Septuaginta für die Exegese des Neuen Testaments', in J. Joosten and E. Bons, eds., *Septuagint Vocabulary: Pre-History, Usage, Reception*. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, pp. 189–206.
- O'Brien, Kelli S. (2010). *The Use of Scripture in the Markan Passion Narrative*. LNTS 384. London: T&T Clark.
- Porter, Stanley E. (1997). 'The Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament: A Brief Comment on Method and Terminology', in C. A. Evans and J. A. Sanders, eds., *Early Christian Interpretation of the Scriptures of Israel*. Sheffield: Academic Press, pp. 79–96.
- Porter, Stanley E. (2006). 'Further Comments on the Use of the Old Testament in the New Testament', in Th. L. Brodie, D. R. MacDonald, and S. E. Porter, eds., *The Intertextuality of*

- the Epistles: Explorations of Theory and Practice*. Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, pp. 98–110.
- Rex, Richard (1992). ‘St John Fisher’s Treatise on the Authority of the Septuagint’. *JTS* 43: 55–116.
- Riddle, Donald Wayne (1928). ‘The Non-Septuagint Element in the Vocabulary of Paul’. *JBL* 47: 74–90.
- Rusam, Dietrich (2003). *Das Alte Testament bei Lukas*. BZNW 112. Berlin and New York, NY: de Gruyter.
- Silva, Moisés (1994). *Biblical Words and Their Meaning: An Introduction to Lexical Semantics*. 2nd edn. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan.
- Silva, Moisés (2001). ‘The Greek Psalter in Paul’s Letters: A Textual Study’, in R. J. V. Hiebert, C. E. Cox, and P. J. Gentry, eds., *The Old Greek Psalter: Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma*. JSOTSup 332. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, pp. 277–88.
- Sperber, Alexander (1940). ‘New Testament and Septuagint’. *JBL* 59: 193–293.
- Stanley, Christopher D. (1992). *Paul and the Language of Scripture: Citation Technique in the Pauline Epistles and Contemporary Literature*. SNTSMS 74. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Stanley, Christopher D. (1993). ‘The Significance of Romans 11:3–4 for the Text History of the LXX Book of Kingdoms’. *JBL* 112: 43–54.
- Sterling, Gregory E. (2009). ‘“Do You Understand What You Are Reading?” The Understanding of the LXX in Luke-Acts’, in J. Frey, C. Rothschild, and J. Schröter, eds., *Die Apostelgeschichte im Kontext antiker und frühchristlicher Historiographie*. BZNW 162. Berlin: de Gruyter, pp. 101–18.
- Steyn, Gert J. (2011). *A Quest for the Assumed LXX Vorlage of the Explicit Quotations in Hebrews*. FRLANT 235. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Swete, Henry Barclay (1914). *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*. Revised by R. R. Ottley. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tov, Emanuel (2011). *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*. 3rd edn. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress.
- Trudinger, L. Paul (1966). ‘Some Observations Concerning the Text of the Old Testament in the Book of Revelation’. *JTS* 17: 82–8.
- Turner, Geoffrey (2010). ‘The Righteousness of God in Psalms and Romans’. *SJT* 63: 285–301.
- Wagner, J. Ross (2002). *Heralds of the Good News: Isaiah and Paul ‘In Concert’ in the Letter to the Romans*. Leiden: Brill.
- Wagner, J. Ross (2008). ‘The Septuagint and the “Search for the Christian Bible”’, in M. Bockmuehl and A. Torrance, eds., *Scripture’s Doctrine and Theology’s Bible*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, pp. 17–28.
- Wasserstein, Abraham, and David J. Wasserstein (2006). *The Legend of the Septuagint*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Whiston, William (1722). *An Essay towards Restoring the True Text of the Old Testament and for Vindicating the Citations Made Thence in the New Testament*. London: Senex and Taylor.
- Wilk, Florian (1998). *Die Bedeutung des Jesajabuches für Paulus*. FRLANT 179. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Wilk, Florian (2006). ‘The Letters of Paul as Witnesses to and for the Septuagint Text’, in W. Kraus and R. G. Wooden, eds., *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures*. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, pp. 253–71.

CHAPTER 37

THE PROTO-LUCIANIC AND ANTIOCHIAN TEXT

TUUKKA KAUMANEN

INTRODUCTION

In several books of the Septuagint there exists a distinct textual tradition that is commonly called the *Lucianic* or *Antiochian text*. According to Jerome, in his time there were three textual traditions of the Septuagint in circulation (Jerome, *Praef. in Lib. Paralip.*), one of them ‘the copies (*exemplaria*) of Lucian the Martyr’ which was in use ‘from Constantinople to Antioch’. On the basis of Jerome’s reference, the nineteenth-century pioneers of Septuagint studies supposed that the text type was edited by the martyr Lucian of Antioch (d. 311/12 CE)—hence the appellation *Lucianic recension*. While the link with Lucian is doubtful, the Antiochian patristic authors of the fourth and fifth centuries (Eustathius, Asterius, Diodore, John Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret) quote the Septuagint following this text type. This connection explains the term *Antiochian text*, the name that this handbook uses.

The most important witness for the Antiochian text is the manuscript group *L* in Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles (in the Göttingen editions: 19-82-93-108-127; in Brooke–McLean: boc_2e_2). In addition, the Antiochian text is clearly discernible in most Historical and Prophetic Books (see section ‘Witnesses to the Antiochian and the Proto-Lucianic Text’). There have been attempts to distinguish the Antiochian text in the Pentateuch, but such is not recognized by Wevers in his editions (1974: 175).

The traits of the Antiochian text are many and various. However, when comparing it with the text of Codex Vaticanus (the B-text), the most striking difference is the aim of producing more stylistic Greek in the Antiochian text. This tendency has led to the theory that the final form of the text was consciously edited. The widely used term for such an edited text type is *recension*. A fully developed Antiochian text does not appear in patristic quotations before the year 300 CE, which is often given as the supposed date of the recension.

However, the text on the basis of which the recension was made (its *substratum*) appears not to have been exactly the B-text. This notion is based on two observations. Firstly, several of the Antiochian readings that differ from the B-text are impossible to explain as any sort of conscious editing, still less as occasional errors. These non-recensional differences between the Antiochian and the B-texts are the starting point for two different theories, one concerning the origins of the B-text (the Kaige Recension; see Chapter 30) and the other the early layer(s) of the Antiochian text, the *proto-Lucianic text*. Secondly, there are a considerable number of agreements between the Antiochian text and witnesses that antedate the supposed time of the recension by several hundred years, namely the Old Latin version (see Chapter 42) and the biblical text used by Josephus and a handful of early patristic authors (notably Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Cyprian). It has also been posited that some of the Antiochian readings might go back to Hebrew readings that are not found in the Masoretic text (MT) but appear in the Qumran biblical texts (see Chapter 29). Thus, while there are some dissenting voices, the scholarly consensus is that there are at least two strata in the Antiochian text: the recensional elements, which probably date back to about 300 CE, and the proto-Lucianic text, the substratum under these recensional elements.

RESEARCH ON THE ANTIOCHIAN TEXT

Already in the nineteenth century several scholars noticed that there exists a unique textual tradition in the manuscript group *L* in the Historical Books (e.g. Thenius 1842; Wellhausen 1871). Paul de Lagarde was the first modern scholar to draft a theory of a threefold variety of textual traditions (cf. Jerome's *trifaria varietas*, see section 'Introduction'). Lagarde assumed that there were three recensions: Hesychian, Hexaplaric, and Lucianic, and attempted to reconstruct the earliest form of the Lucianic text (Lagarde 1883). Wellhausen (1871: 221–4) suggested that ancient witnesses confirm the existence of some distinctive readings of the *L*-group before the fourth century (antedating historical Lucian and thus *pre-Lucianic*). Attempts were made to identify these pre-Lucianic readings in the Old Latin version (Vercellone 1864) and in the biblical references of Josephus (Mez 1895).

In the twentieth century, in his work on the books of Kings, Rahlfs demonstrated that there are no simple criteria to make a distinction between the recensional *L*-readings and the readings already present in the proto-Lucianic text. Accordingly, it is hard to find an overall principle behind the recension—instead of a principle one should speak of tendencies. These tendencies include: attempts to improve the style of the Greek, harmonizing some details in the text according to the context, as well as a considerable number of Hexaplaric corrections towards the current Hebrew text. Rahlfs concluded that the base text was an old, pre-Hexaplaric text close to the B-text (Rahlfs 1911: 290–4). In Rahlfs's work it is especially noteworthy that he used the biblical quotations of early patristic authors as witnesses for the proto-Lucianic text.

The discovery of the Naḥal Hever Minor Prophets scroll (8HevXIIgr) and the identification of the Kaige Recension by Barthélemy (see Chapter 30) revolutionized the view of the textual history of the Historical Books. Barthélemy's famous thesis was that in the so-called Kaige sections of Samuel–Kings (2 Sam. 11:2–1 Kgs 2:11, 1 Kgs 22–2 Kgs) the Old Greek translation is actually preserved in *L*. The secondary features of *L* result from assimilation to the Hexaplaric text (Barthélemy 1963: 91–2, 126–7). Since its publication, much research on the Antiochian and the proto-Lucianic text has been a reaction to Barthélemy's *Devanciers* (on its impact and reviews, see Kraft 2004; for responses to Barthélemy, see especially Brock 1968). Criticism of Barthélemy's thesis began with Cross's investigations of the Qumran biblical scrolls, which showed that the oldest Hebrew witnesses contain readings that seem to agree with the Greek *L*-readings (see Chapter 29). This observation led Cross to conclude that even the proto-Lucianic text is a recensional text (see section 'The Proto-Lucianic Problem'; Cross 1964: 292–7). Later Tov pointed out that Barthélemy dismissed the evidence of the cases in which *L* gives a more literal equivalent of the Hebrew text than the Kaige Recension. Moreover, strong internal evidence in *L* proves that this text is also of recensional origin, even in the Kaige sections (Tov 1972a: 102).

In his dissertation of 1966, Brock investigated the recensional features of the Antiochian text in 1 Samuel (published thirty years later: Brock 1996). Brock's conclusion was that the proto-Lucianic text diverged from the rest of the textual tradition at an early date, perhaps first century CE. This means that some of the distinctive *L*-readings do not result from recensional activity but belong to an otherwise lost independent textual tradition. Brock's list of the most striking recensional features is as follows: 'correcting' the gender of some nouns, interchange of first and second aorist endings and of aorist middle and passive, adding the definite article, using a participle to avoid parataxis, and removal of the historic present (Brock 1996: 297–8, 225–51).

The 1980s saw the first publication of the Antiochian text after Lagarde, *El Texto Antioqueno de la Biblia Griega* (Fernández Marcos and Busto Saiz 1989, 1992, 1996). In three volumes the critically edited Antiochian text of Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles is given with an apparatus citing the most important Antiochian witnesses. Fernández Marcos has appealed for greater concentration on the literary aspects of the Antiochian text. While Rahlfs emphasized the double readings and Brock the syntactical and lexical variants, Fernández Marcos holds that the major recensional feature consists of narrative harmonizations. These include: 1. Completing the unsaid in the prediction-fulfilment scheme. 2. Adding small sentences to clarify or smooth the narrative. 3. Stylistic rewriting, including the elimination of Semitisms. 4. Theological or midrashic corrections. 5. Double readings, which may be composed of a translation plus a transliteration of the same Hebrew word, or based on different vocalization of the same Hebrew word, or reflect alternative readings based on a different consonantal text (Fernández Marcos 1987: 292–8; 2000: 230–2).

Another edition of the Antiochian text, covering 1 Samuel, has been published by Taylor. This edition reproduces the majority text of the five manuscripts without any

selection of readings by the editor. The edition includes a study, in which Taylor concludes that the recension was not complete or the recensional text has been re-harmonized towards the B-text (Taylor 1992: 96).

THE PROTO-LUCIANIC PROBLEM

A short definition of the *proto-Lucianic problem* would be ‘How is it possible that some readings of the recensional Antiochian text not found in the B-text can be found in witnesses that antedate the supposed date of the recension?’ The theories that have attempted to solve this problem can be divided into two: the *theory of the proto-Lucianic recension* and *other theories*.

The theory of the proto-Lucianic recension originates in 1950s and was stimulated by the Qumran findings. Among them were fragments of three scrolls of the Books of Samuel (see Chapter 29). When Cross published the first fragments of the longest of these manuscripts, 4QSam^a, he concluded that 4QSam^a is a witness to the same textual tradition as the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Septuagint. Cross combined this conclusion with his ‘Local texts theory’, according to which the Masoretic text, the Septuagint, and the Qumran biblical texts reflect different local textual traditions. According to Cross, the agreements between 4QSam^a and the Antiochian text are due to a ‘proto-Lucianic recension’ made on the basis of the Old Greek text towards a Hebrew text like 4QSam^a in the second or first century BCE (Cross 1953: 23; 1964: 295–6).

The theory has had many followers. In 1968 Shenkel refined the theory slightly. According to him, the earliest stratum of the Antiochian text is an ancient text dating back to the first centuries BCE, while the second stratum consists of additions that bring the text into partial conformity with the Hexaplaric text (Shenkel 1968: 5, 8). Ten years later, Ulrich attempted to demonstrate in his dissertation the connection between the textual traditions of 4QSam^a and the Antiochian text in 1 Samuel. He concluded that ‘a series of proto-Lucianic revisions’ took place and those gradually brought the proto-Lucianic text in closer conformity with the Hebrew text in use in Palestine at the time of the revisions (Ulrich 1978: 15, 258–9). More recently, Fernández Marcos has suggested that all doublets in the Antiochian text are not necessarily recensional elements: many of them could go back to an alternative Hebrew reading (Fernández Marcos [1985: 283] 2000: 235–6). Saley, one of Cross’s co-editors of the 4QSam fragments, has become somewhat doubtful about the close relationship of 4QSam^a and *L*: ‘[T]here is definitely a layer in 4QSam^a showing distinctive agreement with Greek proto-Lucianic readings, but it is a relatively thin layer!’ (Saley 2008: 45; see also Saley 2007: 73). All in all, the list of scholars who have built on Cross’s theory at least to some extent is considerably longer than can be given here; for more references see Tov (1981: 256 n. 10).

Throughout its existence, the theory of the proto-Lucianic recension has met much criticism. The complete edition of the 4QSam fragments appeared only in 2005 (Cross et al. 2005), and thus most scholars were unable to go through the complete evidence

presented in support of the theory. However, several scholars suggested flaws in the theoretical framework and offered different explanations for the evidence presented by Cross and his followers. Brock in his 1966 dissertation wrote: 'While it is indeed possible that Cross' "Proto-Lucianic" recension, based on the "Palestinian" Hebrew text, did exist for 1 Kms, the evidence adduced so far is not decisive, and is capable of other explanations' (Brock 1996: 303). In his famous article in *Revue Biblique* in 1972, Tov denied the existence of a proto-Lucianic recension and suggested 'a new solution of the problem' (Tov 1972a: 103): this 'new solution' will be explained fully below. Commenting on Ulrich's dissertation, Tov admitted that there are some important agreements between 4QSam^a and *L*. However, he suggested that those agreements 'must probably be ascribed to the changes inserted by the historical Lucian'. Moreover, Tov called for closer investigation of the disagreements between 4QSam^a and *L* (Tov 1979: 43–4).

Aejmelaeus has rejected the hypothesis of a proto-Lucianic recension: it 'is a hypothesis created to fit another hypothesis, the neat pattern of the theory of local texts, but without any practical significance'. In Aejmelaeus's view, the early Jewish Hebraizing corrections were probably made towards a Hebrew text very similar to the Masoretic text: the same circles that eventually accepted the proto-Masoretic text as authoritative were the ones responsible for the early corrections. The occasional agreements between 4QSam texts and *L* are sufficiently explained by *L* retaining the original reading and 4QSam retaining the reading of the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Septuagint. In those instances, the reading in the rest of the Greek manuscripts results from corruption or sporadic correction towards the proto-Masoretic text (Aejmelaeus 1993: 134 [2007: 126]). Herbert examined briefly the suggested agreements between 4QSam^a and *L* against both the Masoretic text and the B-text in secondary readings, finding only two (1 Sam. 5:10; 6:2) and dismissing them as insufficiently convincing to establish a relationship between the witnesses (Herbert 1997: 46). More recently, Kauhanen suggested a criterion for demonstrating the existence of the proto-Lucianic recension using the 4QSam texts: one should find instances of indisputable agreement between 4QSam^{a/b} and *L* in *secondary readings*. According to Kauhanen, no such case is found in 1 Samuel (Kauhanen 2012: 186–7).

To sum up: Cross's theory was that the proto-Lucianic problem can be solved by supposing an early Hebraizing revision that changed the Old Greek text to correspond better to the Hebrew text now found in the 4QSam fragments: the result is the early layer of the Antiochian text as known today. The critics of this theory claim that the solution lies elsewhere, although some of them admit that the 4QSam fragments may contribute to the solution. The theories denying the proto-Lucianic recension do not have a single denominator and, for the lack of a better term, they can be called simply *other theories*.

The theoretical background for all the proposed solutions to the proto-Lucianic problem is that the final form of the Antiochian text is a revised text. Thus Barthélemy's approach, while not supposing a proto-Lucianic recension, is not a solution to the proto-Lucianic problem: if Barthélemy's theory is correct, there is no *problem* at all: since *L* would retain the Old Greek text throughout, it is not a problem if some of its readings are attested in early witnesses.

Rahlfs had already used the biblical quotations of early patristic authors as witnesses for the proto-Lucianic text (Rahlfs 1911; see section ‘Research on the Antiochian Text’). Fischer attempted to demonstrate that Old Latin readings that coincide with *L* were already known to Cyprian. He concluded that the Greek base text of the Old Latin version was of the proto-Lucianic type, but it had been corrected according to the Greek B-text (Fischer 1951: 169–71). However, Fischer seems to have exaggerated the Antiochian character of Cyprian’s text (Brock 1996: 196).

Tov’s 1972 article was mentioned above in connection with Cross’s theory. In it Tov suggested ‘a new solution of the problem’: the substratum of the Antiochian text contains ‘either *the* Old Greek translation or any Old Greek translation’ (Tov 1972a: 103). This statement allows for the possibility that two competing readings may ‘represent two parallel Old Greek traditions’. Tov offered his theory as a compromise between the views of Barthélemy and Cross, and it consists of three points. Firstly, Tov suggests that the witnesses supporting readings of the Antiochian text are so numerous that all of them could not have been retouched by the Antiochian revisers. This leads to the second point in Tov’s theory: the Antiochian text contains three layers: the Old Greek, Hexaplaric corrections, and corrections by the Antiochian reviser (‘Lucian’ in Tov’s terminology). However, distinguishing between these three layers is difficult since all the phenomena of adding and changing for syntactical or contextual reasons are present in every stratum. Thirdly, the relationship between *L* and the other manuscripts in Samuel–Kings should be characterized as follows: the other manuscripts are generally closer to the Old Greek, but in the non-Kaige sections the substratum of *L* ‘always represents the Old Greek, while the other MSS *as a rule* reflect the Old Greek, but *at times* their text has been retouched’ (Tov 1972a: 103, 109).

So far the only monograph dedicated entirely to the proto-Lucianic problem is Kauhanen’s (2012). The study pertains exclusively to 1 Samuel, but since the most striking phenomena in both the Antiochian text and the pre-Lucianic readings remain the same throughout Samuel–Kings, it is reasonable to suppose that the same lines of investigation may lead to similar results in books other than 1 Samuel. Kauhanen assessed the text-historical relationships between *L* and the pre-Lucianic witnesses, the most important of which are the quotations from Hippolytus of Rome, Irenaeus, Tertullian, Cyprian, and the Old Latin manuscript La¹¹⁵. The study also analysed the agreements between *L* and the 4QSam material in order to refute the theory of the proto-Lucianic recension. Kauhanen’s conclusion was that more than half of the suggested agreements between *L* and a pre-Lucianic witness (in 1 Samuel, about 145) are only apparent or coincidental. Agreements in the original reading can be found in roughly one seventh of the cases, and another seventh are genuine agreements in a secondary reading. The last-mentioned category consists of early variants: mostly minor stylistic or syntactical changes that happen all the time in the course of transmission. Nevertheless, these include four pre-Hexaplaric Hebraizing corrections that have found their way independently into the pre-Lucianic witnesses and the Antiochian text. The broad conclusion is that under the recensional layer(s) in *L* ‘there is an ancient text that preserves very old, even original readings that have not been preserved in B and most other witnesses’ (Kauhanen 2012: 191).

CURRENT ISSUES

Barthélemy's theory, that the Antiochian text is essentially the Old Greek text, is still endorsed by some scholars, notably Kreuzer (see Chapter 30). Kreuzer maintains that the differences between the Antiochian text and other witnesses result mostly from the activity of the Kaige Recension. Kreuzer pleads that '[w]e have to take seriously the insight that the Lucianic/Antiochene text has many agreements with Josephus and with the Old Latin translation and often is confirmed by the Qumran Samuel texts' (Kreuzer 2008: 251–2). Kreuzer offers his theory as a 'new view' that 'provides a consistent explanation of the differences' between the B- and the L-texts. The practical outcome is that the Antiochian text 'basically represents' the Old Greek (Kreuzer 2009: 43–4, 51). Similar theories have been put forward by Kim (2009).

In their response to Kreuzer's articles, Law and Kauhanen (2010) maintain that generalizations such as 'B is the Old Greek' or 'L is the Old Greek' are misleading and even erroneous. In their view, the textual evidence speaks against Kreuzer's theory: the recensional character of the Antiochian text can be clearly seen in both the Kaige and non-Kaige sections of Samuel–Kings. The assessment of the original readings must be done case by case—the Old Greek reading may even be found outside both B and L (see also Kreuzer's response [2010] as well as Kreuzer 2013a and 2013b). 2 Kings (= 4 Kingdoms) 6:18 serves as an example of different analyses of the same textual problem: *καὶ προσήύξατο Ελισαιε πρὸς κύριον (τὸν θεὸν L) . . . καὶ ἐπάταξεν αὐτοὺς (+ Κύριος L) ἀορασίᾳ* 'and Elisha prayed to the Lord (God L) . . . and he (the Lord L) struck them with blindness'. Kreuzer (2009: 48 [2015: 169]) suggests that 'God' for 'the Lord' and the explication of 'the Lord' are original readings: they either go back to the Hebrew *Vorlage* or 'the translator just preferred some variation'. The text in B and the majority results from Kaige correction: it corresponds to the Hebrew text. Law and Kauhanen (2010: 82), however, maintain that explicating the subject 'the Lord' at the end fits well with the tendencies of the Lucianic reviser. That the earlier reading 'the Lord' in the B text corresponds to the Hebrew text is not an argument as such: the correspondence may equally well be because it is the original reading and it was the Lucianic reviser who preferred to have some variation and thus changed 'the Lord' to 'God'.

The Qumran Samuel scrolls still attract much attention, and any analysis concerning their use in textual criticism—either of the Hebrew Bible or the Septuagint—must take a stance regarding Cross's theory of the proto-Lucianic recension.

The editorial team for Kings for the Göttingen Septuagint is preparing an online polyglot-synoptic edition of Kings. The edition will include all the major Septuagint traditions as well as early versions of it. According to the editors, the Georgian and Armenian versions especially confirm the antiquity or even originality of several Antiochian readings (Piquer et al. 2008: 254–5, 279–80).

There have been attempts to use the Septuagint as empirical evidence in literary-critical argumentation. The crucial question in such a procedure is whether one can use the

Antiochian text as a textual witness in its own right or whether it should be used exclusively in connection with the textual history of the entire Septuagint. Especially noteworthy studies on the topic are written by Treballe Barrera (1989 and a host of articles, e.g. 2012), Schenker (2004 and 2010), and Hugo (2006).

Aejmelaeus has suggested that there are sporadic pre-Hexaplaric Hebraizing corrections in B even outside the Kaige sections (Aejmelaeus 2008). In these instances it is very often the Antiochian text that provides the original reading.

There are still some questions relating to the overall nature of *L* which have so far drawn little attention. These include the exact place of the Hexaplaric material in *L*: improving the style and the language of the text, and bringing it closer to the Hebrew text, are at least partly opposing goals, since the Hebraizing readings often have Semitisms and other features of non-literary Greek. Does the Hexaplaric material belong to the first recensional layer that did the polishing or is it a later development of the text?

WITNESSES TO THE ANTIOCHIAN AND THE PROTO-LUCIANIC TEXT

The main witnesses for the Antiochian text proper are medieval Septuagint manuscripts and quotations by patristic authors after the supposed date of the Lucianic recension (300 CE). The proper term for witnesses that agree with some Antiochian readings but antedate 300 CE is *pre-Lucianic*, and the *proto-Lucianic readings* are often found when a pre-Lucianic witness agrees with the Antiochian text against B and the majority of the other manuscripts.

The principal manuscripts presenting the Antiochian text are the following:

- 19: Rome, the library of Prince Chigi, R. VI. 38; twelfth century, parchment; contains the Octateuch, 1–4 Kingdoms, 1–2 Chronicles, 1–2 Esdras, Judith, Esther, 1–3 Maccabees.
- 82: Paris, National Library, the Coislian collection, 3; twelfth century, parchment; Octateuch, Kingdoms.
- 93: London, British Museum, Royal 1 D. II; sometimes called ‘Codex Arundelianus’ according to its seventeenth-century location at Arundel, West Sussex; thirteenth century, parchment; Ruth, Kingdoms, Chronicles, 1–2 Esdras, Esther, 1–3 Maccabees, Isaiah.
- 108: Rome, The Vatican Library, Vat. gr. 330; thirteenth century, paper; Octateuch, Kingdoms, Chronicles, 1–2 Esdras, Judith, Esther (and Tobit in another hand); multiple Hexaplaric marginal notes; used as the principal manuscript for the Septuagint column of the Complutensian Polyglot.
- 127: Moscow, Synodal Library, Gr. 31; tenth century, parchment; Octateuch, Kingdoms, Chronicles; Genesis, a part of Exodus, and the end of 2 Chronicles

are missing. These parts are supplemented in paper by a fifteenth-century hand with several Hexaplaric readings. (For exact data on these five manuscripts, see Rahlfs 1914: 277, 184, 113–14, 248, 144).

Of these manuscripts, 19 and 108 form a pair (marked 19' in the Göttingen editions). The other three manuscripts (82 93 127) form a slightly looser group that is usually marked simply as L^{-19} . Generally speaking, L^{-19} reflects better the earlier form of the text, as is shown by the fact that it agrees more often with the quotations of Theodoret. The pair 19' often stands against both L^{-19} and B; this points to the conclusion that its peculiar readings are simply due to corruption (Busto Saiz 1987: 305–8).

In the books in which the Antiochian text is clearly discernible (Samuel, Kings, Chronicles) there are several other manuscripts that regularly join L : 56 246 (f in the Göttingen editions), 55 158 318 554, and 460 in 2 Kings. Moreover, a rather large group 44 68 74 106 107 120 122 125 134 370 610 (d or $d t z$) now and then joins L when the latter provide Hexaplaric readings.

Six Antiochian patristic authors can be included in the main witnesses for the Antiochian text: Eustathius (d. 337 CE [?]), Asterius (d. 341), Diodore (d. 390), John Chrysostom (c.347–407), Theodore of Mopsuestia (c.350–428), and Theodoret (c.393–457). The number of their quotations from the Bible in the Antiochian text form varies. Most text can be found in Chrysostom's and Theodoret's quotations.

The main Antiochian witnesses do, however, vary from book to book. In addition to Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles, an Antiochian (or 'Lucianic') text is, according to the editors of the Göttingen Septuagint, to some degree discernible in the following books (editor and year in parenthesis):

Judges: $L^1 = K Z 54 59 75 (82) 314 (932?)$; $L^2 = 118 127 458 537$; $L^3 = (44) 106 134 344$; $L^4 = 30 730$ (provisional grouping for the forthcoming edition; see Cañas Reillo forthcoming)

Ruth: $L = 19(\text{partly})-54-59-75-82-93-108(\text{partly})-127-314$ and Theodoret's quotations (Quast 2006, 2009)

1 Esdras: $L = 19-108$ (Hanhart 1974, 1991)

2 Esdras: $L' = 19-93-108-121$; $L = 19-93-108$ (Hanhart 1993)

Esther: ' L ' used for the other of the two text types (the other being o'), not as a symbol for a group of manuscripts; the principal witnesses for the L -text are 19' = 19-108, 93' = 93-319, and 342(partly) (Hanhart 1966)

Judith: $L = 19-108-319$ (Hanhart 1979)

1 Macc.: $L = 64-236-381-534-728$; $l = 19-62-93-542$ (Kappler 1936, 1990)

3 Macc: $L = 64-236-381-534-728$; $l = 19-62-93-347(\text{partly})-542$ (Hanhart 1960, 1980)

Psalms: Lucianic manuscripts include Z and T as well as numerous minuscules. Subgroups of L give the approximate amount of manuscripts: $L^a = 56-75$ Lucianic manuscripts, $L^d = 36-55$, $L^b = 16-35$, $L^{\text{pau}} = 2/3-15$; Theodoret (Rahlfs 1931, 1967)

Job: $L = A-V-575-637$, Chrysostom, and the commentary by Julianus Arianus; in addition, 55 406 in subgroups; $II = 46-249-631$; $III = 254-754$; $IIII = 106-130-261$ (Ziegler 1982)

Wisdom of Solomon: *L* = 248-637; *l* = 106-130-261-545-705; Malachias Monachus, Chrysostom, Theodoret (Ziegler 1962)

Sirach: *L* = 248-493-637; *l* = 106-130-545-705 (Ziegler 1965)

The Twelve Prophets: *L* = 22-36-48-51-231-719-763; *II* = 62-147; *III* = 46-86-711; in addition, about fifteen other manuscripts or correctors listed as Lucianic; the Antiochian Fathers (Ziegler 1943, 1984)

Isaiah: *L* = 22-48-51-231-763; *II* = 62-147; *III* = 90-130-311; *IIII* = 36-93-96; in addition, about ten other manuscripts; Chrysostom, Theodoret (Ziegler 1939, 1983)

Jeremiah: *L* = 22-36-48-51-96-231-311-763; *l* = 62-198-407-449; in addition, a few other manuscripts or margins; Chrysostom, Theodoret (Ziegler 1957, 2013)

Ezekiel: *L* = 22-36-48-51-96-231-763; *II* = 311-538; *III* = V-46-449; in addition, a few manuscripts or margins (Ziegler 1952, 2006)

Daniel: *L* = 22-36-48-51-96-231-763; *II* = 311-538; *III* = 88-449; in addition, *Z*^{VI}; Chrysostom, Theodoret (Ziegler 1954 1999)

The following lists the main pre-Lucianic witnesses for the Historical Books. For literature, see Suggested Reading.

Josephus (37–c.100 CE) paraphrases almost everything narrated in the Historical Books in his *Jewish Antiquities*. While he never quotes the biblical text word for word, occasionally his phrasing gives the impression that he consulted the Septuagint in a text form other than B. However, that Josephus and the Antiochian text should now and then coincide is probably due to the fact that both aim at better Greek style, not due to a close text-historical relationship: Josephus frequently utilizes his own chosen vocabulary and the Antiochian text contains many lexical variants.

Irenaeus (d. c.202) is generally speaking a trustworthy textual witness. For many books his quotations have survived only in the Latin and Armenian translations of *Against Heresies*, but the Latin translation of the work is fairly faithful. Irenaeus's agreements with *L* against B are often in original readings.

Tertullian (c.160–225) probably translated his quotations from the Septuagint into Latin himself. However, Tertullian rarely quotes word-for-word quotations—often quotations that seem to be exact are in fact the author's own formulations. When judging whether an agreement between Tertullian and *L* is a genuine agreement against the B-text, one must take into account Tertullian's communicative purpose and linguistic preferences.

Cyprian (c.200–58), too, appears to have used the Greek Septuagint, rendering the quotations into Latin himself. Interestingly, Cyprian appears to attest some Hebraizing corrections found in *L* or other manuscripts but not in B. These Hebraizing readings are likely not of Hexaplaric origin but of the same tradition as the Kaige Recension.

Among less important pre-Lucianic witnesses can be counted **Hippolytus of Rome** (possibly d. c.235), a mysterious figure to whom is attributed a sermon *De David et Goliath* which survives only in Armenian and Georgian. **Origen** (185–254) quotes the Septuagint mainly in his own, revised form. For some books it is possible to find Origen's quotations in an unrevised form, but in those striking agreements between Origen and *L* are rare.

The questions relating to the Old Latin witnesses for the Septuagint are described in Chapter 42 in this handbook. Here it suffices to say that while agreements between the Old Latin witnesses and *L* can be found in all the books where Old Latin is available, these should not be taken as genuine ancient agreements before the following possibilities have been investigated: 1. The agreement is only apparent or coincidental—for instance, phenomena that have to do with the differences between the Greek and Latin languages. 2. The agreement is due to revision of the Old Latin text according to the Antiochian Greek text. 3. The agreement is in a very early variant that came into existence soon after the original. Such agreements do not prove a close relationship between witnesses.

That the Syriac Peshitta now and then agrees with *L* against *B* is usually explained as sporadic use of the Peshitta by the Antiochian reviser (Stockmayer 1892: 218–23; Brock 1996: 205–6, 210). If that is the case, it is unlikely that any of the agreements might be proto-Lucianic. The version of Jacob of Edessa as well as the Syrohexapla are not pre-Lucianic witnesses. When they agree with *L*, it is because they borrow some readings of the Antiochian text.

SUGGESTED READING

There are several older but learned introductions to questions relating to the Antiochian text, see especially Metzger (1963) and Jellicoe (1968). Recommended state of the question reviews are those by Tov (1972b, with a good bibliography), Ulrich (1978: 15–37), Taylor (1992: 32–8), Kim (2009: 7–32), and Fernández Marcos (2013). Kreuzer and Sigismund (2013) have edited a volume with multiple contributions on different aspects of the Antiochian text. More information on Josephus's biblical text can be found in Feldman's excellent annotated bibliography (1984). For Irenaeus, see the volume *Nouum Testamentum Sancti Irenaei* (Sanday and Turner 1923) as well as Lundström (1943) and Kauhanen (2009). On Tertullian, see the informative research history in Roth (2009: 429–42). On methodological issues relating to the use of patristic sources in textual criticism, see Kauhanen (2013). References to the patristic works can be found in Frede (1995). Ulrich (1999: 233–89) serves as a good introduction to problems concerning the relationship of the Antiochian text and the Old Latin witnesses, such as the fourth-century Latin writer Lucifer of Cagliari, whose work attests to an early textual form of 3–4 Kingdoms (Kauhanen 2018).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aejmelaeus, Anneli (1993). 'The Septuagint of 1 Samuel', in A. Aejmelaeus, ed., *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators: Collected Essays*. Kampen: Kok, pp. 131–49. Reprint 2007: *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators: Collected Essays*. CBET 50. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 123–41.
- Aejmelaeus, Anneli (2008). 'A Kingdom at Stake: Reconstructing the Old Greek—Deconstructing the Textus Receptus', in A. Voitila and J. Jokiranta, eds., *Scripture in Transition: Essays on Septuagint, Hebrew Bible, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of Raija Sollamo*. JSJSup 126. Leiden: Brill, pp. 353–66.

- Barthélemy, Dominique (1963). *Les Devanciers d'Aquila: Première publication intégrale du texte des fragments du Dodécaphéton: Trouvés dans le désert de Juda, précédée d'une étude sur les traductions et recensions grecques de la Bible réalisées au premier siècle de notre ère sous l'influence du rabbinat palestinien*. VTSup 10. Leiden: Brill.
- Brock, Sebastian P. (1968). 'Lucian Redivivus: Some Reflections on Barthélemy's *Les Devanciers d'Aquila*', in F. L. Cross, ed., *Studia Evangelica* 5. TU 103. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, pp. 176–81.
- Brock, Sebastian P. (1996). *The Recensions of the Septuaginta Version of 1 Samuel*. Quaderni di Henoch 9. Turin: Silvio Zamorani.
- Busto Saiz, José Ramon (1987). 'On the Lucianic Manuscripts in 1–2 Kings', in C. E. Cox, ed., *VI Congress of the IOSCS: Jerusalem, 1986*. SBLSCS 23. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, pp. 305–11.
- Cañas Reillo, José Manuel (forthcoming). 'Recensions, Textual Groups, and Vocabulary Differentiation in LXX-Judges', in T. Kauhanen, ed., *The Legacy of Soisalon-Soininen*. DSI. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Cross, Frank M. (1953). 'A New Qumran Biblical Fragment Related to the Original Hebrew Underlying the Septuagint'. *BASOR* 132: 15–26.
- Cross, Frank M. (1964). 'The History of the Biblical Text in the Light of Discoveries in the Judean Desert'. *HTR* 57: 281–99.
- Cross, Frank M., D. Parry, R. J. Saley, and E. C. Ulrich (2005). *Qumran Cave 4. XII: 1–2 Samuel*. DJD XVII. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- de Lagarde, P. A. (1883). *Librorum Veteris Testamenti canonicorum pars prior graece*. Göttingen: Prostat in aedibus Dieterichianus Arnoldi Hoyer.
- De Troyer, Kristin, ed. (forthcoming). *The Antiochian Text and the Antiochean Manuscripts*.
- Feldman, Louis H. (1984). *Josephus and Modern Scholarship*. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Fernández Marcos, Natalio (1985). 'On the Present State of Septuagint Research in Spain', in N. Fernández Marcos, ed., *La Septuaginta en la investigación contemporanea: V Congreso de la IOSCS. Textos y Estudios "Cardenal Cisneros" 34*. Madrid: Instituto 'Arias Montano', pp. 271–85.
- Fernández Marcos, N. (1987). 'Literary and Editorial Features of the Antiochian Text in Kings', in C. E. Cox, ed., *VI Congress of the IOSCS: Jerusalem 1986*. SBLSCS 23. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, pp. 287–304.
- Fernández Marcos, N. (2000). *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Version of the Bible*. Leiden: Brill.
- Fernández Marcos, N. (2013). 'The Antiochene Edition in the Text History of the Greek Bible', in S. Kreuzer and M. Sigismund, eds., *Der Antiochenische Text der Septuaginta in seiner Bezeugung und seiner Bedeutung*. DSI 4. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 57–73.
- Fernández Marcos, N., and José Ramon Busto Saiz (1989, 1992, 1996). *El Texto Antioqueno de la Biblia Griega. 1–2 Samuel; 1–2 Reyes; 1–2 Crónicas*. 3 vols. TECC 50, 53, 60. Madrid: Instituto de Filología del CSIC.
- Fischer, Bonifatius (1951). 'Lukian-Lesarten in der Vetus-Latina der vier Königsbücher', in Adalbert Metzinger, ed., *Miscellanea Biblica et Orientalia A. Miller oblata*. Studia Anselmiana 27/28. Rome: Orbis Catholicus, pp. 169–77.
- Frede, Hermann J. (1995). *Kirchenschriftsteller: Verzeichnis und Siegel*. Vetus Latina: Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel 1.1. 4th edn. Freiburg: Herder.
- Hanhart, Robert, ed. (1960; 2nd rev. edn. 1980). *Maccabaeorum liber III*. VTG IX.3. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Hanhart, Robert, ed. (1966; 2nd rev. edn. 1983). *Esther*. VTG VIII.3. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

- Hanhart, Robert, ed. (1974; 2nd rev. edn. 1991). *Esdrae liber I*. VTG VIII.1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Hanhart, Robert, ed. (1979). *Iudith*. VTG VIII.4. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Hanhart, Robert (1993). 'Ursprünglicher Septuagintatext und lukianische Rezension des 2. Esrabuches im Verhältnis zur Textform der Vetus Latina', in R. Gryson, ed., *Philologia sacra: Biblische und patristische Studien für Hermann J. Frede und Walter Thiele zu ihrem siebzigsten Geburtstag*. Freiburg: Herder, pp. 90–115.
- Herbert, Edward D. (1997). '4QSam^a and Its Relationship to the LXX: An Exploration in Stemmatological Analysis', in B. A. Taylor, ed., *Congress of the IOSCS: Cambridge, 1995*. SBLSCS 45. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, pp. 37–55.
- Hugo, Philippe (2006). *Les Deux Visages d'Élie: Texte massorétique et Septante dans l'histoire la plus ancienne de 1 Rois 17–18*. OBO 217. Fribourg-Suisse and Göttingen: Academic Press and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Jellicoe, Sidney (1968). *The Septuagint and Modern Study*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Jobs, Karen H., and Moisés Silva (2000). *Invitation to the Septuagint*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker.
- Kappler, Werner, ed. (1936; 3rd edn. 1990). *Maccabaeorum liber I*. VTG IX.1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Kauhanen, Tuukka (2009). 'Irenaeus and the Text of 1 Samuel'. *VT* 59.3: 415–28.
- Kauhanen, Tuukka (2012). *The Proto-Lucianic Problem in 1 Samuel*. DSI 3. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Kauhanen, Tuukka (2013). 'Using Patristic Evidence: A Question of Methodology in the Textual Criticism of the LXX', in M. K. H. Peters, ed., *XIV Congress of the IOSCS*. SBLSCS 59. Atlanta, GA: pp. 677–90.
- Kauhanen, Tuukka (2018). *Lucifer of Cagliari and the Text of 1–2 Kings*. *Septuagint and Cognate Studies* 68. Atlanta, GA: SBL Press.
- Kim, Jong-Hoon (2009). *Die hebräischen und griechischen Textformen der Samuel- und Königebücher: Studien zur Textgeschichte ausgehend von 2Sam 15,1–19,9*. BZAW 394. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Kraft, Robert A. (2004). 'Reassessing the Impact of Barthélemy's *Devanciers*, Forty Years Later'. *BIOSCS* 37: 1–28.
- Kreuzer, Siegfried (2008). 'Towards the Old Greek: New Criteria for the Analysis of the Recensions of the Septuagint (Especially the Antiochene/Lucianic Text and Kaige Recension)', in M. K. H. Peters, ed., *XIII Congress of the IOSCS*. SBLSCS 55. Atlanta, GA: pp. 239–53. Reprint 2015: in *The Bible in Greek: Translation, Transmission, and Theology of the Septuagint*. SBLSCS 63. Atlanta, GA: SBL Press, pp. 113–28.
- Kreuzer, S. (2009). 'Translation and Recensions: Old Greek, Kaige, and Antiochene Text in Samuel and Reigns'. *BIOSCS* 42: 34–51. Reprint 2015: in *The Bible in Greek: Translation, Transmission, and Theology of the Septuagint*. SBLSCS 63. Atlanta, GA: SBL Press, pp. 154–74.
- Kreuzer, S. (2010). 'A Reply to T. M. Law and T. Kauhanen: Methodological Remarks...'. *Bulletin of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies* 43: 89–96.
- Kreuzer, S. (2013a). 'Der Antiochenische Text der Septuaginta: Forschungsgeschichte und eine neue Perspektive', in S. Kreuzer and M. Sigismund, eds., *Der Antiochenische Text der Septuaginta in seiner Bezeugung und seiner Bedeutung*. DSI 4. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 23–56.
- Kreuzer, S. (2013b). "'Lukian redivivus" or Barthélemy and Beyond?', in M. K. H. Peters, ed., *XIV Congress of the IOSCS*. SBLSCS 59. Atlanta, GA: pp. 243–61. Reprint 2015: in *The Bible*

- in *Greek: Translation, Transmission, and Theology of the Septuagint*. SBLSCS 63. Atlanta, GA: SBL Press, pp. 175–93.
- Kreuzer, S., and M. Sigismund, eds. (2013). *Der Antiochenische Text der Septuaginta in seiner Bezeugung und seiner Bedeutung*. DSI 4. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Law, T. Michael, and Tuukka Kauhanen (2010). 'Methodological Remarks on the Textual History of Reigns: A Response to Siegfried Kreuzer'. *BIOSCS* 43: 73–87.
- Lundström, Sven (1943). *Studien zur lateinischen Irenäusübersetzung*. Lund: Ohlsson.
- Metzger, Bruce M. (1963). 'The Lucianic Recension of the Greek Bible', in B. M. Metzger, ed., *Chapters in the History of New Testament Textual Criticism*. NTTS 4. Leiden: Brill, pp. 1–41.
- Mez, Adam (1895). *Die Bibel des Josephus: Untersucht für Buch V–VII der Archäologie*. Basel: Jaeger & Kober.
- Pietersma, Albert (1978). 'Proto-Lucian and the Greek Psalter'. *VT* 28.1: 66–72.
- Piquer, Andrés, Pablo Torijano, and Julio Trebolle Barrera (2008). 'Septuagint Versions, Greek Recensions, and Hebrew Editions', in H. Ausloos et al., eds., *Translating a Translation: The LXX and Its Modern Translations in the Context of Early Judaism*. BETL 213. Leuven: Peeters Press, pp. 251–81.
- Quast, Udo, ed. (2006; 2nd edn. 2009). *Ruth*. VTG IV.3. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Rahlfs, Alfred (1911). *Lucians Rezension der Königsbücher: Septuaginta-Studien* 3. 2nd edn. 1965. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Rahlfs, Alfred (1914). *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments*. MSU 2. Berlin: Weidmann.
- Rahlfs, Alfred, ed. (1931; 3rd edn. 1979). *Psalmi cum Odis*. VTG X. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Roth, Dieter T. (2009). 'Did Tertullian Possess a Greek Copy or Latin Translation of Marcion's Gospel?' *VC* 63: 429–67.
- Saley, Richard J. (2007). 'Greek Lucianic Doublets and 4QSam^a'. *BIOSCS* 40: 63–73.
- Saley, Richard J. (2008). 'Proto-Lucian and 4QSam^a'. *BIOSCS* 41: 34–45.
- Sanday, William, and C. H. Turner (1923). *Nouum Testamentum Sancti Irenaei*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Schenker, Adrian (2004). *Älteste Textgeschichte der Königsbücher: Die hebräische Vorlage der ursprünglichen Septuaginta als älteste Textform der Königsbücher*. OBO 199. Fribourg: Academic Press and Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Schenker, Adrian (2010). 'The Septuagint in the Text History of 1–2 Kings', in A. Lemaire and B. Halpern, eds., *The Books of Kings: Sources, Composition, Historiography and Reception*. VTSup 129. Leiden: Brill, pp. 3–17.
- Shenkel, James D. (1968). *Chronology and Recensional Development in the Greek Text of Kings*. HSM 1. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Stockmayer, Theodor (1892). 'Hat Lukian zu seiner Septuagintarevision die Peschito benützt?' *ZAW* 12: 218–23.
- Taylor, Bernard A. (1992). *The Lucianic Manuscripts of 1 Reigns*. HSM 50–1. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.
- Thenius, Otto (1842). *Die Bücher Samuelis*. Leipzig: Hirzel.
- Tov, Emanuel (1972a). 'Lucian and Proto-Lucian: Toward a New Solution of the Problem'. *RB* 79: 101–13.
- Tov, E. (1972b). 'The State of the Question: Problems and Proposed Solutions', in R. A. Kraft, ed., *1972 Proceedings for IOSCS and the SBL Pseudepigrapha Seminar*. SBLSCS 2. Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, pp. 3–15.

- Tov, Emanuel (1979). 'The Textual Affiliations of 4QSam^a'. *JSOT* 14: 37–53.
- Tov, E. (1981). *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research*. Jerusalem Biblical Studies 3. Jerusalem: Simor.
- Trebolle Barrera, Julio (1989). *Centena in libros Samuelis et Regum: Variantes textuales y composición literaria en los libros de Samuel y Reyes*. Textos y estudios "Cardenal Cisneros" de la Biblia Poliglota Matritense 47. Madrid: Instituto de Filología C.S.I.C.
- Trebolle Barrera, Julio (2012). 'Textual Criticism and the Literary Structure and Composition of 1–2 Kings / 3–4 Reigns: The Different Sequence of Literary Units in MT and LXX', in S. Kreuzer et al., eds., *Die Septuaginta: Entstehung, Sprache, Geschichte: 3. Internationale Fachtagung Veranstatet Von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.d), Wuppertal 22.–25. Juli 2010*. WUNT 286. Mohr Siebeck, pp. 55–78.
- Ulrich, Eugene C. (1978). *The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus*. HSM 19. Missoula, MT: Scholars Press.
- Ulrich, Eugene C. (1999). *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible*. Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans.
- Vercellone, Carolus (1864). *Variae Lectiones Vulgatae Latinae Bibliorum editionis*, Vol. 2. Rome.
- Wellhausen, Julius (1871). *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Wevers, John William (1974). *Text History of the Greek Genesis*. MSU 11. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Ziegler, Joseph, ed. (1939; 3rd edn. 1983). *Isaias*. VTG XIV. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Ziegler, Joseph, ed. (1943; 3rd rev. edn. 1984). *Duodecim Prophetas*. VTG XIII. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Ziegler, Joseph, ed. (1952; 3rd rev. edn. 2006). *Ezechiel*. VTG XVI.1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Ziegler, Joseph, ed. (1954; 2nd partially rev. edn. by O. Munnich 1999). *Susanna, Daniel, Bel et Draco*. VTG XVI.2. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Ziegler, Joseph, ed. (1957; 4th edn. 2013). *Ieremias, Baruch, Threni, Epistula Ieremiae*. VTG XV. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Ziegler, Joseph, ed. (1962; 2nd rev. edn. 1980). *Sapientia Salomonis*. VTG XII.1 Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Ziegler, Joseph, ed. (1965; 2nd rev. edn. 1980). *Sapientia Jesu Filii Sirach*. VTG XII.2. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Ziegler, Joseph, ed. (1982). *Iob*. VTG XI.4. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

CHAPTER 38

ORIGEN'S HEXAPLA

PETER J. GENTRY

INTRODUCTION

SOMETIME between 234 and 250 CE in Caesarea of Palestine, the Christian scholar Origen produced a parallel-versions edition of texts of the Old Testament which enabled him to compare the Septuagint with several later Jewish revisions of the Septuagint, as well as with the Hebrew text of his time. This synoptic text of the Old Testament was labelled the Hexapla by later writers because it was six-fold, i.e. contained six editions of the text. Although the name itself does not specify the arrangement, it seems that the various editions were arranged in columns. The first column provided the text of the Old Testament in Hebrew, in the square, 'Assyrian' script used by Jews of Origen's day. The second column contained a transliteration into Greek of the oral reading tradition of the consonantal Hebrew text, allowing Origen to pronounce or read the Hebrew text aloud (see Norton 1998; Flint 1998). The fifth column contained the text of the Septuagint as received by Origen before 230 CE. Wevers argued that the text received by Origen as the LXX text already evinced some casual and sporadic revision towards the Hebrew (Wevers 1992: 40). In columns three, four, and six, then, Origen placed the Jewish revisions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, respectively.

In addition to the Greek versions of the LXX and the well-known Three Jewish *recensiones* (in chronological order Theodotion, Aquila, and Symmachus), Eusebius mentions other recensions which are simply called 'Fifth (Quinta)', 'Sixth' (Sexta), and 'Seventh' (Septima) since the revisers were unknown. (See Eusebius of Caesarea's *Hist. Eccl.* VI.6, discussed in the section 'Patristic Testimony about the Hexapla'.) Fragmentary evidence in manuscripts indicate that these only occurred in some books, e.g. Psalms, where the sixth column was probably occupied by Quinta (Caloz 1978), while the texts of versions such as Theodotion and Sexta were indicated by marking the variations in a few marginal notes in a couple of the columns of the versions to which they were most similar. Hence the names Heptapla and Octapla occur in a couple of sources (Field 1875: 1:xi).

METHOD

Recognizing the multi-disciplinary nature of research is necessary in order to reach accurate conclusions. During earlier work on the Syrohexapla I noted the following areas: (1) accurate knowledge of book copying procedures, (2) the codicology of the manuscript sources, (3) geography, (4) history, and (5) the textual relations of the various witnesses and the history of the textual transmission (Gentry 2016). More recently it has become clear that as well as approaching the work of Origen and Eusebius from the perspective of social history (Grafton and Williams 2006), students of the Septuagint also need to collaborate with Classical scholars in their work on the history of the Alexandrian scholars.

Origen grew up and lived in Alexandria until at least 220 CE, and would have been instructed in the tradition of the Alexandrian grammarians. This tradition goes back to Ptolemy I, who brought scholars from Athens and founded the famous library in Alexandria. There five generations of scholars collected and edited the canonical texts of ancient Greece. The chronological chart in Table 38.1 is the work of Francesca Schironi, based partly on Fraser (1972: 447–79).

Such grammarians combined both literary criticism and textual criticism in their work, as can be seen from the definition of grammar by Dionysius Thrax (*Ars Grammatica* §1):

Grammar is an experimental knowledge of the usages of language as generally current among poets and prose writers. It is divided into six parts: 1. trained reading with due regard to Prosody; 2. explanation according to poetical figures; 3. ready statement of dialectical peculiarities and allusions; 4. discovery of Etymology; 5. an

Table 38.1 Chronology of Classical Textual Scholarship in Alexandria

Head Librarian	King
Zenodotus of Ephesus (c.285–270 BCE)	Ptolemy I Soter (306–282 BCE) Ptolemy II Philadelphus (282–246 BCE)
Apollonius Rhodius (c.270–245 BCE)	Ptolemy II Philadelphus (282–246 BCE)
Eratosthenes of Cyrene (c.245–204/201 BCE)	Ptolemy III Euergetes (246–222 BCE) Ptolemy IV Philopator (222–204 BCE) Ptolemy V Epiphanes (204–180 BCE)
Aristophanes of Byzantium (c.204/201–189/186 BCE)	Ptolemy V Epiphanes (204–180 BCE)
Apollonius Eidographos (c.189/186–175 BCE)	Ptolemy V Epiphanes (204–180 BCE) Ptolemy VI Philometor (180–145 BCE)
Aristarchus of Samothrace (c.175–145 BCE)	Ptolemy VI Philometor (180–145 BCE)

accurate account of analogies; 6. criticism of poetical productions, which is the noblest part of grammatical art.

(*The Grammar of Dionysios Thrax*, trans. Thomas Davidson, St Louis, MO, 1874)

Key terms of the Alexandrian grammarians to be considered in an investigation of the Hexapla are ἔκδοσις, σημεία, ὑπομνήματα, and διόρθωσις.

- a) The term ἔκδοσις means 'edition' and refers to the grammarian's own personal or privately corrected copy of the text in question. The grammarian's ἔκδοσις was not a published work.
- b) The earliest grammarians employed σημεία or 'signs' to indicate problems in the text. Aristarchus brought to a high level the signs invented by Zenodotus and Aristophanes. It is sufficient to mention just four of them. Aristarchus retained the *obelos* (÷) from Zenodotus for *athetesis* and the *asteriskos* (※) from Aristophanes for repeated lines and innovated the use of *antisigma* (∩) for transposed lines and the (dotted) *antisigma periestigmenon* (·∩·) for tautologies.
- c) Eventually the marginal notes required detailed explanation, so ὑπομνήματα or commentaries were produced in addition to the ἔκδοσις to comment on and explain further the problems indicated by the σημεία.
- d) The term διόρθωσις refers to the types of corrections made by these scholars to their own private copy or 'edition'. Anna Kharanauli used the research of Neuschäfer and Sgherri to locate passages in the commentaries of Origen where he refers to issues in the text that correspond precisely to the range of matters covered by διόρθωσις in the Alexandrian tradition (Kharanauli 2020).

Origen groups the examples of *diaphony* (διαφωνία) in the text and discusses the probable origin of them (e.g. *Sel. in Gn.* 2:4, *Sel. in Ps.* 2:12, 3:8, *in Jer. hom.* 15:5, 16:18). Some differences are due to variations in the Hebrew manuscripts. Others are unintentional errors made by copyists of the Septuagint such as dittography, haplography, or orthography. Still others are due to the audacity of scribes. Eleanor Dickey has demonstrated that the employment of columns as an interpretive tool for texts in both original and translation in the works of Cicero and Virgil also created a model for Origen (Dickey 2015). This background of Classical scholarship may assist us to interpret correctly the evidence left to us of Origen's Hexapla.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Primary evidence for Origen's Hexapla survives in four kinds of sources: (1) manuscripts containing copies of the synopsis or columnar arrangement of texts, (2) colophons in Greek or Syrohexaplaric manuscripts (see below), (3) marginal notes in manuscripts

(especially catena manuscripts) of the Septuagint which provide readings from the Hexapla, and (4) brief statements in early patristic texts, made by Origen, Eusebius of Caesarea, Epiphanius, Jerome, Rufinus, and Theodoret of Cyrrhus.

There are four manuscripts containing fragments of the synopsis as follows (listed according to Rahlfs Number [Ra], physical location, library signature, date and manuscript type, contents, and edition).

86 Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Barberiniani gr. 549, IX./X. Cent. (Cat.)

Contents: one verse, Hosea 11:1

Edition: J. Ziegler and F. Albrecht, *Duodecim Prophetarum*. Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum. Vol. 13. 4th edn. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014.

113 Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, B. 106 sup., c.966 CE (Cat.)

Contents: a twelfth-century hand cites two lines of the heading of the book of Psalms in a note attached to the flyleaf.

Edition: G. Mercati, 'D'un palimpsesto Ambrosiano contenente i Salmi esapli', *Atti della Reale Accademia delle scienze di Torino* 31 (1895–6): 663–7.

1098 Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, O. 39; X. Cent. (Cat.)

Contents: approx. 148 verses from Psalms

Edition: G. Mercati, *Psalterii Hexapli Reliquiae* cura et studio Iohannis Card. Mercati editae. Città del Vaticano: Bybliotheca Vaticana, 1958.

2005 Cambridge, University Library T-S 12. 182, VII. Cent. (Cat.)

Contents: thirteen verses from Psalms

Edition: C. Taylor, *Hebrew–Greek Cairo Genizah Palimpsests from the Taylor-Schechter Collection, Including a Fragment of the Twenty-Second Psalm According to Origen's Hexapla*. Cambridge, 1900.

Olivier Munnich argued that traces of the columnar system used by Origen may be found in the annotation system of the marginalia of Ra 344 (Athos, *Παντοκρατορος* 24, X. Cent.; Munnich 1995: 172–4). This claim is questionable. In sum, the copies of the synopsis are fragmentary and fairly late. Nonetheless, the descriptions of Jerome (*Ep. ad Titum* ad 3.9, see section 'Patristic Contact with the Hexapla') and Epiphanius (*de Mens. et Pond.* §7; tr. Dean 1935: 21–2) and the evidence of the four preserved fragments of the Hexapla support a layout in columns.

We also have manuscripts which are derived from the Fifth Column and some of them are not only early, but also preserve the Aristarchian signs (Table 38.2).

MS 922 contains fragments of a Hexaplaric text of Ezek. 5:12–6:3 and clearly attests asterisks. Schironi prefers to date this papyrus codex to 250–350 CE (Schironi 2015). MS 928, which also constitutes fragmentary remains of a papyrus codex of Proverbs, Wisdom, and Sirach, has an asterisk autoptically confirmed by Cuppi (2012: 24). In G, 153 of 454 original folios of a codex of the Pentateuch are preserved. Lines are found marked by asterisks and obeli. Although G is probably a century later, 922 and 928 are likely to

Table 38.2 Manuscripts derived from the Fifth Column of the Hexapla

922	Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Gr. bib. d. 4 = SC 31708 = P.Grenf. 1.5	250–350 CE
928	Oxford, Sackler Libr., P.Ant. 8 and 210	250–325 CE
G	Leiden, Bibl. der Rijks-Universiteit, Voss. graec. in qu. 8 'Codex Sarravianus-Colbertinus'	fourth–fifth century CE
V	Venice, Bibl. Marc., Gr. 1 'Codex Venetus'	eighth century CE

Table 38.3 Greek manuscripts

Q	Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. gr. 2125 'Codex Marchalianus'	Fol. 171–2 Fol. 568	Isaiah Ezekiel
S	London, British Library, Add. 43,725 'Codex Sinaiticus'	Quire 36 Fol. 5r Quire 37 Fol. 3r	2 Esdras Esther
88	Rome, Bibl. Vat., Chigiani R VII 45	Fol. 121r Fol. 130r Fol. 167r Fol. 315v	Jeremiah/Baruch Jer./Lamentations Daniel Ezekiel

date within fifty years of Origen's death, so these manuscripts bring us very close to Origen himself.

Colophons are brief notes, normally at the end of the main text in a manuscript, written by the copyist himself and providing various pieces of information concerning the copyist and his work, the date of copying, and sometimes the sources used. They are like scribal signatures: in majuscule manuscripts they are in the scribe's own handwriting, who at this point was permitted to revert to his own idiosyncratic style of script and was not required to follow the formal style of uncial script in order to write the colophon.

Hiebert's list of colophons (2001: 182–5) is updated below with further examples. Eight colophons are preserved in three Greek manuscripts and some twenty-four in eleven different manuscripts of the Syrohexapla as follows (the sigla in the left-hand columns are from Rahlfs and Wright) (Tables 38.3, 38.4).

The last serious study of colophons relating to the Hexapla was by Mercati (1941: 1–48). Texts of the colophons given in later works such as Devreesse (1954: 122–6),

Table 38.4 Syrohexapla manuscripts

XLVIII	London, BL, Add. 14,442	Fol. 46b	Genesis
XLIX	London, BL, Add. 12,134	Fol. 132b	Exodus
LI	London, BL, Add. 12,133	Fol. 169b	Joshua
LII	London, BL, Add. 17,103	Fol. 70b	Judges, Ruth
LIII	London, BL, Add. 14,437	Fol. 122a	3 Kingdoms
LV	London, BL, Add. 14,434	Fol. 128b	Psalms
LVIII	London, BL, Add. 14,668	Fol. 29b	Ezekiel
3: xi	London, BL, Or 8732	Fol. 136b	Isaiah
	Paris, Bib. Nat., syr. 027	Fol. 90a	4 Kingdoms
	Princeton, Princeton University Library, Scheide Library M150	Fol. 18a	Genesis
		Fol. 62b	Exodus
		Fol. 138b	Numbers
	Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, C. 313. Inf.	Fol. 38v, 52r	Job
		Fol. 66r	Proverbs
		Fol. 70r	Ecclesiastes
		Fol. 72r	Canticles
		Fol. 80r	Wisdom of Solomon
		Fol. 114r	12 Prophets
		Fol. 138v	Jeremiah
		Fol. 142r	Lamentations
		Fol. 142r	Epistle of Jeremiah
		Fol. 150v	Daniel
		Fol. 173r	Ezekiel
		Fol. 193r	Isaiah

Nautin (1977: 322–5), and Grafton and Williams (2006: 340–2), are dependent upon the work of Mercati (1941) and Middeldorpf (1835). The body of texts given by Mercati by no means represents all the available colophons and in general he presents only around 40 per cent of the text of each colophon in the case of those in the Syrohexapla. With the further abbreviation of these texts in Mercati (1941) made by later scholars, the information is not adequately represented. A forthcoming monograph by Gentry and Meade will present the texts in full (with translations) of all the known colophons.

Six colophons are presented here to demonstrate the significance of these sources.

'Esther' Colophon

Codex Sinaiticus, fourth century (Quire 37, Folio 3r). Critical edition (ed. Gentry: indentation as in manuscript):

Ἀντεβλήθη πρὸς παλαιώτατον λίαν ἀντίγραφον δεδιорθωμένον χειρὶ τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος Παμφίλου. Πρὸς δὲ τῷ τέλει τοῦ αὐτοῦ παλαιωτάτου βιβλίου ὅπερ ἀρχὴν μὲν εἶχεν ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης τῶν βασιλείων· εἰς δὲ τὴν Εσθηρ ἔληγεν, τοιαύτη τις ἐν πλάτει ἰδιόχειρος ὑποσημείωσις τοῦ αὐτοῦ μάρτυρος ὑπέχειτο ἔχουσα οὕτως:

Μετελήμφθη καὶ διορθώθη πρὸς τὰ ἕξαπλᾶ Ὁριγένους ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διορθώμενα. Ἀντωνίνος ὁμολογητῆς ἀντέβαλε, Πάμφιλος διώρθωσα τὸ τεῦχος ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ διὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ πολλὴν καὶ χάριν καὶ πλατυσμόν. [καὶ εἶγε μὴ βαρὺ εἶπεῖν, τούτῳ τῷ ἀντιγράφῳ παραπλήσιον εὐρεῖν ἀντίγραφον οὐ ῥάδιον.]

>>>>>

διεφώνει δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ παλαιώτατον βιβλίον πρὸς τόδε τὸ τεῦχος εἰς τὰ κυρία ὀνόματα

>>>>>

Translation:

- [1] [The present manuscript was] collated against a very old copy corrected by the hand of the holy martyr Pamphilus. At the end of this same very old book, which began at First Kingdoms and ended at Esther, such a signature, broadly speaking, in the same martyr's own hand is appended as follows:
- [2] 'Copied and corrected by the Hexapla of Origen, as corrected by his own hand. Antoninus the confessor collated, and I, Pamphilus, corrected the volume in prison, by the great and wide favour of God. [And if it not be presumptuous to say so, it would not be easy to find a copy equal to this copy.]'

Now the old book disagrees with this volume in respect to certain proper names.

Commentary:

The note is divided in two by indentation. The first part ([1]) is by a corrector or scribe of Codex Sinaiticus who tells us that he used an extremely old manuscript containing the books of Kingdoms to Esther to correct the codex. This ancient copy was corrected by Pamphilus, a great admirer of Origen's work. The corrector or scribe cites the colophon in his source text to prove this.

The second part of the note ([2]) is a copy of the colophon in the copyist's source text which was written in Pamphilus's own handwriting. It states that the source text was first copied from the Hexapla and then corrected against the Hexapla with Antoninus as collator and Pamphilus as corrector. Also noted is the fact that Pamphilus did the work in prison. Skeat suggests 309 CE as a date since Pamphilus was martyred the following year (Skeat 1954). The sentence about the manuscript being 'a best copy' may have been written by Pamphilus or perhaps even by the scribe who corrected Codex Sinaiticus using his manuscript.

Colophon to Proverbs in Codex Syro-Hexaplaris

Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, C. 313. Inf.; ninth century. Folio 66r:

- [1] *ršym hw' bktb' ywny' dmnh' ṛtpšq lswryy' ktb' hn' dplṭ', btr swlm' dylhyn hkn':*
 [2] *ṛtnsbyn w'tpḥmyn plṭ', mn šḥḥ' ḥtyt' d'tsym w'tktbw bh mn lbr skwly',*
b'yd' dpmpylws wd'wsbyws, dbh ršymn hwy whlyn: ∴
 [3] *ṛtnsbyn mn štyty pš' d'wrgnys hlyn d'škḥnn. ∴ ∴ ∴*
wtwb: ∴
 [4] *bkyr' dylh, pmpylws w'wsbyws tršw.*

Translation:

- [1] It was noted in the Greek book from which this book of Proverbs was translated into Syriac, after the end of them, as follows:
 [2] 'The Proverbs were copied and collated from an accurate copy that was made in which scholia were written in the margins, by the hand of Pamphilus and Eusebius. In it these words were also inscribed:
 [3] "These things that we found were taken from the Hexapla Version of Origen."

And again: [4] In his own handwriting, "Pamphilus and Eusebius corrected".

Commentary:

Major punctuation signs (∴), one repeated three times after text that does not fill out the line, divide this colophon into four sections. The first part ([1]) indicates that the last three parts constitute a colophon or colophons in the Greek *Vorlage* of the Syriac translation. The second part ([2]) mentions a colophon in the Greek *Vorlage* of the Syriac translation which describes how it was produced. It claims that the source text was physically similar with marginal notes and that these marginal notes or scholia were copied by no less than Pamphilus and Eusebius. The third and fourth sections constitute the colophon in the source text from which the Greek *Vorlage* was copied and belong together, as the word 'and again' (*wtwb*) indicates. The third section ([3]) employs the first-person plural to indicate that Pamphilus and Eusebius found the materials which they provided in the marginal notes in Origen's Hexapla. The fourth section ([4]) declares that Pamphilus and Eusebius corrected the text produced in this way.

The final statement is difficult to interpret. Probably this final statement means that the source text for the *Vorlage* of the Greek copy used by the Syriac translators was produced by scribes under the supervision of Pamphilus and Eusebius. The correction process normally involved one person reading the source text aloud and the other making corrections in the target copy (Skeat 1954).

Colophon to 3 Kingdoms

London, BL Add. MS 14437, VIII Fol. 122a:

The manuscript, that in our possession (?) was translated from Greek into Syriac, was taken from the Hexapla, i.e. from the 'Six Columns' that was among the manuscripts of the 'Six Columns' of the Library of Caesarea, Palestine and was collated to a copy in which there was noted at the end as follows: 'I, Eusebius, corrected as accurately as possible.' It was translated, then, from the Greek language into Syriac in the month Shebat, of the year 927 according to the numbering of Alexander, Fourth Indiction at Enaton of Alexandria in the Holy Monastery of Antonine Monks.

Colophon to Isaiah

London, British Library, Or 8732, 734, CE Folio 136b:

The Prophecy of Isaiah was completed according to the Seventy. It was taken and copied from a book of Eusebius and Pamphilus that also they corrected from the library of Origen. Praise to the Father and praise to...

Colophon to 4 Kingdoms

Paris, Bibl. Nat., syr. 027, 15 December 719–18 January 720 CE. Fol. 90a:

This book was translated from the Greek language into Syriac, from the Version of the Seventy-Two. The Holy Abbot Mar Paul, faithful Bishop, in Alexandria, the great city, at the command and exhortation of the holy and pious Mar Athanasius, faithful Patriarch. In the monastery of Saint Mar Zacchaei Callinicensis while he was staying in Alexandria, in the days of the beloved of God, Mar Theodora, Archimandrite of the Cloister. In the year 928, Fifth Indiction. Whoever reads, let him pray for the beloved of God Mar Thoma, deacon and syncellus of the holy and pious Mar Athanasius, Patriarch, who laboured and provided for the rest of them who laboured and toiled with him, that God may repay them on account of their efforts and labours the salvation of their souls by the prayers of his children and of all his saints.

Colophon to Job in Codex Syro-Hexaplaris

Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana, C. 313. Inf.; IX. Folio 52r:

The book of Job, the righteous, has been completed according to the version of the Seventy. Job was taken from the old Tetrapla.

Interpreting the Evidence of the Colophons

What is the meaning of the statement found in the colophons above that 'Pamphilus and Eusebius corrected'? In an earlier paper I interpreted it to refer to the copying process

(Gentry 2016). A pandect Bible manuscript was copied by a group or team of scribes, normally numbering three. Then experts corrected the manuscript. Often one read the exemplar text aloud while another made corrections in the copy.

However, an alternative interpretation is possible, which can be held in conjunction with the first interpretation and which may be derived from the statement ‘we corrected’ or from other statements in the colophon. This alternative interpretation, anticipated by Jenkins (1991) and Schironi (2012; 2015), is that Origen made his own *ἑκδοσις* from the Hexapla, that the format of this document was exactly what we see in the Syrohexapla, and that it was, in fact, the Tetrapla. According to the colophons, Pamphilus and Eusebius continued to develop the *ἑκδοσις* created by Origen from the Hexapla. They added marginal notes or readings from the Hexapla. Thus an edition was produced from the Fifth Column of the Hexapla that eventually became textually distant from that of the Fifth Column. This edition was the Tetrapla and had the signs and readings from the Three where they differed from the LXX. Widely varying views exist on the relation between the Hexapla and the Tetrapla, as detailed by Hiebert (2001).

The common view is that the Tetrapla preceded the Hexapla, but the reverse is more likely. As Francesca Schironi argues (2015: 186–8), Origen simplified the signs using almost exclusively the *obelos* (÷) and the *asteriskos* (*). (She does not mention that the *antisigma* (⊃) was used as well, although rarely.) Origen used the *obelos* for passages not in the Hebrew, and the *asteriskos* for passages inserted and hence repeated from the Three where the LXX lacked material corresponding to the Hebrew. The *antisigma* was employed to mark transpositions. Furthermore, Schironi shows that P.Grenf. 1.5, a fragmentary papyrus from Oxyrhynchus dated only fifty years after Origen, exemplifies the beginnings of this *ἑκδοσις* (Schironi 2015). Codices G, M, and V also have passages marked by *asteriskoi* and *obeloi*.

On the other hand, the copies of the Hexapla which have survived have no signs and no additional material added from the Three where text is extant in Hebrew but not in the LXX. The codices with the signs are from the Tetrapla, the manuscripts without them are copies of the Hexapla.

The colophons, then, cast important light on the early history of the Hexapla and, as such, remained largely unexplored.

PATRISTIC TESTIMONY ABOUT THE HEXAPLA

Origen’s own statements do not provide a description of the Hexapla as such, but we learn this from later sources such as Eusebius, one of his successors in Caesarea, and from the fragmentary copies that survive of the Hexapla Psalter (noted above, section ‘Primary Sources’). The description of Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea from 314 to 339 CE, is as follows:

So accurate was the investigation that Origen brought to bear upon the divine words, that he learned the Hebrew language thoroughly, and acquired his own

copies—in actual Hebrew script—of the original Scriptures transmitted by the Jews. He tracked down the other versions of those who translated the holy writings besides the Seventy [translators]. In addition to the well-known translations of Aquila and Symmachus and Theodotion, he discovered a few others, which having escaped notice for a long time, he tracked down and brought to light (from what hidden nooks I do not know). On account of their obscurity and not knowing the translator, he merely indicated this: that the one he found at Nicopolis, near Actium, and the other in another place such as this. At any rate, in the Hexapla of the Psalms, after the four well-known editions, he placed beside them not only a fifth, but also a sixth and a seventh translation; in the case of one of these he indicated that it was found at Jericho in a jar in the time of Antoninus the son of Severus [211–217 CE]. Bringing all of these together into the same [copy], he separated them by cola [phrases] and correlated them one to another, [placing them] after the actual Hebrew text, and so he left us the copies of the Hexapla, as they are called. He made a further separate arrangement of the editions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, together with the version of the Seventy, in the Tetrapla/in four volumes.

(Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* VI.16 [trans. Gentry]; cf. Rufinus, *Hist. eccl.* VI.16.4)

Origen, however, does discuss his own textual work:

Now it is clear that the difference among the copies is great, either from the carelessness of certain scribes, or from the knavish audacity of some, or from some neglecting to correct what is written, or from some adding to or taking away in the correction the things that seemed good to themselves. With the help of God's grace I have tried to repair the disagreements in the copies of the Old Testament on the basis of the other versions. When I was uncertain of the Septuagint reading because the various copies did not tally, I settled the issue by consulting the other versions and retaining what was in agreement with them. Some passages did not appear in the Hebrew; these I marked with an obelus as I did not dare to leave them out altogether. Other passages I marked with an asterisk to show that they were not in the Septuagint but that I had added them from the other versions in agreement with the Hebrew text. (Origen, *Comm. Matt.* XV.14)

Origen also speaks of his work in his *Letter to Africanus* where he discusses why he accepts passages in the Greek Daniel that are not in the Hebrew:

Know then, in respect to these things, what we must do not only in the case of the History of Susanna that is in use in every church of Christ in that Greek copy which the Greeks use, but is not in the Hebrew... but also of thousands of other passages which I found in many places when with my modest effort I was comparing the Hebrew copies with ours... Of the copies in my possession whose readings I gave, one follows the Seventy, and the other Theodotion; and just as the History of Susanna which you call a forgery is found in both, together with the passages at the end of Daniel, so they give also these passages, amounting, to make a rough guess, to more than two hundred verses... in many other of the sacred books I found sometimes more in our copies than in the Hebrew, sometimes less. I adduce a few examples... in the whole of Job there are many passages in the Hebrew which are

wanting in our copies, generally four or five verses, but sometimes, however, even fourteen, and nineteen, and sixteen. But why should I enumerate all the instances I collected with so much labour, to prove that the difference between our copies and those of the Jews did not escape me? Again, in Genesis, the words ‘God saw that it was good’ when the firmament was made are missing in the Hebrew... and other instances are to be found in Genesis, which I marked, for the sake of distinction, with the sign the Greeks call an obelus, as on the other hand I marked with an asterisk those passages not found in our copies which are in the Hebrew.

(Origen, *Ep. Afr.* 3–7 [trans. Gentry])

Furthermore, in the newly published *Homilies on the Psalms* by Origen there is one intriguing statement about his work (77.1.1):

Καὶ ὅσα μὲν διὰ τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὴν χάριν αὐτοῦ ἐκάμομεν, συνεξετάζοντες καὶ τὰ Ἑβραϊκὰ καὶ τὰς ἐκδόσεις ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἰδεῖν τὴν διόρθωσιν τῶν σφαλμάτων, οἶδεν· ὅσα δὲ θέλομεν καὶ περὶ τὰ λείποντα ποιῆσαι, αὐτὸς εὐδοῶσει.

He knows all that we have laboured over for God and for his grace, in examining together the Hebrew text and the other editions to ascertain the proper correction of these mistakes.

Origen’s statement in the *Letter to Africanus* appears to be diametrically opposed to that in his *Commentary on St. Matthew*. In the former he advocates the Septuagint as the Bible of the Church; in the latter he accepts the Hebrew Bible and the *recentiores* as the instruments to heal the *διαφωνία* or disagreement among manuscripts of the Septuagint. We must remember that Origen was a versatile man with apologetic, educational, and exegetical as well as textual interests. In some of his endeavours these interests coincided, but not necessarily in all (see Kamesar 1993 and esp. Romeny 1997: 113–15).

Origen hardly intended his remarks in the *Commentary on Matthew* or in the *Letter to Africanus* to be taken as a complete description of his work. In fact, there is no reason to think that he is describing the Hexapla. More likely, he is describing the Tetrapla, or edition produced from the Hexapla. The Hexapla was only a tool to heal the differences between the LXX versus the Hebrew and the Three. This is corroborated by the fact that the *Commentary on Matthew* and the *Letter to Africanus* were written late in his life: the Hexapla was history by that time from Origen’s point of view.

Thus the following facts about his general procedure are clear: (1) the copies of the Old Greek (Septuagint) known to Origen differed from the Hebrew at various places and for a variety of reasons; (2) the aim of Origen’s work was to bring the Old Greek into quantitative alignment with the Hebrew; (3) Origen marked the passages in his copies of the Greek Old Testament which were lacking in the Hebrew with a sign called an obelus; (4) Origen added from other Greek versions available to him passages extant in the Hebrew which were wanting in the Septuagint and marked these with an asterisk. The asterisk (※) and obelus (÷) were critical signs developed and used by the librarians in Alexandria and perfected by Aristarchus of Samothrace in the course of editing the texts of Homer. Origen also used a metobelus (∕) to mark the end of the phrase or word

pre-marked by an asteriskos or obelos. Another sign called an antisigma or lemniscus (∞) was used to mark displaced passages (only found in the Syrohexapla). Scholars who believe that the critical signs were first placed not in the original synopsis but in an edition derived from the synopsis begun by Origen and developed further by Pamphilus and Eusebius are probably correct (Dines 2004: 101; Fernández Marcos 2000: 213–15; Schironi 2015).

Whatever the purpose in creating the Hexapla—apologetic, text-critical, or exegetical—Origen's work provided a helpful synopsis allowing one to compare the earliest translation, the Septuagint, with the later Jewish revisions and also with the Hebrew parent text, at least that of c.200 CE in Caesarea.

Details of the layout of the Hexapla are debated. Contrary to Nautin's denial, however (Nautin 1977), Jenkins has shown that the Mercati Palimpsest (Ra 1098) did originally contain a column in Hebrew letters (Jenkins 1998a). He argues from the codicological measurements of a copy of some folia of Hexapla Psalms preserved in the Cairo Genizah that the creator of this palimpsest text had cut off the column in Hebrew. Alternatively, by this time, no Greek scribe would have been able to copy text in Hebrew script and this may be the reason why the first column was left out.

Scholars are also divided on whether the Tetrapla mentioned by Eusebius ever existed, or assuming that it existed, whether it was produced before the Hexapla, or afterwards, representing a condensed version of the Hexapla minus the first two columns containing the Hebrew text (Hiebert 2001: 184 n. 21; Sipilä 1998: 16–38). Nonetheless, from the statements in the colophons of Syrohexapla manuscripts there is no reason to doubt the existence of the Tetrapla. In fact, according to the colophon to the Twelve Prophets in the Syrohexapla, the Tetrapla had an identical layout on the page as the Syrohexapla, with the main text a derivative of the Fifth Column of the Hexapla and marginal notes added providing readings of the Three (see also Jenkins 1991 and 1998b). One could assume that where the readings of the Three were not supplied, they were in fact identical to the LXX or deviated minimally. Thus the Tetrapla was 'fourfold', i.e. supplied four editions of the text. Since the Tetrapla did not present original text and translation(s), it need not be laid out in columnar format (John D. Meade, personal communication).

THE HEXAPLARIK RECENSION

Towards the end of the fourth century CE, Jerome stated that three different regional editions or versions of the Septuagint existed at that time, the third one resulting from the work of Origen, Eusebius, and Pamphilus:

The people of Palestine read the books which, having been laboured over by Origen, Eusebius and Pamphilus published... And Origen certainly not only put together the texts of four editions, writing the words in a single row so that one regularly differing may be compared to others agreeing among themselves, but what is more

audacious, into the edition of the Seventy he mixed the edition of Theodotion, marking with asterisks those things which were missing, and placing obeli by those things which are seen to be superfluous.

(Jerome, *Praefatio ad Paralipomena*. Trans. K. Edgecomb, with modification)

Certainly we can identify in our manuscript tradition of the Septuagint a recension based on the Fifth Column of Origen's Hexapla. This recension is normally designated by the siglum *O* in the editions of the Göttingen Septuagint (as opposed to *o'*, the siglum normally used in manuscripts for the text of the Fifth Column of the Hexapla). Origen died in 253, and the date given for his successor, Pamphilus, is usually 240–310. We do not know at what point Pamphilus began his labour of preserving the library of Origen (Jerome, *Vir. ill.* 75). Some books were certainly lost during the persecution of Diocletian (Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* VIII.2), perhaps parts of the Hexapla among them. Several colophons speak of Pamphilus and Eusebius working together to copy either the Hexapla itself or a Hexaplaric recension based on it (Grafton and Williams 2006; Mercati 1941). Eusebius was bishop of Caesarea from 312 to 340 and continued to enhance the library at Caesarea greatly, yet his precise role in the transmission of the Hexapla or Hexaplaric recensions is uncertain. Euzoius, Bishop of Caesarea 373–9, endeavoured to copy and preserve papyrus books on parchment that were deteriorating (Jerome, *Vir. ill.* 113), no doubt the Hexapla among them.

PATRISTIC CONTACT WITH THE HEXAPLA

Patristic writers like Jerome, Epiphanius, Rufinus, and Theodoret of Cyrillus evince first-hand knowledge of the Hexapla. Some scholars consider Jerome a liar (Nautin 1977: 326–8; Nautin 1985). Jerome admired Origen's scholarship to the point of worship. Nonetheless, Jerome's testimony on the Hexapla should be believed, since he actually travelled to Caesarea and spent some time consulting the Hexapla in person. Jerome's commentaries on biblical texts (e.g. Ecclesiastes, Jeremiah) are so full of readings from the Three that either he had copies himself, as he in fact claims, or made notes in Caesarea to work from, or else travelled very regularly to Caesarea (cf. Jay 1985: 407–17):

This is also why we have been careful to correct all the books of the old law that the learned man Adamantius [i.e. Origen] had arranged in the Hexapla, having transcribed them from the library of Caesarea, by means of these authentic copies in which the very Hebrew words were written out in their own characters and expressed in the next column in Greek letters. Aquila likewise and Symmachus, the Seventy too, and Theodotion occupy their own column. But some books, especially those that were composed in verse among the Hebrews, have three other added editions, which they call the fifth, sixth, and seventh translation, editions that have followed the authority of the translators without their names. That immortal genius

gave us these things by his own effort, so that we should not greatly fear the haughtiness of the Jews...

(Jerome, *Comm. Tit.* 3.9; trans. Scheck 2010: 341–2; cf. Jerome, *Comm. Ps.* 1.4)

Thus Jerome claims to have transcribed texts from the Hexapla of Origen in the library of Caesarea.

Another learned patristic writer was Epiphanius, whose testimony concerning the mechanics of Origen's work is trustworthy in spite of chronological problems in his report:

First, making a painstaking effort to collect the <books> of the six [Old Testament] versions—Aquila, Symmachus, the Septuagint, Theodotion, (6) and a fifth and a sixth [version]—<he issued them> setting each Hebrew expression next to them, and the actual <Hebrew> letters as well. But directly opposite these, in a second column next to the Hebrew, he made still another parallel text, but in Greek letters. (7) Thus this is, and is called a Hexapla, and besides the Greek translations <there are> two parallel texts, of the Hebrew actually in <Hebrew> letters, and of the Hebrew in Greek letters. It is thus the whole Old Testament in the version called the Hexapla, and in the two Hebrew texts.

(Epiphanius, *Pan.* 64.3.5–7; trans. Williams 2013: 136)

Epiphanius also discusses the Aristarchian signs and the editions in the Hexapla at length in *De Mensuris et Ponderibus* §§2–21 (Syriac version ed. and trans. Dean 1935). What is interesting is that when Epiphanius discusses columns he uses the word Hexapla; when he discusses the signs, he does not use the word Hexapla. His usage proves that the signs were in the Tetrapla, not the Hexapla.

THE AFTERLIFE OF THE HEXAPLA

As noted above, colophons in Codex Marchalianus (Isaiah, Ezekiel), Codex Sinaiticus (II Esdras, Esther), and in the Syrohexapla provide important information on the copying of Origen's Hexapla. Scholars calculate that the original work consisted of forty codices each the size of Codex Vaticanus (Grafton and Williams 2006: 96–132). The evidence from the colophons indicates that Antoninus the Confessor, Pamphilus, the successor of Origen, and Eusebius, the successor of Pamphilus at Caesarea, copied the Fifth Column into separate manuscripts. In these copies the biblical books were put together in blocks, e.g. the Wisdom Books (Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Job, Sirach, Wisdom). Although the prevailing view is that no complete copy of the synopsis was ever made, Reinhart Ceulemans has shown that this perspective must be modified (Ceulemans 2008).

Some of these copies derived from the Hexapla (or copies of the Tetrapla) must have been the parent texts of the Syrohexapla. They contained as a main text a copy of the Fifth Column with the Aristarchian signs and readings from Theodotion, Aquila, and

Symmachus laid out in the margins just as in the Syrohexapla. In later copies, the Aristarchian signs were omitted. Some claim that these, in fact, were the copies sent to Constantine. Constantine ordered fifty ‘copies’ of the Septuagint from Eusebius which were produced and delivered three or four at a time (Eusebius, *Vit. Const.* IV.37.1; although the phrase *τρισά και τετρασά* is difficult to interpret). Robert Kraft (2013) has now argued that the fifty refers to Eusebius bringing together small-scale codices used earlier for parts of scriptural writings (each roughly equivalent to the contents of a scroll) into a scriptural library from which physical ‘Bibles’ could be produced. Skeat believed it possible that Codex Sinaiticus was produced in Eusebius’s scriptorium at this time, but was not dispatched because it was not up to standard (Skeat 1954: 20–1).

Modern scholars suggest that the original Hexapla may have been lost when the Muslims conquered Palestine in 638 (Jellicoe 1968: 124–5). It is possible, however, that it may have survived only in part in copies past the fourth century CE. We can see that Origen and his successors were only interested in the Tetrapla and not in preserving the original Hexapla.

As one can see from the above discussion, our impoverished knowledge of the early history of the Hexapla and the fragmentary remains make it difficult to distinguish the text of the Fifth Column of the Hexapla, specified in the patristic sources by the siglum *ο’*, and the hexaplaric recension of the Septuagint derived from it. Was this due to Origen’s own work in moving from Hexapla to Tetrapla? What changes were introduced by Pamphilus and Eusebius? Was Eusebius responsible for leaving out the special signs when producing the fifty Bibles for Constantine? These are questions that the speculation of modern scholars attempts to answer.

To this day the description by Field of the Hexapla and his collection of Hexaplaric fragments remains the best (Field 1875: 1.iii–xci; trans. Norton 2005). The Hexapla Institute at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in Louisville, Kentucky, has undertaken the Hexapla Project under the aegis of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies and led by Peter J. Gentry of Louisville, KY, Alison G. Salvesen of the University of Oxford, and Bas ter Haar Romeny of VU University Amsterdam. The goal of the Hexapla Project is to gather all Hexaplaric materials published since Field’s edition and prepare critical editions of all known materials. The first volume, that of John D. Meade for Job 22–42, has now appeared (Meade 2020). Song of Songs by Reinhart Ceulemans, Ecclesiastes by Phillip Marshall, Numbers by Kevin Burris and Andrew H. McClurg (2 vols.), and Job 1–21 by Nancy T. Woods have been completed as dissertations and eventually will be available in hard copy by Peeters as well as in the electronic database at www.hexapla.org.

SUGGESTED READING

See approximately fifty articles, both general and specific, on pre-Hexaplaric and post-Hexaplaric Translations and the Hexapla in the volumes edited by Armin Lange and Emanuel Tov (2016). Salvesen (2017) discusses the issues and challenges of updating the work of Frederick Field by attempting new editions of Hexaplaric fragments.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bammel, C. P. (1988). 'Die Hexapla des Origenes: Die Hebraica Veritas im Streit der Meinungen'. *Augustinianum* 28.1–2: 125–49.
- Caloz, Masséo (1978). *Étude sur la LXX origénienne du psautier: Les Relations entre les leçons des psaumes du manuscrit Coislin 44, les fragments des Hexaples et le texte du psautier Gallican*. OBO 19. Fribourg: Éditions universitaires; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Ceulemans, Reinhart (2008). 'The Greek Christian Afterlife of the Minor Versions: The Possibilities of a Shift in Perspective', in H. Ausloos, B. Lemmelijn, and M. Vervenne, eds., *Florilegium Lovaniense: Studies in Septuagint and Textual Criticism in Honour of Florentino García Martínez*. BETL 224. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 101–17.
- Ceriani, Antonio M., ed. (1874). *Codex Syro-Hexaplaris Ambrosianus photolithographice editus*. Monumenta sacra et profana 7. Milan: Typis et impensis Bibliothecae Ambrosianae. (Cited according to folio number in the facsimile; folio numbers in the actual manuscript are different.)
- Cuppi, Lorenzo (2012). 'The Treatment of Personal Names in the Book of Proverbs from the Septuagint to the Masoretic Text', in T. M. Law and A. Salvesen, eds., *Greek Scripture and the Rabbis*. CBET 66. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 19–38.
- Dean, James E., ed. (1935). *Epiphanius' Treatise on Weights and Measures: The Syriac Version*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Devresse, Robert (1954). *Introduction à l'étude des manuscrits grecs*. Paris: Klincksieck.
- Dickey, Eleanor. (2015). 'Columnar Translation: An Ancient Interpretive Tool that the Romans Gave the Greeks'. *The Classical Quarterly* 65.2: 807–21.
- Dines, Jennifer M. (2004). *The Septuagint*. London: T&T Clark.
- Fernández Marcos, Natalio (2000). *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Versions of the Bible*. Trans. Wilfred G. E. Watson. Leiden: Brill.
- Field, Frederick (1875). *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt*. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Flint, Peter (1998). 'Columns I and II of the Hexapla: The Evidence of the Milan Palimpsest (Rahlfs 1098)', in Alison G. Salvesen, ed., *Origen's Hexapla and Fragments: Papers Presented at the Rich Seminar on the Hexapla, Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies, 25th July–3rd August 1994*. TSAJ 58. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 125–32.
- Fraser, Peter Marshall (1972). *Ptolemaic Alexandria*. 3 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Gallagher, Edmon L. (2012). *Hebrew Scripture in Patristic Biblical Theory: Canon, Language, Text*. Leiden: Brill.
- Gentry, Peter J. (2016). 'Did Origen Use the Aristarchian Signs in the Hexapla?', in W. Kraus, M. N. van der Meer, and M. Meiser, eds., *XV Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Munich 2013*. Munich: SBL Press, pp. 133–48.
- Grafton, Anthony, and Megan Williams (2006). *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book: Origen, Eusebius, and the Library of Caesarea*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press.
- Hiebert, Robert J. V. (2001). 'Syriac Biblical Textual History and the Greek Psalter', in R. J. V. Hiebert, C. E. Cox, and P. J. Gentry, eds., *The Old Greek Psalter*. JSOTSup 332. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, pp. 178–204.
- Jay, Pierre (1985). *L'Exégèse de Saint Jérôme d'après son "Commentaire sur Isaïe"*. Paris: Études Augustiniennes.
- Jellicoe, Sidney (1968). *The Septuagint and Modern Study*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

- Jenkins, R. G. (1991). 'Colophons of the Syrohexapla and the *Textgeschichte* of the Recensions of Origen', in Claude E. Cox, ed., *VII Congress of the IOSCS: Leuven 1989*. SCS 31. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, pp. 261–77.
- Jenkins, R. G. (1998a). 'The First Column of the Hexapla: The Evidence of the Milan Codex (Rahlfs 1098) and the Cairo Genizah Fragment (Rahlfs 2005)', in Alison G. Salvesen, ed., *Origen's Hexapla and Fragments: Papers Presented at the Rich Seminar on the Hexapla, Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies, 25th July–3rd August 1994*. TSAJ 58. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 88–102.
- Jenkins, R. G. (1998b). 'Hexaplaric Marginalia and the Hexapla-Tetrapla Question', in Alison G. Salvesen, ed., *Origen's Hexapla and Fragments: Papers Presented at the Rich Seminar on the Hexapla, Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies, 25th July–3rd August 1994*. TSAJ 58. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 73–87.
- Kamesar, Adam (1993). *Jerome, Greek Scholarship and the Hebrew Bible: A Study of the Quaestiones Hebraicae in Genesis*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Kharanauli, Anna (2020). 'Origen and Lucian in the Light of Ancient Editorial Techniques', in A. Aejmelaeus, D. Longacre, and N. Mirotadze, eds., *From Scribal Error to Rewriting: How Ancient Texts Could and Could Not Be Changed*. De Septuaginta Investigationes 4. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 15–52.
- Kraft, Robert A. (2013). 'What Did Constantine Want from Eusebius? The 50 Booklets of Sacred Scriptures Badly/Sadly Misunderstood'. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, Baltimore, MD.
- Lange, Armin, and Emanuel Tov, eds. (2016). *Textual History of the Bible: The Hebrew Bible*, Vols. 1A, 1B, and 1C. Leiden: Brill.
- Law, T. Michael (2008). 'Origen's Parallel Bible: Textual Criticism, Apologetics, or Exegesis?' *JTS* 59.1: 1–21.
- Meade, John D. (2020). *A Critical Edition of the Hexaplaric Fragments of Job 22–42*. Origen's Hexapla: A Critical Edition of the Extant Fragments. Leuven: Peeters.
- Mercati, Giovanni (1941). *Nuove Note di letteratura biblica e cristiana antica*. Studi e Testi 95. Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
- Middeldorpf, Henricus, ed. (1835). *Codex Syriaco-Hexaplaris: Liber quartus Regum e codice parisiensi, Jesaias, duodecim Prophetas minores, Proverbia, Jobus, Canticum, Threni, Ecclesiastes e codice mediolanensi*. Berlin: Enslin.
- Μουτσουλα, Ηλία Δ., ed. (1973). Το "περι μετρων και σταθμων" εργον επιφανιου του σαλαμινος. *Θεολογια* 44.1–2: 157–98.
- Munnich, Olivier (1995). 'Les Hexaples d'Origène à la lumière de la tradition manuscrite de la Bible grecque', in G. Dorival and A. Le Boulluec, eds., *Origeniana Sexta: Origène et la Bible; actes du Colloquium Origenianum Sextum Chantilly, 30 août—3 septembre 1993*. BETL 118. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 167–85.
- Nautin, Pierre (1977). *Origène: Sa vie et son oeuvre*. Paris: Beauchesne.
- Nautin, Pierre (1985). 'Hieronymus'. *TRE* 15: 304–16.
- Neuschäfer, Bernhard (1987). *Origenes als Philologe*. Schweizerische Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft 18. Basel: Friedrich Reinhardt.
- Norton, Gerard (1998). 'Observations on the First Two Columns of the Hexapla', in Alison G. Salvesen, ed., *Origen's Hexapla and Fragments: Papers Presented at the Rich Seminar on the Hexapla, Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies, 25th July–3rd August 1994*. TSAJ 58. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 103–24.

- Norton, Gérard J., O.P., with Carmen Hardin (2005). *Frederick Field's Prolegomena to Origenis Hexaplorum quae Supersunt sive veterum interpretum Graecorum in totum Vetus Testamentum fragmenta*. Cahiers de la Revue Biblique 62. Paris: Gabalda.
- Petitmengin, Pierre, and Bernard Flusin (1984). 'Le Livre antique et la dicteé: Nouvelles recherches', in E. Lucchesi and H. D. Saffrey, eds., *Mémorial André-Jean Festugière: Antiquité païenne et chrétienne—vingt-cinq études réunies et publiées*. Geneva: Cramer, pp. 247–62.
- Romeny, R. B. ter Haar (1997). *A Syrian in Greek Dress: The Use of Greek, Hebrew, and Syriac Biblical Texts in Eusebius of Emesa's Commentary on Genesis*. Leuven: Peeters.
- Salvesen, Alison G. (2017). 'A "New Field" for the Twenty-First Century? Rationale for the Hexapla Project, and a Report on its Progress', in A. Piquero Otero and P. Torrijano Morales, eds., *The Text of the Hebrew Bible and Its Editions: Studies in Celebration of the Fifth Centennial of the Complutensian Polyglot*. Supplements to the Textual History of the Bible 1. Leiden: Brill, pp. 286–309.
- Scheck, Thomas P., trans. (2010). *St. Jerome's Commentaries on Galatians, Titus, and Philemon*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press.
- Schironi, Francesca (2012). 'The Ambiguity of Signs: Critical σημεία from Zenodotus to Origen', in M. R. Niehoff, ed., *Homer and the Bible in the Eyes of Ancient Interpreters*. Jerusalem Studies in Religion and Culture 16. Leiden: Brill, pp. 87–112.
- Schironi, Francesca (2015). 'P.Grenf. 1.5, Origen and the Scriptorium of Caesarea.' *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrology* 52 (2015): 181–223.
- Sgherri, Giuseppe (1977). 'Sulla valutazione origeniana del LXX.' *Biblica* 58: 1–28.
- Sipilä, Seppo (1998). 'Max Leopold Margolis and the Origenic Recension in Joshua', in A. G. Salvesen, ed., *Origen's Hexapla and Fragments: Papers Presented at the Rich Seminar on the Hexapla, Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies, 25th July–3rd August 1994*. TSAJ 58. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 16–38.
- Skeat, T. C. (1954). 'The Use of Dictation in Ancient Book-Production', repr. in J. K. Elliott, ed., *The Collected Biblical Writings of T. C. Skeat* (2004). SupVT 113. Leiden: Brill, pp. 3–32.
- Vööbus, Arthur (1975). *The Pentateuch in the Version of the Syro-Hexapla: A Facsimile Edition of a Midyat MS. Discovered 1964*. SCSO 369, Subsidia 45. Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO.
- Wevers, John W. (1992). *Text History of the Greek Exodus*. MSU XXI, AAWG. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Williams, Frank, trans. (2013). *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis, Books II and III. De Fide*. 2nd rev. edn. Nag Hammadi and Manichaean Studies 79. Leiden: Brill.
- Ziegler, J., and F. Albrecht, eds. (1943; 2014). *Duodecim Prophetarum*. Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum, Vol. 13. 4th edn. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

CHAPTER 39

THE USE OF THE SEPTUAGINT IN THE LITURGY AND LECTIONARY OF THE GREEK ORTHODOX CHURCH

JOHN A. L. LEE

SCOPE

THE LXX had a profound impact on the Orthodox Christian liturgy. The focus in this chapter is on the Greek tradition, but the same impact is seen at one remove in the traditions derived by translation from the Greek, such as the Slavonic. The great age of the liturgical material is such that few changes have occurred in more than a millennium, and the oldest texts originate from much earlier, as far back as New Testament times. In any case, additional texts have always followed in the same tradition and style and built on the same heritage of LXX and other early sources. The liturgy of today can therefore be taken as the starting point of study, as will be done here. It is understood, however, that in the earliest centuries there was much fluidity in the forms of liturgical worship and the structures that we now see took time to develop.

The Greek language of the liturgical texts is itself located in one period and no later, whatever the date of composition, namely within ancient Greek down to 600 CE, the end of the Koine Greek period. Developments in the language after that date are avoided.

The literary level of liturgical Greek is predominantly ‘upper-middle’, that is, a formal, dignified, and literary Greek, but also embracing a variety of elements from different levels and times, reflecting the diversity of sources. The LXX itself contributed markedly to the development of this traditional language and style.

The corpus of liturgical texts is contained in a series of books used by the participants in the services and usually located at certain places in the church. There is no ‘Bible’ as such, that is, one book comprising the books of the Old and New Testaments in continuous form; nor is there one of the whole LXX Old Testament (or the New Testament); there is, however, one of the Psalms (*Psalterion*). Old Testament readings and selected Psalms are incorporated into the various books at the places where they are to be read in the services. There is considerable overlap in content between books. The main books that will be used here are the *Efchologion*, *Ieratikon*, *Mineon*, *Paraklitiki*, *Pentikostarion*, *Triodion*, *Psaltirion*, and *Orologion*, in standard editions (see Bibliography), but there is no simple system of reference and the texts are not yet digitized. All text is in Greek of the period mentioned, even the rubrics and additional matter such as lives of saints. The text is fixed in the sense that the words are followed exactly and there is no room for extemporaneous composition. The corpus is not closed, however, in that new texts composed in the appropriate style may be, and still are, being added, as when hymns commemorating a new saint are required.

The input of the LXX is most evident in the recitation of the Psalms and the reading of selected Old Testament passages; direct quotations at various points, especially of Psalm verses, are also prominent. But there is extensive yet more subtle influence in the many LXX allusions embedded in texts of all kinds, and furthermore in items of vocabulary that originated in the LXX and became part of the common stock used by the liturgical composers. Each of these will be illustrated in its own section below.

The question of how the LXX first came to play such a role, that is, from what sources and by what processes the LXX elements entered the early Christian liturgical tradition, is also one of interest. But definite answers are elusive. The topic involves the early history of Christian liturgy and its antecedents in Jewish liturgy, for both of which we have limited data. The final section of this chapter will outline the main areas of discussion and sources for further information.

THE PSALMS

The Psalter may be said to have had the greatest impact of all the Old Testament books, since the Psalms are integral to the services and have been so from the earliest times. Not only are single Psalms or groups of Psalms recited as such and particular verses selected for use in certain places, but their language and phraseology have permeated the entire body of liturgical composition. The recitation of Psalms takes two forms: a portion of the Psalter is recited in rotation at a set place in the services; and individual Psalms have been selected and assigned their own places.

The 150 Psalms of the Psalter are divided into twenty approximately equal portions, or *kathismata* (καθίσματα, sing. κάθισμα), with a subdivision into three *staseis* (στάσεις, sing. στάσις) in each *kathisma*. The *kathismata* are assigned in a rotating pattern to the daily Orthros (morning service) and Vespers (evening service), and to the Hours in Great Lent, in such a way that the whole Psalter is recited in a week at ordinary times of the year and twice a week in Great Lent (see table in *Psaltirion*; Mary and Ware 1969: 530–4). The recitation of the *kathismata* of the Psalter is not heard today in parish churches but is usually confined to monasteries. The constant repetition of the Psalter, with consequent extreme familiarity to the point of knowledge by heart, is of great antiquity and has underlain Christian devotion at all times. It is therefore understandable that the Psalms have influenced every aspect of liturgical composition.

Selected Psalms are chosen for recitation at particular places in the services, as already mentioned. The total number of these, spread over the various services, amounts to as many as sixty. So, for example, Psalm 103 (LXX numbering) is read at the beginning of Vespers, and the Six Psalms (ὁ ἑξάψαλμος), consisting of Psalms 3, 37, 62, 87, 102, and 142, are said at the beginning of Orthros. Psalm 50, a penitential Psalm, appears repeatedly. Psalm 118, chanted in three *staseis*, forms a major portion of the funeral service. At Compline (ἀπόδειπνον), no less than ten Psalms are incorporated into the service alongside litanies, prayers, and hymns of various kinds. The reason for the choice of a particular Psalm may be evident in some cases, but is often not readily discernible. The Psalms themselves are often inconsistent in content and show changes of subject and mood, so while one or two verses may be appropriate to their position, other parts of the Psalm may not. A further factor in the choice can be typological interpretation of the Psalm (Barrois 1977: 16–18).

Single verses or groups of verses from the Psalms are selected for particular places in the services. For example, near the conclusion of the Divine Liturgy (i.e. the Eucharist) is chanted three times 'Blessed be the name of the Lord, from now and for evermore' (Ἐὕη τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου ἐνλογημένον ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν καὶ ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος), taken directly from Psalm 112:2. The Communion Hymn (κοινωνικόν) is a Psalm verse, varying with the day of the week and the feast. In many cases the Psalm verses are remnants of a Psalm that was originally recited in full but has been abbreviated. This often happens where hymnographic material (*troparia*, etc.) has been composed to alternate with the verses and has grown in prominence, while the Psalm itself has been reduced. An example of the phenomenon is found in the Antiphons near the beginning of the Divine Liturgy, where in present-day practice Psalms 102 and 145 are reduced to three (or four) verses interspersed with refrains.

THE ODES

The Nine Odes (ὠδαί) are biblical passages, eight from books of the Old Testament (Exod. 15:1–19; Deut. 32:1–43; 1 Kgdms 2:1–10; Hab. 3:1–19; Isa. 26:9–20; Jonah 2:3–10; Dan. 3:26–56; Dan. 3:57–88), and one from Luke's Gospel in the New Testament. The

last, the Ninth Ode, is formed of two songs combined, Luke 1:46–55 (*Μεγαλύνει ἡ ψυχὴ μου τὸν Κύριον*, the ‘Magnificat’) and Luke 1:68–79 (*Εὐλογητὸς Κύριος ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ*, the ‘Benedictus’). The Odes themselves have to a great extent disappeared, with some important exceptions, but they have left their mark on the structure of the Orthros service. They were originally chanted in full during the service but were eventually displaced by the Canon (*κανών*), which appeared as a musical composition in the seventh century to accompany each Ode (Wellesz 1961: 198–245). Today the Canon remains and the Ode itself is mostly omitted, though the Canon partly reflects the content, and even the words, of the Ode. The first portion of the Ninth Ode (*Μεγαλύνει . . .*) is still regularly chanted in the Orthros; another regular survival is the chanting of the Eighth Ode (the Song of the Three Children), in Holy Saturday Vespers. All of the Odes have a poetic, Psalm-like character, which lends itself to their use as hymns, and no doubt played a part in their selection in the first place. This description applies just as much to the two that are found in Luke: they are largely made up of Old Testament phrases and expressions and appear to derive from a Jewish Christian source earlier than Luke.

OLD TESTAMENT READINGS

Readings from the Old Testament have had a place in the services since the earliest times. In the Divine Liturgy, where there are none today, there is evidence of the presence of Old Testament readings at least until the fourth century and some branches of Eastern Orthodoxy retain them even today (Swete 1914: 356–8; Werner 1959: 58–9, 62). It is generally assumed that they are a continuation from the synagogue service. At the earliest stage there were (at least) two readings, one from the Law and one from the Prophets. To these were added readings from the Epistles (or Acts) and the Gospels. At some point the Old Testament readings were dropped from the Divine Liturgy, but they remain in certain of the Offices, notably Vespers. In Great Lent, at the Sixth Hour and Vespers, we find a cycle of readings from Isaiah, Genesis, and Proverbs, progressing from the beginning to the end of each, with some omissions (Barrois 1977: 70). The *lectio continua* of the synagogue is thus to some extent maintained. An attempt to find common ground between the synagogue readings and the early Church lectionaries has been made by Werner (1959: 63, 72–94; cf. Levine 2005: 151–2).

In addition to these readings, Old Testament texts are selected for reading at Great Vespers of feast days and many saints’ days. The number of texts is usually three, mostly but not always including one from the Law and one from a Prophet (Negoitsa 1967: 351–4). The selection can often be seen to be closely connected with the feast or the saint. At Pentecost, for example, the readings taken from Numbers, Joel, and Ezekiel all have some mention of the outpouring or presence of the Spirit (Barrois 1977: 114). The Feast of Prophet Elijah (20 July) has readings only from 3 and 4 Kingdoms, narrating events in the prophet’s life. Others are more tenuous, but some motivation can be discerned. At

the beginning of the Indiction, still celebrated on 1 September and regarded as the beginning of the Church year, the first reading, Isa. 61:1–10, covers the same verses of Isaiah read by Jesus in the synagogue at the beginning of his public life as recorded by Luke (4:18–19). The other readings of the day, from Leviticus and Wisdom, convey injunctions on keeping the commandments and thoughts on the cycle of life (Barrois 1977: 136).

Not all the Old Testament books are read, that is to say, no selections are taken from some books at all for the lectionary; there are also others drawn on sparingly. The list of those not used is quite long (Barrois 1977: 19). The reason is unlikely to be some kind of rejection of these books but rather the natural limit on what could be fitted into the services and the fact that some books might simply not have offered suitable material. There were probably more extensive readings in the services in earlier times, but the greater development of hymnology was a factor leading to reduction (Barrois 1977: 19).

QUOTATIONS AND ALLUSIONS

Quotations of whole verses or series of verses intended as such are inserted into parts of the services and are easily recognized, but there are also many partial or modified quotations, reminiscences, and allusions, many of them easy to miss. It is more straightforward to treat all of these under one heading than to try to classify them into different types according to the extent or exactness of the quotation.

Direct quotations occur, often introduced by ‘saying’, ‘he said’ (*εἰπών* etc.), and may be illustrated by an example from the prayer in the marriage service beginning ‘Blessed are you, Lord our God’ (*Εὐλογητὸς εἶ, Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν*). In it a quotation from Gen. 2:18 is introduced: ‘It is not good for man to be alone upon the earth; let us make him a helper suited to him’ (*οὐ καλὸν εἶναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον μόνον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· ποιήσωμεν αὐτῷ βοηθὸν κατ’ αὐτόν*); shortly after that, 2:23, 24 are quoted in their entirety: ‘Adam said, This is bone of my bones...’ (*τοῦτο νῦν ὁστοῦν ἐκ τῶν ὀστέων μου...*).

But the freedom with which quotations from the same passage are adapted can be seen in the next prayer beginning ‘Holy God’ (*Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ἅγιος*), which goes on: ‘who formed man from dust and from his rib fashioned woman, and joined her to him as a helper suited to him’ (*ὁ πλάσας ἐκ χοῦς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς αὐτοῦ ἀνοικοδομήσας γυναικα, καὶ συζεύξας αὐτῷ βοηθὸν κατ’ αὐτόν*). The words pick up phrases here and there from the original, without quoting them or their context exactly: *βοηθὸν κατ’ αὐτόν* is lifted from Gen. 2:18 (above); *ὁ πλάσας ἐκ χοῦς τὸν ἄνθρωπον* is adapted from 2:7; and *ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς αὐτοῦ ἀνοικοδομήσας γυναικα* is a compact version of 2:22.

Another example shows how the quotation may be close to the original but modified in some way that makes it significantly different. The words of Psalm 94:6 ‘Come let us worship and fall down before him’ (*δεῦτε προσκυνήσωμεν καὶ προσπέσωμεν αὐτῷ*) are

chanted at the Small Entrance in the Divine Liturgy, but with *αὐτῶ* replaced by *Χριστῶ*. They are also used near the beginning of the Orthros, Vespers, and Hours services in a threefold form, again with new words replacing or added to *αὐτῶ*, varying each time: ‘... before God our King’ (... *τῶ Βασιλεῖ ἡμῶν Θεῶ*), ‘... before Christ our God and King’ (... *Χριστῶ τῶ Βασιλεῖ ἡμῶν Θεῶ*), ‘... before him, Christ our God and King’ (... *αὐτῶ Χριστῶ τῶ Βασιλεῖ καὶ Θεῶ ἡμῶν*).

Partial quotations and allusions are often woven into prayers. The Prayer of the Second Antiphon in the Divine Liturgy of St John Chrysostom, though quite short, makes use of several:

Lord our God, (1) *save your people and bless your inheritance*; protect the whole body of your Church; sanctify those who (2) *love the beauty of your house*; glorify them in return by your divine power, and (3) *do not forsake us* (4) *who hope in you*.

Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, σῶσον τὸν λαόν σου καὶ εὐλόγησον τὴν κληρονομίαν σου· τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας σου φύλαξον· ἀγίασον τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας τὴν εὐπρέπειαν τοῦ οἴκου σου· σὺ αὐτοὺς ἀντιδόξασον τῇ θεϊκῇ σου δυνάμει καὶ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἐλπίζοντας ἐπὶ σέ.

(1) = Ps. 27:9.

(2) Cf. Ps. 25:8 ‘Lord, I loved the beauty of your house’ (*Κύριε, ἠγάπησα εὐπρέπειαν οἴκου σου*).

(3) Cf. Pss. 26:9; 37:22; 70:9, 18; 139:9; Num. 10:31.

(4) Cf. Pss. 5:12; 16:7; 85:2 + many similar.

Another case is the well-known prayer in the funeral service, ‘O God of spirits and all flesh’ (*Ὁ Θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκός*), also used at memorial services, which is replete with references. The opening words are found in Num. 16:22, ‘They said, O God, the God of spirits and all flesh’ (*εἶπαν Θεός, θεὸς τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκός*), and again in Num. 27:16. Further on in the prayer we have ‘give rest... in a place of green pasture’ (*ἀνάπαυσον... ἐν τόπῳ χλοερῶ*), which references Ps. 22:2, ‘in a place of green grass’ (*εἰς τόπον χλόης*). Then ‘from where pain, sorrow and sighing have fled’ (*ἐνθα ἀπέδρα ὀδύνη, λύπη καὶ στεναγμός*) are the words of Isa. 35:10 = 51:11, with the addition of *ἐνθα*. Still more is to come: ‘for there is no one who lives and does not sin’ (*ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἄνθρωπος ὃς ζήσεται καὶ οὐχ ἁμαρτήσει*) is based on Ps. 88:49, ‘who is the man who will live and not see death?’ (*τίς ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος ὃς ζήσεται καὶ οὐκ ὄψεται θάνατον;*), and ‘your righteousness is righteousness for ever, and your law is truth’ (*ἡ δικαιοσύνη σου δικαιοσύνη εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, καὶ ὁ νόμος σου ἀλήθεια*) is an exact quotation of Ps. 118:142.

Old Testament texts are similarly incorporated into hymns or troparia, with or without modifications. Just one example will suffice. The Dismissal Hymn (*ἀπολυτικίον*) of the Resurrection in Tone 3 begins: ‘Let the heavenly realm rejoice and the earthly realm be glad’ (*Εὐφραινέσθω τὰ οὐράνια, ἀγαλλιάσθω τὰ ἐπίγεια*), which is clearly based on Ps. 95:11 *εὐφραινέσθωσαν οἱ οὐρανοί, καὶ ἀγαλλιάσθω ἡ γῆ*. Later in the same hymn we have the phrase ‘from the depths of Hades’ (*ἐκ κοιλίας ᾄδου*) taken from Jonah 2:3.

One could continue quoting similar examples almost indefinitely. Constantelos, in an extensive sample from three Liturgies and four 'Mysteria' (Baptism, Chrismation, Marriage, Holy Unction), counted some 567 Old Testament verses and parts of verses, and estimated the Scriptural material (including that from the New Testament) at 'more than 25%' of these services (Constantelos 1966: 78–9).

I conclude with a select list of phrases taken from Old Testament texts and reused in new contexts. The examples available are very abundant and testify to the extreme familiarity of the original authors with the LXX. They also show how significantly the LXX contributed to the thought of the liturgical texts and the formation of the liturgical style (Swete 1914: 471–2 noted others). The sources range across many books, but Psalms and Isaiah are frequent.

- Isa. 57:15 Ἅγιος ἐν ἁγίοις ὄνομα αὐτῶ, κύριος ὑψιστος ἐν ἁγίοις ἀναπαυόμενος.
Divine Liturgy, Prayer of the Trisagion Hymn: 'God the holy one, resting among the holy' (Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ Ἅγιος, ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις ἀναπαυόμενος). Similarly Prayer of the Cherubic Hymn.
- Exod. 29:18; 29:25, etc. εἰς ὀσμὴν εὐωδίας.
Divine Liturgy, petition: 'who has received them... as a sweet-smelling spiritual fragrance' (... εἰς ὀσμὴν εὐωδίας πνευματικῆς).
- Isa. 33:5 ὁ κατοικῶν ἐν ὑψηλοῖς, Isa. 57:15, Ps. 112:5 ὁ ἐν ὑψηλοῖς κατοικῶν.
Divine Liturgy, Prayer for the Catechumens: 'Lord our God, dwelling on high' (Κύριε, ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ὁ ἐν ὑψηλοῖς κατοικῶν).
- Deut. 4:29, etc. ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς σου, Josh. 21:5 ἐξ ὅλης τῆς διανοίας ὑμῶν καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς ὑμῶν.
Litany of Fervent Supplication, petition: 'Let us all say with all our soul and with all our mind, let us say' (... ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς διανοίας ἡμῶν...).
- Ps. 91:15 ἔτι πληθυνθήσονται ἐν γῆρει πίονι.
Marriage service, prayer 'Lord our God': 'Grant that they may attain to a ripe (lit. "fat") old age' (καὶ καταξιώσον αὐτοὺς ἐν γῆρει πίονι κατατηῆσαι).
- Zech. 6:12 Ἀνατολὴ ὄνομα αὐτῶ.
Marriage service, 'Dance of Isaiah': 'Dawning sun is his name' (Ἀνατολὴ ὄνομα αὐτῶ).
Ps. 118:62 τοῦ ἐξομολογεῖσθαί σοι ἐπὶ τὰ κρίματα τῆς δικαιοσύνης σου.
Orthros prayer 8: 'To give thanks to/praise you for the judgements of your righteousness' (ἐξομολογεῖσθαί σοι ἐπὶ τὰ κρίματα τῆς δικαιοσύνης σου).

We may notice finally the example of Exod. 3:14. The distinctive LXX rendering provided an interpretation of much significance for theological discussion: ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ὢν, 'I am the one who is' (Hebrew *'ehyeh 'ăšer 'ehyeh*, 'I am who I am'). This too appears in the liturgical texts as a form of address, notably:

Liturgy of St Basil, beginning of the Anaphora:

ὁ Ὄν, Δέσποτα, Κύριε Θεέ, Πάτερ παντοκράτορ προσκυνητέ...

Prayer at Making of a Catechumen:

ὁ Ὄν, Δέσποτα, Κύριε, ὁ ποιήσας τὸν ἄνθρωπον κατ' εἰκόνα σὴν καὶ ὁμοίωσιν...

VOCABULARY

A topic that has not been explored much to date is the use made in the liturgical texts of *vocabulary* that derives from the LXX (cf. Swete 1914: 472). Much of this vocabulary may also be found in the New Testament, but it goes back ultimately to the Greek of the LXX translators and the vocabulary stock established by them in the process of translation. The early translators, especially of the Pentateuch, Psalms, and Isaiah, were instrumental in creating a vocabulary that met their needs as translators of the Hebrew Bible. In doing so they drew on the language of their own time, that is, the Greek of Ptolemaic Egypt, which included both vocabulary in everyday use and more educated vocabulary passed down from Classical Greek. They also created some of their own neologisms on existing Greek models. In addition, they often introduced Hebraic uses of Greek words reflecting the thought and usage of Hebrew. Some of these last items could well have existed already in the language of the Egyptian Jewish community, such as *διαθήκη* ('covenant') and *εὐλογῶ* ('bless') (Joosten 2011), but many arose from the literal translation method of the LXX translators.

This LXX vocabulary entered the language of the early Church and was maintained in the usage of the liturgical composers. Allusion to any particular Old Testament occurrence was lost, and these words and uses acquired an independent life; in the process they contributed significantly to the elevated, 'biblical' style of the texts. Furthermore, this vocabulary influenced the writings of the Church fathers, and even the speech and writing of ordinary Christians of the same era accustomed to hearing the texts in church. These processes are a neglected dimension of the history of the Greek language.

An example to illustrate these points is *ἐξαποστέλλω*, 'send (away)'. The history of the word (Lee 2007) shows that it was adopted by the Pentateuch translators from the Greek of third-century BCE Egypt, when it first came into use as a slightly more formal equivalent of other 'send' words. Subsequently it declined in use, so that by the time of the New Testament it was no longer part of the contemporary language. It appears in the New Testament, however, especially in the writings of Luke, a known imitator of LXX style and vocabulary. Soon after, we find examples in Christian texts of the second century CE (e.g. Clement, Hermas) and then in the liturgical texts (Lee 2007: 111). Thus a word from several centuries earlier became established in liturgical Greek usage through its use in the LXX.

A similar pattern can be observed in a whole group of words that originated in the petition language of the early Ptolemaic era. Petitions, that is, special appeals to the king or an official, follow a formulaic style and use a distinctive vocabulary developed for the purpose. Many hundreds of petitions survive and they maintain the traditional language over centuries. This petition vocabulary figures prominently in the LXX, especially in the Psalms: the translators knew it from the petitions of their own time (Montevecchi 1961: 296–309). It reappears much later in Greek liturgical language, with or without New Testament evidence along the way. A list of such words, by no means

exhaustive, includes ἀβοήθητος ('without help'), βοήθεια ('help'), βοηθός ('helper'), ἀντιλήμπτωρ ('helper'), ἀντίληψις ('help'), καταφεύγω ('flee for refuge'), καταφυγή ('refuge'), δέησις ('petition'), θλίψις ('distress'), θλίβομαι ('be distressed'). Some specimens of these words in the liturgical texts, as well as some of the vocabulary mentioned later, are:

Prayer for others in time of illness:

ἐπάκουσον τῆς φωνῆς τῆς δεήσεώς μου, καὶ ἐξαπόστειλον βοήθειαν ἐξ ἁγίου κατοικητηρίου σου... 'Hear the voice of my petition and send help from your holy dwelling-place...'

Thanksgiving prayer after Communion:

ἡ ἐλπίς, ἡ σκέπη, ἡ καταφυγή, ἡ παραμυθία, τὸ ἀγαλλίαμά μου, εὐχαριστῶ σοι... 'My hope, protection, refuge, consolation, and joy, I thank you...'

Divine Liturgy, petition:

ὑπὲρ τοῦ ῥυσθῆναι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ πάσης θλίψεως, ὀργῆς, κινδύνου καὶ ἀνάγκης... 'That we may be delivered from all affliction, anger, danger, and distress...'

Orthros prayer 5:

πάντες σὲ προσκυνούμεν καὶ σοῦ δεόμεθα, τὰ σὰ ἐλέη καὶ τοὺς σοὺς οἰκτιρμούς ἐπικαλούμενοι εἰς βοήθειαν καὶ ἀντίληψιν τῆς ἡμετέρας ταπεινώσεως. 'We all worship you and entreat you, calling upon your mercy and your compassion, to help and assist our lowliness.'

Orthros prayer 12:

πρὸς σὲ καταφεύγομεν, τὸν ἐλεήμονα καὶ παντοδύναμον Θεόν... 'To you we flee for refuge, the merciful and all-powerful God...'

Orthros prayer 7:

σὺ εἶ μόνος ἅγιος, βοηθός, κραταιὸς ὑπερασπιστὴς τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν καὶ ἐν σοὶ ἡ ὕμνησις ἡμῶν διαπαντός. 'You alone are holy, the helper and mighty defender of our life, and in you is our praise at all times.'

Apart from petition language, there is a wide range of other words that were put to use by the LXX translators and later made their way into the liturgical vocabulary. Some stand out as the words for certain subjects, such as praise and requests for mercy or forgiveness; others are more general. In the list that follows, not intended to be complete, they are roughly grouped. Among them are words not attested before the LXX and so

possibly neologisms created by the translators (marked * in the list). Whether they were new creations or not, their adoption by the translators gave them currency in the Greek Old Testament read by Jews and later by Christians, and led to their presence in liturgical Greek. Some special Hebraic uses are among them.

αἰνῶ ('praise'), *αἰνεσις ('praising'), αἰνετός ('praiseworthy'), αἶνος ('praise'), δοξάζω ('glorify'), ἐξομολογοῦμαι ('confess, praise'), *ἐξομολόγησις ('praise'), ὕμνω ('praise, sing hymns to'), *ὕμνησις ('praise').
 μεγαλύνω ('magnify'), *μεγαλειότης ('magnificence'), *μεγαλωσύνη ('greatness'), μεγαλοπρέπεια ('magnificence'), *παντοδύναμος ('all-powerful').
 ἔλεος ('mercy'), ἐλεῶ ('have mercy'), ἐλεήμων ('merciful'), ἐλεημοσύνη ('mercy'), *πολυέλεος ('very merciful'), οἰκτιρμοί ('compassion': plural, as in Hebrew), οἰκτίρμων ('compassionate'), *μακροθυμῶ ('be long-suffering'), *μακρόθυμος ('long-suffering'), μακροθυμία ('forbearance').
 ῥύομαι ('deliver'), *ῥύστης ('deliverer'), *ὑπερασπιστής ('defender'), διαφυλάσσω ('protect'), σκέπη ('protection').
 ἀγαθωσύνη ('goodness'), ἀγαθότης ('goodness').
 οὐρανοί ('heaven': plural, as in Hebrew), γηγενής ('earthborn').
 *κατανύσσομαι ('feel compunction'), *κατάνυξις ('compunction').
 ἐγκαταλείπω ('abandon'), *θυσιαστήριον ('altar'), καρδιά ('heart' in Hebrew sense), *μακροημερεύω ('live long'), προσδέχομαι ('accept'), *πρωτόπλαστος ('first-formed').

In addition, mention must be made of the frequent occurrence in liturgical texts of Hebraic *phrases* or *idioms* that occur in the LXX translation and were taken over in the same way as vocabulary and reused without any allusion to a particular passage. Some examples:

ποιεῖν μετὰ τίνος ἔλεος, e.g. Ps. 108:21 ποίησον μετ' ἐμοῦ ἔλεος. E.g. Prayer of the First Antiphon: ποίησον μεθ' ἡμῶν... πλούσια τὰ ἐλέη σου, 'grant to us the riches of your mercy'.

ποιεῖν κατὰ τὸ ἔλεος, e.g. Ps. 118:124 ποίησον μετὰ τοῦ δούλου σου κατὰ τὸ ἔλεός σου. E.g. Communion prayer: ποίησον μετ' ἐμοῦ κατὰ τὸ ἔλεός σου, 'act towards me according to your mercy'.

ἐλπίζω ἐπὶ σέ/ σοί etc., e.g. Pss. 5:12 οἱ ἐλπίζοντες ἐπὶ σέ, 7:2 ἐπὶ σοὶ ἤλπισα. E.g. Prayer of the Second Antiphon: ... ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἐλπίζοντας ἐπὶ σέ, '... us who hope in you.' (Cf. BDAG, s.v. ἐλπίζω 1.c. for examples in NT + many ECL.)

In this category may also be noted the formula εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, used repeatedly in the *ekphronesis* or conclusion of a prayer, followed by the response Ἀμήν. It is first found in this form in Ps. 83:5 (cf. 4 Macc. 18:24 ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων ἀμήν), then frequently in the New Testament (Gal. 1:5 etc.); the common LXX variation εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας is also used.

ORIGINS

It is obvious that once portions of the LXX had become established as elements of Christian worship as readings or hymns, they could be drawn on for quotations and vocabulary repeatedly and in different ways thereafter. The process would have been ongoing and would have included recycling of material already taken over into liturgical usage. But how did the LXX come to be part of Christian liturgy in the first place? To say that the LXX translation was the ‘Scriptures’ of the first Christians is only a partial answer; we also need to know something of the nature of early Christian worship, how it originated, and why the LXX played such a prominent role in it. This takes us back to the Jewish context from which Christianity sprang and to contemporary Jewish worship that could have formed the basis of, or at least contributed to, early Christian forms of worship. Unfortunately the subject is short of firm information on crucial points and disturbed by controversy. What follows can do little more than indicate the relevant topics and lines of debate.

Our question necessarily involves the synagogue, its origin, history, and character. Debate on these topics has ranged far and wide and led to polarized views. Some trace the origin of the synagogue back to the sixth or fifth centuries BCE or even earlier (Levine 2005: 22). Clear evidence begins with inscriptions from the third century BCE in Ptolemaic Egypt which refer to a Jewish *proseuchê* (prayer house); other evidence from the second century BCE to the first century CE in documentary, literary, and archaeological sources follows, spread through the Diaspora and Judea, including Jerusalem (Schürer 1979: 425–7; Levine 2005: 46–61; 81–134). The New Testament would seem to offer unequivocal evidence of Galilean synagogues in the time of Jesus. Yet the picture of the first-century CE Judean synagogue implied by the New Testament is disputed by Kee and others (Kee and Cohick 1999: 1–26; cf. Levine 2005: 47–8), and Olsson declared in 2003 that ‘no synagogue scholar of today will defend [the] traditional reconstruction’ (Olsson et al. 2003: 29). To comment on just one aspect of this position, Kee’s view that the New Testament examples of *synagōgê* do not refer to a place but mean ‘meeting, gathering’ (Kee and Cohick 1999: 14–16) seems lexicographically perverse when one occurrence, Luke 7:5, *must* refer to a building (as Kee admits), and most of the rest are naturally taken in the same way.

Next we need to enquire what went on in the synagogue. Readings from the Law and the Prophets are known components of the later synagogue service. Were they present by the first century CE? There is clear evidence to that effect for the former. The reading of the Law is mentioned in Josephus, Philo, the New Testament, and the Theodotos inscription from Jerusalem (Levine 2005: 148–9; Tov 2003: 251–2; Perrot 1988: 137, 149; Strange 1999: 28), though a first-century CE date for the inscription has been questioned (see, for example, Strange 1999: 29). The reading from a Prophet, usually known by the term *haftōrah* (pl. *haftōrōt*; on the derivation Schürer 1979: 2:452), is first clearly attested, it appears, in the New Testament (Luke 4:17; Acts 13:15, 27; cf. Levine 2005: 153–4). Dates

proposed for the initial introduction of readings of the Law and the Prophets range widely. A date in the third century BCE, at least for Egypt, is suggested by the LXX itself, if the translation was created to meet the liturgical needs of the Egyptian Jewish community, that is, to provide a Greek text for reading in the synagogue services (Thackeray 1923; Tov 1988: 168; Levine 2005: 151; cf. Dines 2004: 47–50). Taking this further, attempts have been made to link known Jewish lectionary cycles with the stages of translation of the LXX (Thackeray 1923; cf. Jellicoe 1968: 64–70) and with Philo's citations from the Prophets (Cohen 2007; cf. Rajak 2009: 173). But this scenario has not been decisively proven and is not accepted by some (cf. Perrot 1988; Harl, Dorival, and Munnich 1988: 68–9; Perrot 1973). In any case, even if it is clear that the practice of Scripture reading was an established part of the pre-Christian synagogue service, the steps by which the practice came into early Christian liturgy are far from clear or certain (cf. Bradshaw 2004: 69–72).

In view of the prominence of public prayer in Christian liturgy, an obvious question is whether prayer also formed part of pre-Christian Jewish worship. It has been taken for granted that some of the prayers of the post-70 CE synagogue service are older in origin, and many scholars have attempted to trace earlier versions especially of the *Shemoneh 'Esreh* or *'Amidah* (Levine 2005: 163; cf. Schürer 1979: 2:454–63). Yet some maintain that 'no public prayer was known in Judaea in the pre-70 period' (Levine 2005: 163). Whether this is true or not, it is not open to question that prayer, public or private, existed in Jewish and Jewish Christian practice of the first century CE and earlier, as abundant references to prayer and examples of prayers in the LXX and New Testament attest (e.g. Dan. 6:11; 9:4–19; 2 Macc. 1:24–9; Luke 18:10–13; Acts 4:24–30; cf. Charlesworth 1982: 274–77; Enermalm-Ogawa 1987). The name of the Egyptian Jewish synagogue, *pro-seuchê*, itself implies that prayer had some part in the function of the building (if not 'place of prayer', what?).

In regard to the Psalms, their presence can be detected in Jewish worship and devotion from the days of the Temple to today, but we have little explicit information for the early period. The use of Psalms in the Temple is taken for granted by all commentators and known from Jewish tradition; use in the synagogue is predictably unclear. The LXX Psalm superscriptions or headings are too obscure to yield clear evidence of anything (cf. Swete 1914: 250–1; Dines 2004: 49). The familiarity of Jewish Christians with the Psalms is certainly on display in the New Testament, with its constant quotations and allusions by the authors and participants, and Psalm singing is explicitly mentioned (Col. 3:16; cf. Eph. 5:19); but we have no clear indication of how the Psalms were used in early Christian worship. On the other hand, early Christian borrowing of the Odes (or some of them) from Jewish synagogue practice is strongly suggested by a combination of literary and archaeological evidence (van der Horst and Newman 2008: 157, 189).

The question of the languages used in worship is also relevant. If Greek was used in the pre-70 CE synagogue service, the connection with the development of Christian worship in Greek is more direct than if translation from Hebrew or Aramaic was

involved. Unfortunately we have to rely on deduction, not solid evidence. The translation of the Hebrew Bible into Greek suggests that the Greek version was used in Egypt at least for study and might have been the text for formal readings in the synagogue, either following the Hebrew reading or instead of it (Perrot 1988: 155; Levine 2005: 159; Rajak 2009: 172–3). The ‘liturgical’ theory of the origin of the LXX version necessarily entails its use in this way, at least in Egypt. It has been suggested that some translations found in LXX-Isaiah, such as ἅγιος ἐν ἁγίοις (Isa. 57:15), were in fact Jewish liturgical formulas in use in Egypt at the time (Seeligmann 1948: 101–2). Philo (c.20 BCE–c.50 CE) does not tell us in what language readings were read, but significantly he himself knew no Hebrew but based all his discussion on the Greek translation, which he regarded as being on an equal footing with the original. There were certainly Greek-speaking Jewish communities in the Diaspora in the first century CE, and the Theodotos inscription implies one in Jerusalem itself (Tov 2003: 251–2; cf. Schürer 1979: 2:76–7). Early Jewish prayers in Greek (Enermalm-Ogawa 1987; van der Horst and Newman 2008) also provide strong evidence for the use of Greek.

The quest to identify actual prayers and formulas that were originally part of Jewish worship and then taken over into Christian liturgy has been pursued by many scholars. Some items seem simple and obvious, such as ἀμὴν (Oesterley 1925: 70–1, 147–8) and ἀλληλούϊα (Werner 1959: 301–4; Jonas 2015, both words), but they do not take us far. Links in the use of εὐλογητός (εἶ), (κύριος) παντοκράτωρ, δέσποτα, and ὕψιστος also seem easy to establish (cf. Enermalm-Ogawa 1987: 34–5, 67–8, 124–8). Of the other points of contact proposed, the likeliest case is that of the *Trisagion* and the *Kedushah*, both using the words of Isa. 6:3 (Oesterley 1925: 144–7; Sigal 1984: 79; Fiensy 1985: 225–7; Gerhards 2007; Bradshaw 2004: 128). The *Trisagion* (Ἄγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος, Κύριος Σαβαώθ... ‘Holy, holy, holy, Lord of Sabaoth...’) has been a component of the Christian Eucharistic prayer from earliest times; the Hebrew form is found in the Jewish prayer known as the *Kedushah*, also very old: but that it was used in pre-Christian Jewish liturgy seems to be an inference not established fact. Many other affinities have been suggested (Werner 1959: 31–6, 273–301; Sigal 1984: 73–8), but establishing a line of descent is another matter. A further possibility is that Jewish prayers continued to be drawn on and adapted by Christians well after the first century, as indicated by the prayers in book 7 of the *Apostolic Constitutions* (Charlesworth 1982: 283–5; Sigal 1984: 64–9; Fiensy 1985).

The contribution of the LXX to the Greek Orthodox liturgy is abundantly clear. The details of this contribution could be pursued further, with interesting results. But the enquiry into the early processes by which this came about has limited success. There is a cloud of hints and possibilities but absolutely clear links or steps are hard to establish. That there was input from pre-Christian Jewish worship seems beyond doubt, but the process of transmission was such that it cannot be traced with certainty now. It may be that work in this field will produce no firmer results until documentary or archaeological discoveries provide new evidence.

SUGGESTED READING

For students of early liturgy, the work of Bradshaw (2002, 2004) has marked a significant step in its grasp of both the ancient sources and the scholarly literature. On the forms of the texts used in early synagogues, see Tov (2003). Some relevant lexical entries are explored in the work of the ongoing project *The Historical and Theological Lexicon of the Septuagint*, edited by Eberhard Bons, the first volume of which is due to be published in 2020.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Barrois, Georges A. (1977). *Scripture Readings in Orthodox Worship*. Crestwood, NY: St Vladimir's Seminary Press.
- Bradshaw, Paul F. (2002). *The Search for the Origins of Christian Worship: Sources and Methods for the Study of Early Liturgy*. Rev. edn. London: SPCK.
- Bradshaw, Paul F. (2004). *Eucharistic Origins*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Charlesworth, James H. (1982). 'A Prolegomenon to a New Study of the Jewish Background of the Hymns and Prayers in the New Testament'. *JJS* 33: 265–85.
- Cohen, Naomi G. (2007). *Philo's Scriptures: Citations from the Prophets and Writings. Evidence for the Haftarah Cycle in Second Temple Judaism*. Leiden: Brill.
- Constantelos, Demetrios J. (1966). 'The Holy Scripture in Greek Orthodox Worship'. *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 12: 7–83.
- Dines, Jennifer M. (2004). *The Septuagint*. London: T&T Clark.
- Enermalm-Ogawa, Agneta (1987). *Un Langage de prière juif en grec: Le Témoignage des deux premiers livres des Maccabées*. Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell.
- Fiensy, David A. (1985). *Prayers Alleged to be Jewish: An Examination of the Constitutiones Apostolorum*. Chico, CA: Scholars Press.
- Gerhards, Albert (2007). 'Crossing Borders: The Kedusha and the Sanctus. A Case Study of the Convergence of Jewish and Christian Liturgy', in Albert Gerhards and Clemens Leonhard, eds., *Jewish and Christian Liturgy and Worship: New Insights into Its History and Interaction*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 27–40.
- Harl, Marguerite, Gilles Dorival, and Olivier Munnich (1988). *La Bible grecque des Septante: Du judaïsme hellénistique au christianisme ancien*. Paris: Cerf.
- Jellicoe, Sidney (1968). *The Septuagint and Modern Study*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Jonas, Michael (2015). *Mikroliturgie: Liturgische Kleinformeln im frühen Christentum*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Joosten, Jan (2011). 'Le Vocabulaire de la Septante et la Question du Sociolecte des Juifs Alexandrins: Le Cas du Verbe εὐλογέω, "Bénir"', in Eberhard Bons and Jan Joosten, eds., *Septuagint Vocabulary: Pre-History, Usage, Reception*. Atlanta, GA: SBL, pp. 13–23.
- Kee, Howard C., and Lynn H. Cohick, eds. (1999). *Evolution of the Synagogue: Problems and Progress*. Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International.
- Lee, John A. L. (2007). 'Exapostellō', in Jan Joosten and Peter J. Tomson eds., *Voces Biblicae: Septuagint Greek and Its Significance for the New Testament*. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 99–113.
- Levine, Lee I. (2005). *The Ancient Synagogue: The First Thousand Years*. 2nd edn. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Mary, Mother, and Kallistos Ware (1969). *The Festal Menaion*. London: Faber and Faber.

- Montevocchi, Orsolina (1961). 'Quaedam de graecitate Psalmorum cum papyris comparata', in Leiv Amundsen and Vegard Skånland, eds., *Proceedings of the IX International Congress of Papyrology, Oslo, 19th–22nd August, 1958*. Oslo: Norwegian Universities Press, pp. 293–310.
- Negoitsa, A. (1967). 'LAT dans le culte de l'Église Orthodoxe'. *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses* 47: 347–54.
- Oesterley, William O. E. (1925). *The Jewish Background of the Christian Liturgy*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Olsson, Birger, and Magnus Zetterholm, eds. (2003). *The Ancient Synagogue: From Its Origins until 200 C.E.* Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell.
- Perrot, Charles (1973). *La Lecture de la Bible dans la Synagogue: Les Anciennes Lectures palestiniennes du Shabbat et des fêtes*. Hildesheim: H. A. Gerstenberg.
- Perrot, Charles (1988). 'The Reading of the Bible in the Ancient Synagogue', in Martin J. Mulder and Harry Sysling, eds., *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*. Assen: Van Gorcum, pp. 137–59.
- Rajak, Tessa (2009). *Translation and Survival: The Greek Bible of the Ancient Jewish Diaspora*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Schürer, Emil (1979). *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*. Vol. 2. Rev. and ed. Geza Vermes, Fergus Millar, and Matthew Black. Edinburgh: T&T Clark.
- Seeligmann, Isac L. (1948). *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah: A Discussion of Its Problems*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Sigal, Phillip (1984). 'Early Christian and Rabbinic Liturgical Affinities: Exploring Liturgical Acculturation'. *NTS* 30: 63–90.
- Strange, James F. (1999). 'Ancient Texts, Archaeology as Text, and the Problem of the First-Century Synagogue', in Howard C. Kee and Lynn H. Cohick, eds., *Evolution of the Synagogue: Problems and Progress*. Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, pp. 27–45.
- Swete, Henry B. (1914). *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*. 2nd rev. edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Thackeray, Henry St. J. (1923). *The Septuagint and Jewish Worship: A Study in Origins*. 2nd edn. London: British Academy.
- Tov, Emanuel (1988). 'The Septuagint', in M. J. Mulder and H. Sysling, eds., *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*. Assen: Van Gorcum, pp. 161–88.
- Tov, Emanuel (2003). 'The Text of the Hebrew/Aramaic and Greek Bible Used in the Ancient Synagogues', in Birger Olsson and Magnus Zetterholm, eds., *The Ancient Synagogue*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, pp. 237–59.
- van der Horst, Piet W., and Judith H. Newman, eds. (2008). *Early Jewish Prayers in Greek*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Wellesz, Egon (1961). *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography*. 2nd edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Werner, Eric (1959). *The Sacred Bridge: The Interdependence of Liturgy and Music in Synagogue and Church during the First Millennium*. London: Dennis Dobson.
- Liturgical books (various dates). *Εὐχολόγιον, Ἱερατικόν, Μηναῖον, Παρακλητικὴ, Πεντηκοστάριον, Τριώδιον, Ψαλτήριον, Ὡρολόγιον*. Athens: Ἀποστολικὴ Διακονία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

CHAPTER 40

RECEPTION OF THE SEPTUAGINT AMONG GREEK CHRISTIAN WRITERS

REINHART CEULEMANS

INTRODUCTION

A Jewish text in origin, the Septuagint (LXX) has been of tremendous importance to Greek Christianity and its literature, from its very beginnings down to the fall of Byzantium in 1453 (the end of the time period this chapter envisages). As their Old Testament text, the LXX was cited, celebrated, read, learned, copied, edited, preached, illustrated, translated, etc. by Greek-speaking Christians. It permeated all fields of public and private life and virtually all Christian literature of the patristic and Byzantine periods. The importance of the LXX in Greek Christianity led to an overwhelming amount and a great variety of evidence available today that testifies to the reception of the LXX in Greek Christian literature.

The Christian evidence that results from this important role of the LXX cannot be avoided by scholars of the LXX today. The Jewish text that is the LXX would hardly have been known to us without its Christian reception: for the period considered, not a single extant non-Christian document preserves the whole of the LXX. The evidence on which the Göttingen editions (see Chapter 3) depend in order to reconstruct the oldest reachable text of the LXX and document its subsequent history is almost entirely Christian. Even the scholar who deals exclusively with, let us say, the Jewish origins and earliest, pre-Christian history of the LXX, cannot escape the Christian evidence: the *Letter of Aristeas* (CAVT 273), for example, has been preserved only in Christian manuscripts

(see Chapter 8 in this volume). Because of our general reliance upon Christian evidence, Greek Christian preoccupation with the LXX has shaped our knowledge and understanding of that text in a profound way (a fact not always sufficiently recognized). Thus some modern-day, Western scholarly conceptions of the origins and transmission of the LXX are shaped by the views Greek-speaking Christianity had on those topics—even when they are incorrect (see p. 595).

This chapter aims to present, without entering into details or specifics about content, some of the Greek Christian literature that is directly related to the LXX and would not have existed (or only in a very different form) without the LXX. It leaves aside questions of canon (for which, see Chapters 1 and 26) but does offer some views on the kind of LXX text that was used by Church fathers and Byzantine authors. Mentioning texts that are mostly literary and exegetical, this chapter is inevitably restrictive and does not reflect the important and varied role that the LXX played in Greek-speaking Christianity.

IMPACT AND DIVERSITY

Since the ‘Parting of the Ways,’ when the LXX was accepted naturally by Greek-speaking Christianity as its Old Testament, it never lost its authority. The LXX was very much present in all Christian literature from the Roman and Byzantine periods, not only in exegetical or theological writings, but also in liturgical, secular, official, and other texts. As a corpus that is much more diverse than the New Testament (it includes poetry, pseudo-historical accounts, prayer, etc.), it could be tailored to diverging needs and applied to many different purposes (religious, but also ideological, political, literary, etc.). In the fifth century, Adrian confronted the LXX with available rhetorical theory (*CPG* 6527; see now Martens 2017) and afterwards passages from it were regularly cited as examples in Christian manuals of rhetoric (cf. Bady 2014). Continuing a tradition that was initiated by Constantine the Great (d. 337), Christian emperors would use the LXX to promote and legitimize their reign (Dagron 2003). Projecting Old Testament models, imagery, and language upon themselves and their politics, they sought biblical legitimation for their authority: this included the depiction and citation of LXX passages (see Magdalino and Nelson 2010: 22–5).

These are just two examples that allow the appreciation that virtually every Greek Christian text from the New Testament onwards, so to speak, refers to the LXX. More than once, this presence of the LXX transcends the level of citations and allusions: two other illustrations show how its influence was often more structural, for example by serving in some way as a model or blueprint for texts that at first sight would seem to have nothing to do with the LXX. The promulgation in 741 of the *Ecloga* (ed. Burgmann 1983), an imperial law code whose ideology and imagery were strongly Septuagintal, was accompanied by the creation of the so-called *Nomos Mosaikos* (ed. Burgmann and Troianos 1979), a legal text that consists solely of excerpts from Pentateuchal books and which proved quite popular (see Humphreys 2015: 93–105 and 171–9; others date the *Nomos* to the ninth century, see

Chitwood 2017: 114–8). Christian world chronicles and chronographical literature (both from Late Antiquity and Byzantium) as a rule depended very much on ‘historical’ events related in the LXX (and related pseudepigraphic literature), and a text like the *Palaea* from between the ninth and twelfth century could be described as a popularizing short version of a part of the LXX (CAVT 277; see now Adler 2013 and Siegert 2016: 704–12). Texts such as these are examples of a written (often but not always, belletristic) expression of the place that the LXX occupied in Greek Christian society. Nonetheless, in their capacity as learned products, they, too, act as filters for the permeation of the LXX into all aspects of everyday life, as do the other texts and manuscripts treated in this chapter.

In focusing on learned documents, this chapter is no exception to the habits of LXX scholarship. For example: the Greek Christian evidence that any editor of a LXX book looks into consists of biblical manuscripts and citations by patristic (and exceptionally: Byzantine) authors. While it is certainly true that these witnesses are most useful for a critical reconstruction of the oldest reachable text, they as learned products offer a picture that is to a certain extent exceptional and even somewhat artificial: a manuscript like Codex Vaticanus (Ra B) is very important for research (because it offers us a text largely untouched by Christian recensional activity) but reflects only modestly how the LXX was alive in Greek-speaking Christianity. Most of the Greek handwritten witnesses of the LXX (see Chapter 10) that are brought together in the standard overviews (notably Rahlfs 1914—with the exception of a limited number of early Jewish witnesses, all of them are Christian) are produced in an environment that could be described as more or less erudite and secluded (monastic scriptoria, the ateliers of professional copyists, etc.). The LXX that is preserved in those documents is not necessarily the one that was alive in everyday Christianity. That role of the LXX is reflected more in a number of (mostly, but certainly not exclusively) early witnesses (see Chapter 9): papyri, wooden tablets, and so on, that were used as amulets, writing exercises, or prayers. Some of those documents are included in Rahlfs and Fraenkel 2004, but certainly not all of them (for a recent random example, see Berkes 2014). Noteworthy in this regard is the fact that both Göttingen inventories just mentioned as a rule ignore LXX inscriptions (for which one is forced to revert to Jalabert 1914; see now Feissel 1997 and Felle 2006).

The observation that LXX studies tend to steer away from the evidence that expresses the popular dynamic reception of the LXX in Greek-speaking Christianity not only pertains to manuscript witnesses, but also to literature—the distinction is not always easily made, as is illustrated by hymns and prayers that are drawn up of converted LXX passages and jotted down on text carriers of various nature (Rahlfs 1914 and Rahlfs and Fraenkel 2004 did certainly not aim for completion with regard to these texts). Such documents are expressions of private devotion, but the LXX also played a role in the liturgy, notably in the form of the Psalter and the Old Testament lectionary better known as the Prophetologion (see Chapter 39). With slight exaggeration, one could say that, more than the complete LXX as we know it, this liturgical selection represented, together with the Psalms, the Old Testament in the eyes of the common man (cf. Miller 2010). This does not mean, however, that the Prophetologion did not also attract more learned attention: it was commented upon in the form of a catena (see Géhin 1992).

Non-liturgical popular usage of the LXX includes—next to non-written expression such as art—magical formulas, amulets, funerary dedications, etc. (e.g. de Bruyn and Dijkstra 2011 or Kiourtzian 1997—again Rahlfs 1914 and Rahlfs and Fraenkel 2004 did not target such witnesses). In those kinds of documents, it is the Psalter that is the dominant source. Without any doubt, that is the LXX book that Christianity from the Roman and Byzantine periods used the most: it never disappeared from the Greek classroom it had entered in Late Antiquity, and it was transmitted, used, and read (and used in prayer) more often than any other book of the LXX. (It is useful to mention at this point that in Greek Christianity, *the* LXX about which scholarship speaks—i.e. the complete collection of books as found in Rahlfs and Hanhart 2006—hardly existed as a physical product. Manuscripts that contain the entire LXX are extremely rare, and as a rule it was (combinations of) individual books and corpora that were transmitted: the Psalms, the Octateuch, the Prophets, etc.) The Psalter also illustrates an aspect that in textual criticism is not taken into consideration often enough, namely how the different forms of Christian transmission of the LXX brought about variety in the presentation and in the wording of the text. For example: many of the Psalter manuscripts used for personal devotion exhibit textual features that express this function (particular division of the Psalter, insertion of other textual material etc.—all of this shows particularly well from Parpulov 2014) but that are not at all reflected in the scholarly editions.

TEXT

That most of the LXX is the translation from a Hebrew text was always known to Greek Christianity, and this awareness is reflected in numerous ways. For example, a short text written possibly around the early fifth century (CPG 3880; ed. Hagedorn and Hagedorn 1994: 151–2), but also taken up by Photius in the ninth century, lists all the reasons for the ‘obscurity’ (ἀσάφεια) of the Greek Old Testament: almost all of them result from the LXX having been translated from Hebrew (*Amphilochia* 152, ed. Westerink 1986: 194–5). More conspicuous is the inclusion of the *Letter of Aristeas*, famous for its account of the LXX translation enterprise (see Chapter 8), in the most popular catena on the Octateuch in the form of a preface (CPG C 2). In one of those manuscripts (Ra 413), the *Letter* was not only accompanied by a full miniature cycle but also by a paraphrase made presumably by Isaac Porphyrogennitus in the twelfth century (ed. Ouspensky 1907: 2–14; see Lowden 2010: 111–15). Furthermore, a short Christian treatise existed which—just as in the case of the *Letter of Aristeas*—was transmitted as a preface in catena manuscripts (see p. 599). It was also included as a topos in the writings of well-known authors (such as Photius) next to being handed down as an independent opusculum falsely attributed to various patristic and Byzantine writers (see e.g. Dörrie 1940: texts IIIa–b; further references in Petit 1986: xxv n. 21). It lists what Greek Christianity considered to be the seven Greek versions of the Hebrew Bible: the

LXX is the first text and is described in a way informed by the *Letter*. In this regard, it should also be borne in mind that the term *ἑβδομήκοντα*, ‘Seventy’, which is directly attached to the origins of the LXX as a translation, did not disappear in Greek Christian literature (nor did the siglum *ο*’, which does not always refer to the respective column of the Hexapla).

LXX

Although the LXX was always known to be a translation from the Hebrew, its authority was not questioned. As a rule, Christian authors from the first five centuries argued that no opposition existed between the original LXX and the original Hebrew text (cf. Gallagher 2012: 173–209). And although Origen had pointed out that parts of the Greek text had become corrupt in the course of its transmission, those authors’ arguments had helped establish the authority of the LXX in such a way that later tradition could take it for granted, without reference to the Hebrew (the knowledge of which soon disappeared, a few exceptions left aside). This does not mean that Greek Christian authors were not well aware of the fact that the literary level and style of the LXX are generally low; in time, however, they managed to explain this observation as a quality that underlines the particular status of the Bible (see Léonas 2005: 87–131). Certain vocabulary was explained in the form of glossaries (see p. 599).

Since the authority of the LXX was never questioned, Greek-speaking Christianity did not attempt to replace it. While Christian metaphrases of the LXX text are known (e.g. *CPG* 3700; see now Faulkner 2020), they have an exegetical, apologetic, or beltristic character, and were never meant to replace the biblical text (which does not mean that they were not received as very welcome, and used, to understand the at times bewildering language of the LXX: see Simelidis 2009: 82 on *CPG* 1766). Both the motivation and the knowledge to undertake a new translation from the Hebrew were lacking. The Catholic monk Simon Atumano is reported to have included in the fourteenth century a new translation from the Hebrew into Greek (and Latin) in a three-columned edition of the Old Testament (cf. Beck 1959: 791), but such an edition has not been found. The so-called Codex Graecus Venetus (also fourteenth century: see Chapter 35) contains a translation of the Pentateuch, the Solomonic books, Ruth, Lamentations, and Daniel from Hebrew into a peculiar Greek idiom (ed. Gebhardt 1875). This translation has been connected to Atumano, but some scholars believe it must have been the work of a Jew or at least a Jewish convert (see De Crom 2009: 299–301)—its reception, in any case, was modest. The authority of the LXX text also prevented it from being replaced by any vernacular Greek version. Even in the later Byzantine period, when the gap between learned and popular language became very pertinent, no attempts were made to create a low-register version of the LXX. An exception is the rewriting of the Psalms and the Odes which can be found in a codex from 1450 (partial edn. Papadopoulos 1969; there is no reason for supposing a Jewish origin behind this paraphrase, as does Fernández Marcos 2000: 180).

The undisputed authority of the LXX as the text of the Old Testament does not imply that no differences can be found between the manuscript copies and in the many citations in Christian texts. On the basis of those copies (most of which hail from the Byzantine period) and citations, textual critics have identified varieties of the LXX text. For the identification of types and recensions, especially the citations of the LXX by Christian authors (who throughout LXX research tend to be restricted to the patristic period) are relevant, since they allow scholars to locate and therefore identify certain recensions and text types (so already Lagarde 1882: 26).

It is indeed beyond doubt that in the course of Christian dealings with and transmission of the LXX text, different forms of the text can be distinguished: most of them originated rather organically in the process of handing down the LXX text (more or less comparable to how families or branches can be discerned in the tradition, or else the stemma, of a given ancient text). Many of such text types have been identified in the Göttingen editions, such as the A-group, the U-text, *b, d, f, n, s*, etc.

Fewer are the textual forms that result from an intentional plan carried out systematically and according to fixed criteria: only such forms can be called *recensions*. Only in exceptional cases are those criteria determined by the Hebrew text: this is of course the case for the Hexaplaric recension (cf. Chapter 38), but also for the *R*-recension of Ruth (see Quast 2006: 72–101). Although the well-known but not unproblematic Antiochian recension (cf. Chapter 37) has not been identified in the Pentateuch (compare in this regard the interesting hypothesis of Janz 2008), it enjoyed an important status. For the Psalms, it became the dominant text in Byzantium and in the abovementioned opusculum it was included as the seventh and last Old Testament version and upgraded to the status of a new translation from the Hebrew (cf. Fernández Marcos 2000: 224–5). In the preface to his *iuxta Hebraeos* translation of Chronicles, Jerome stated that Greek Christians from Egypt used a Hesychian recension, but this has never been identified (the remark by Ziegler 1939: 23 is still valid).

It should be pointed out that, with the exception of the descriptions of the Antiochian recension and of Origen's work, Greek Christian literature does not mention the groups and recensions that modern scholarship distinguishes: their existence is deduced from manuscript collations and the study of citations. It is remarkable that research of these groups and recensions discusses their characteristics (e.g. Wevers for the Pentateuchal text, summarized by Schäfer 2012: 97–137), but never asks how their existence interplays with the type and function of the documents in which they can be found: this is a desideratum.

Other Greek Versions

The picture Greek-speaking Christianity had of Greek versions of the Hebrew Bible other than the LXX is entirely dependent on Origen's Hexapla (on which, see Chapter 38). Even when few (and no complete) copies survive and some columns (notably the first, Hebrew one) hardly received any attention from later Greek tradition, the impact of Origen's undertaking cannot be overestimated: it shaped the way in which the textual history of the LXX was perceived in all of Greek Christianity (and through it even in

modern scholarship). With his inclusion into the Hexapla of the versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion (and, as it seems, a *Quinta*, *Sexta*, and *Septima* for some books: see Chapter 33), Origen not only awoke in subsequent Christian authors and scribes an interest in these versions but also supplied the material for the articulation of that interest: while the provenance of the readings of those versions that are cited by Greek Christian authors and in Byzantine manuscripts is beyond certain identification, one can assume that as a rule they indirectly but ultimately derive from the Hexapla (cf. Ceulemans 2012).

Yet the influence of the Hexapla goes even further: its multi-columned layout presents the Three as texts that have fixed contours, can easily be distinguished one from the other, and are detached from any broader tradition of Jewish Greek translations. This view was accepted by the entire Greek-speaking Christian tradition after Origen. Both when cited by Christian authors and when included piecemeal in the margins of biblical and catena manuscripts, the versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion are presented as individual, clearly identifiable texts (the same view on the Hexaplaric versions emerges from the opusculum mentioned above). It is this very outlook that was adapted by modern (Western) scholarship: down to the twentieth century, scholars as a rule accepted the views of Church fathers and Byzantine authors. It is only after more recent analyses of Greek Dead Sea findings (starting more or less with Barthélemy 1953 and 1963) and of medieval Jewish evidence (initiated by Blondheim 1924; see now www.gbbj.org and de Lange 2015; also Chapter 35) that scholarship started to see that especially the versions known as Aquila and Theodotion belong to a dynamic, continuous tradition and that Origen's isolation of those texts and their inclusion in the Hexapla is just a third-century snapshot of that history.

Greek Christianity ignored this and kept duplicating that snapshot, handing down information dependent on the Hexapla—it is only from the eleventh century onwards that in some documents (Ra F^b, Ra 56) Greek-speaking Christianity started to be informed by that living Jewish tradition (cf. Fincati 2016a and 2016b). Even after these important discoveries, the traditional view—inspired by Greek Christianity—is difficult to shake off and continues to be advocated today (on this issue, see Ceulemans 2014: 91–3). Traditional scholarly tools (such as the available critical editions of the LXX) are modelled on that view: accommodating them to new insights is a challenge scholarship needs to face.

EXEGESIS

General

In its capacity as the Old Testament of the Greek-speaking Church, the LXX was continuously cited, explained, and commented upon. This process already started in the New Testament (see Chapter 36) and in apocryphal literature (see Chapter 26). Following in the footsteps of Jewish writers such as Philo of Alexandria, the first Christian authors

leaned heavily on the LXX and included in their writings explanations of particular parts or books of the LXX, often for apologetic and catechetical purposes. It has been suggested that the LXX passages in question are those that were excerpted and bundled in so-called *testimonia* (Skarsaune 1996). In that way, exegesis of LXX passages was offered in early epistles, homilies, and other writings, and from there on also in the exegetical genre par excellence: that of the biblical commentary. Hippolytus of Rome (c.170–235), for example, authored a commentary on Daniel, amongst other books (CPG 1873; cf. now Bracht 2016).

This tendency lasted up to the end of the period looked into by this chapter: uninterrupted, the LXX continued to be explained. This exegesis took on various shapes and was not restricted to the genres par excellence in which entire LXX books (or several books together, such as the Octateuch) were commented upon: the biblical commentary and the exegetical homily. The interpretation of LXX passages remained an important aspect of hagiographical, dogmatic, polemical, and other literature. Beyond number, for example, are the homilies and treatises that comment upon (or explain to the congregation) particular Old Testament figures (e.g. John Chrysostom on Hannah: CPG 4411 = BHG 2026), themes (e.g. Eusebius of Caesarea on the lives of the prophets: CPG 3505), passages (e.g. Severian of Gabala on the Hexaemeron: CPG 4194), or individual verses (e.g. Basil of Caesarea on Deut. 15:9: CPG 2847). Exegesis can also be found in several collections of questions-and-answers, a literary format quite popular from Late Antiquity on: some of them treat particular books (e.g. Theodoret of Cyrrhus on I–IV Kingdoms: CPG 6201), others do not (e.g. the *Questions and Doubts* of Maximus the Confessor: CPG 7689). What could be described as a programmatic attempt to comment upon the entire LXX (and, one could say, to approach it as a scholarly discipline) was undertaken, but not seen through, by Origen (c.184–254). In fact, some LXX books were never explained in the form of a full-fledged commentary (I–IV Maccabees, Judith, Tobit, etc.), others only quite late (e.g. Wisdom or Ben Sira: the commentary by Malachias the Monk is late-Byzantine, cf. Martínez Manzano 2019).

Of course not only the form, genre, and scope of LXX exegesis were diverse but also the exegetical methodology and hermeneutics. Best known in this regard is the difference between the so-called Alexandrian and Antiochian type of patristic exegesis (the term ‘school’ is often used but is misleading), which has been studied to considerable extent. This and other insights regarding the contents of LXX interpretation are as a rule deduced from patristic exegesis, i.e. exegetical literature from the first five centuries. This period tends to be looked upon as the golden age of biblical exegesis and according to standard opinion it closes with Theodoret of Cyrrhus (d. 466), who is considered the last great exegete of Greek-speaking Christianity (and who indeed was a prolific commentator of LXX books: see Guinot 1995 and 2012). Exegesis from this patristic period has received more attention than that of the centuries following it: most of the editions, translations, and studies of exegetical literature that are available treat texts from the first five centuries and not from the period following Theodoret. Byzantine exegesis remains little researched, with the exception of the typically Byzantine exegetical genre of the catena (which is often studied precisely to retrieve excerpts from otherwise lost patristic exegesis).

The catena format answers to a general shift in perspective, which puts forward reliance upon tradition as a constitutive element in biblical interpretation (and which co-inspired the distinction scholarship makes between Byzantine and patristic exegesis). This approach arose naturally but later it would be laid down in canonical prescriptions: the nineteenth canon of the Quinisext Council (691–2) stipulated that Scripture be interpreted not with one's own exegetical insights but by following the tradition of the Fathers (ἡ ἐκ τῶν θεοφόρων πατέρων παράδοσις—see Nedungatt and Featherstone 1995: 94–6). Catenae are the clearest exponent of this approach but it also affected other Byzantine exegetical literature: exegetes such as Euthymius Zygadenus (d. after 1118 and author of a massive Psalter commentary: *PG* 128: 41–1325) took most of their material from earlier writers. Very little of the exegetical literature that is younger than Theodoret has been edited critically or studied. Nonetheless, learned interpretation of the LXX remained important in Byzantium: this shows, for example, from the official function of 'teacher of the Old Testament' (ὁ διδάσκαλος τοῦ ψαλτηρίου) at the patriarchal school of Constantinople (Loukaki 1998).

Catenae

More or less contemporary with Theodoret, a new main exegetical format started to appear: the catena (or exegetical 'chain'), which could be described as an exegetical anthology. It remained popular until the end of Byzantium, but it did not replace the commentary or the exegetical homily. Although it is now certain that Procopius of Gaza (c.468–529) was not the first to have compiled catenae, modern tradition still likes to credit him with the invention (see Ceulemans 2017b: 213–23). Initially only catenae on LXX books were produced, and only later the form was used to comment on the New Testament as well. All of the catenae (or exegetical texts of that kind) that were composed by Procopius bear on LXX books. The compilers themselves did not use the label 'chain' (σειρά) but terms that express the idea of 'compiling selections' from earlier exegesis (ἐξηγητικά ἐκλογαί, συναγωγή ἐξηγήσεων, etc.). Catena manuscripts (the oldest are uncial codices dated to the eighth and ninth centuries: Ra 1208, 406, 612, and 258) come with different layouts, the most important of which are the so-called *Breitkatene* (full page: the biblical text is divided into lemmata, each of which is followed by the respective exegesis) and *Rahmenkatene* (the biblical text in the centre is surrounded by exegesis).

The exegetical section that explains each biblical lemma consists of one or more excerpts that are taken from earlier patristic and/or Byzantine works and that are linked ('chained') together. The source texts that were excerpted often are commentaries or homilies on the biblical book in question, but not always: especially catenae on biblical books with a poor exegetical tradition not infrequently include excerpts taken from commentaries on other biblical books—the type A catena (*CPG* C 4.A) on I–IV Kingdoms, for example, includes many excerpts from exegesis on Isaiah, the Psalms, etc. (see the overview in Petit 2003: 134–62). Not infrequently, non-exegetical texts were

used as well, and sometimes even Latin ones (see Barbàra 1998). When making their selection, catena compilers did not restrict themselves to one particular interpretational strand (e.g. Alexandrian vs. Antiochian) and transcended dogmatic restrictions: writers such as Origen or Apollinaris of Laodicea who were not unarguably orthodox are cited in the catenae with as much authority as other authors.

Catenae find themselves at the crossroads of the interpretation and transmission of the Greek Bible: especially when it has a marginal disposition, a catena is both an exegetical text and a LXX manuscript—the biblical text itself is at least as important as the interpretative section (cf. programmatically Rahlfs 1914: xi). Within the manuscript transmission of the LXX, the biblical text of catenae in fact tends to form a particular text type (but not a recension: see the prefaces of the available Göttingen volumes against Rahlfs 1922: 103–4 and Rahlfs and Hanhart 2006: xxvii). Research into this type of text and its transmission, however, does almost not exist, and no explanation has been given of the fact that the *C*-text, or catena text, is also found in LXX manuscripts that are not catenae, and that, conversely, not all catena manuscripts offer the *C*-text.

Some ancient LXX catenae offer, next to the exegesis and the biblical text, a third section (compare the description of the Job catena *CPG C 50* in Hagedorn and Hagedorn 1994: 115–19). It can often be found in the margins of catena manuscripts and consists of short notes that express a more or less philological interest in the biblical text: Hexaplaric readings (an item that caught the attention of more than a few catena compilers), variants of the biblical text, lexical glosses, explanations of proper names or of other transliterations of Hebrew words in the Greek biblical text, etc. Some of these materials are included in editions of Hexaplaric readings, others in the critical editions of the catenae themselves.

OTHER LITERATURE RELATING TO LXX

Next to the works mentioned above, a corpus of Christian literature exists that relates directly to the LXX. Much of it either accompanied the transmission of the biblical text or are texts that facilitated its understanding, without being proper exegetical literature. Examples are the so-called *Synopses of Holy Scripture* (in the sense of ‘survey’ or ‘epitome’) that more or less offer a summary of the Bible, as a rule for each book or group of books individually (see Dorival 2005). Best known are the ones attributed (incorrectly, so it seems) to famous theologians such as Athanasius of Alexandria (*CPG 2249*), but they are not the only ones: in the eleventh/twelfth century, for example, Nicetas Seides also composed such a synopsis (ed. Simotas 1984)—the fact that he relied to a large extent on earlier such literature is illustrative of this tradition. The important position of the LXX within this tradition is witnessed by the fact that the *Synopsis* attributed to John Chrysostom (*CPG 4559*; see now Barone 2009) only treats the Old Testament. More than once, catenae transmitted as a sort of preface the relevant section of one of those *Synopses* (Ceulemans 2017a: 364–72).

In addition other Christian texts were sometimes included as prefatory material in LXX and catena manuscripts. The abovementioned opusculum on the different versions of the Greek Old Testament was transmitted as a preface to the Octateuch (together with the *Letter of Aristeas* and short texts on the exiles of the Jews and on the names of God: see Devreesse 1954: 101–21) to the books of Kingdoms and to the Psalms. The latter book, in LXX but especially in catena manuscripts, was also regularly preceded by Athanasius' *Epistle to Marcellinus* (CPG 2097) and various other treatises (cf. Mercati 1948).

Another corpus of literature that can be mentioned in this section is one whose transmission shows fewer points of contact with that of LXX, but which was created as an aid serving a correct interpretation of the biblical text. In general, one could say that the texts in question were triggered by the presence in LXX of un-Greek words (i.e. transcriptions of Hebrew lexemes, e.g. *Ἰερουσαλήμ*) or words that although Graecized still closely reflect the Hebrew (e.g. *τὸ σάββατον*). Early Greek-speaking readers of LXX had felt a desire to explain the meaning behind those names and terms, since the Bible provides the etymology for only some of them. Explanations were created (many of them nonsensical and exhibiting little or no Hebrew knowledge) and bundled in onomastic lists and lexica, which—with modifications—were handed down until late Byzantium. While the corpus of the onomastica has been published quite fully (Lagarde ²1887 and Wutz 1914–15), that of the glossaries—whose origins need to be looked for in an educational context—remains largely unexplored: most of them are unstudied and even unpublished (a notable exception is Benediktsson 1938).

SUGGESTED READING

Among the available introductions to the LXX, Fernández Marcos 2000 is without a doubt the one that pays most attention to its reception in Greek Christianity. The role of the LXX in later, Byzantine society is documented and studied in a less satisfactory way, although Magdalino and Nelson 2010 offer valuable insights; further avenues are explored in Ceulemans and Crostini (2020). The best tool for tracking down LXX exegesis down to the eighth century is the *index biblicus* in the fifth volume of CPG (1987); the necessary framework is provided by Blowers and Martens (2019). For later, Byzantine exegesis (which is largely unexplored and offers many opportunities for research), such a tool does not exist: one is still forced to use Beck 1959 (a new overview is announced for CCTB I.2). The CPG is also the pathway to the corpus of LXX catenae (vol. 4 1980, with supplement 1998 and an updated version 2018. In the meantime, Curti and Barbàra 2006 offer an easily accessible but not always satisfactory overview). An older but instructive introduction to the catena genre is Dorival 1984. The many hagiographical works that recount the *vita* or *passiones* of Greek Old Testament figures and in which exegesis of LXX passages builds an important element can be found in BHG. A convenient introduction to LXX glossaries is offered by Alpers 2008.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adler, William (2013). 'Palaea Historica', in R. Bauckham, J. R. Davila, and A. Panayotov, eds., *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: More Noncanonical Scriptures*. Grand Rapids, MI and Cambridge: Eerdmans, pp. 585–672.

- Alpers, Klaus (2008). 'Lexicon I (griechisch)'. *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* 23: 1261–2.
- Bady, Guillaume (2014). 'La Bible dans les manuels chrétiens de rhétorique'. *Eruditio Antiqua* 6: 13–38.
- Barbàra, Maria A. (1998). 'I frammenti attribuiti ad Ambrogio e Agostino nella tradizione catenaria bizantina'. *Annali di Storia dell'esegesi* 15: 275–80.
- Barone, Francesca P. (2009). 'Pour une édition critique de la *Synopsis Scripturae Sacrae* du Ps. Jean Chrysostome'. *Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes* 83: 7–19.
- Barthélemy, Dominique (1953). 'Redécouverte d'un chaînon manquant de l'histoire de la Septante'. *Revue biblique* 60: 18–29 [repr. in D. Barthélemy, *Études d'histoire du texte de l'Ancien Testament*. OBO 21. Fribourg: Éditions Universitaires and Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978, pp. 38–50].
- Barthélemy, Dominique (1963). *Les devanciers d'Aquila: Première publication intégrale du texte des fragments du Dodécapropheton trouvés dans le désert de Juda, précédée d'une étude sur les traductions et recensions grecques de la Bible réalisées au premier siècle de notre ère sous l'influence du rabinat palestinien*. SupVT 10. Leiden: Brill.
- Beck, Hans-Georg (1959). *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*. Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft 12.2.1. Munich: Beck.
- Benediktsson, Jakob (1938). 'Ein frühbyzantinisches Bibellexicon: *Λέξεις τῆς ὀκτατεύχου*'. *Classica et Mediaevalia. Revue danoise de philologie et d'histoire* 1: 243–80.
- Berkes, Lajos (2014). 'Schreibübungen mit einem Psalm-Zitat: Neues aus der Verwaltung des Fayums im 8. Jh.'. *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 188: 241–4.
- BHG = F. Halkin, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*. Subsidia Hagiographica 8a. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1957. F. Halkin, *Novum auctarium Bibliothecae Hagiographicae Graecae*. Subsidia Hagiographica 65. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1984.
- Blondheim, David S. (1924). 'Échos du judéo-hellénisme: Étude sur l'influence de la Septante et d'Aquila sur les versions néo-grecques des Juifs'. *REJ* 78: 1–14 [repr. in D. Blondheim, *Les Parlers judéo-romans et la Vetus Latina: Étude sur les rapports entre les traductions bibliques en langue romane des Juifs au moyen âge et les anciennes versions*. Paris: Champion, 1925, pp. 157–70].
- Blowers, Paul M., and Peter Martens, eds. (2019). *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Biblical Interpretation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bracht, Katharina (2016). *Hippolyt von Rom, Danielkommentar: Eingeleitet, übersetzt und kommentiert*. Bibliothek der griechischen Literatur 80. Stuttgart: Hiersemann.
- Burgmann, Ludwig (1983). *Ecloga: Des Gesetzbuch Leons III. und Konstantinos' V*. Forschungen zur byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte 10. Frankfurt-am-Main: Löwenklau.
- Burgmann, Ludwig, and Spyros Troianos (1979). 'Nomos Mosaikos', in D. Simon, ed., *Fontes minores III*. Forschungen zur byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte 4. Frankfurt-am-Main: Klostermann, pp. 126–67.
- CAVT = J.-C. Haelewyck, *Clavis Apocryphorum Veteris Testamenti*. Corpus Christianorum. Turnhout: Brepols, 1998.
- CCTB = C.-G. Conticello, ed., *La Théologie byzantine et sa tradition*, Vol. 1, tome 2: VIIIe–XIIes. Corpus Christianorum. Turnhout: Brepols (forthcoming).
- Ceulemans, Reinhart (2012). 'Greek Christian Access to "the Three", 250–600 CE', in T. M. Law and A. Salvesen, eds., *Greek Scripture and the Rabbis*. CBET 66. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 165–91.
- Ceulemans, Reinhart (2014). Review of Gallagher 2012. *Louvain Studies* 38: 86–93.
- Ceulemans, Reinhart (2017a). 'Did Hesychius of Jerusalem Compose an Outline of the Sapiential Books (CPG 6560[4])?', in F. P. Barone, C. Macé, and P. A. Ubierna, eds., *Philologie*,

- herméneutique et histoire des textes entre Orient et Occident: Mélanges en hommage à Sever J. Voicu*. IPM 73. Turnhout, Brepols, pp. 343–80.
- Ceulemans, Reinhart (2017b). ‘The Transmission, Sources and Reception of Procopius’ Exegesis of Genesis: Observations in the Wake of the New Edition.’ *Vigiliae Christianae* 71: 205–24.
- Ceulemans, Reinhart, and Barbara Crostini, eds. (2020). *Receptions of the Bible in Byzantium: Texts, Manuscripts, and Their Readers*. *Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia* 20; Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet.
- Chitwoord, Zachary (2017). *Byzantine Legal Culture and the Roman Legal Tradition, 867–1056*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- CPG = J. Noret, F. Glorie, and J. Desmet, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum. Volumina I–V, Supplementum & Addenda*. *Corpus Christianorum*; Turnhout: Brepols, 1974–2018.
- Curti, Carmelo, and Maria A. Barbàra (2006). ‘Greek Exegetical Catenae’, in A. Di Berardino, ed., *Patrology: The Eastern Fathers from the Council of Chalcedon (451) to John of Damascus († 750)*, trans. A. Walford. *Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum*. Cambridge: Clarke, pp. 605–54.
- Dagron, Gilbert (2003). *Emperor and Priest: The Imperial Office in Byzantium*, trans. J. Birrell. Past and Present Publications. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- de Bruyn, Theodore S., and Jitse H. F. Dijkstra (2011). ‘Greek Amulets and Formularies from Egypt Containing Christian Elements.’ *BASP* 48: 163–216.
- De Crom, Dries (2009). ‘The Book of Canticles in Codex Graecus Venetus 7’, in N. de Lange, J. G. Krivoruchko, and C. Boyd-Taylor, eds., *Jewish Reception of Greek Bible Versions*. *Texts and Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Judaism* 23. Tübingen: Mohr, pp. 288–301.
- de Lange, Nicholas R. M. (2015). *Japhet in the Tents of Shem*. *Texts and Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Judaism* 30. Tübingen, Mohr.
- Devreesse, Robert (1954). *Introduction à l’étude des manuscrits grecs*. Paris: Imprimerie nationale—Klincksieck.
- Dorival, Gilles (1984). ‘Des Commentaires de l’Écriture aux chaînes’, in C. Mondésert, ed., *Le Monde grec ancien et la Bible*. *Bible de tous les temps* 1. Paris: Beauchesne, pp. 361–86.
- Dorival, Gilles (2005). ‘L’Apport des Synopses transmises sous le nom d’Athanasie et de Jean Chrysostome à la question du corpus littéraire de la Bible’ and ‘Le Document synoptique du Barberinianus gr. 317 (III 36)’, in G. Dorival et al., eds., *Qu’est-ce qu’un corpus littéraire? Recherches sur le corpus biblique et les corpus patristiques*. *Collection de la Revue des Études juives* 35. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 53–93 and 95–108.
- Dörrie, Heinrich (1940). ‘Zur Geschichte der Septuaginta im Jahrhundert Konstantins.’ *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche* 39: 57–110.
- Faulkner, Andrew (2020). *Apollinaris of Laodicea, ‘Metaphrasis Psalmorum’*. *Edited and Translated*. *Oxford Early Christian Texts*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Feissel, Denis (1997). ‘The Bible in Greek Inscriptions’, in P. M. Blowers, ed. and trans., *The Bible in Greek Christian Antiquity*. *The Bible through the Ages* 1. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, pp. 289–98.
- Felle, Antonio E. (2006). *Biblia epigraphica: La sacra scrittura nella documentazione epigrafica dell’Orbis Christianus Antiquus (III–VIII secolo)*. *Inscriptiones christianae Italiae. Subsidia* 5. Bari: Edipuglia.
- Fernández Marcos, Natalio (2000). *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Versions of the Bible*, trans. W. G. E. Watson. Leiden: Brill.
- Fincati, Mariachiara (2016a). ‘Filologia ed esegesi biblica in Terra d’Otranto: Varianti greche, latine e giudaiche nel Ms. *Parisinus graecus* 3.’ *Aevum* 90: 377–400.

- Fincati, Mariachiara (2016b). *The Medieval Revision of the Ambrosian Hexateuch: Critical Editing between Septuaginta and Hebraica Veritas in MS Ambrosianus A 147 inf.* De Septuaginta Investigationes 5. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Gallagher, Edmon L. (2012). *Hebrew Scripture in Patristic Biblical Theory: Canon, Language, Text.* SupVC 114. Leiden: Brill.
- Gebhardt, Oscar (1875). *Graecus Venetus. Pentateuchi Proverbiorum Ruth Cantici Ecclesiastae Threnorum Danielis Versio Graeca.* Leipzig: Brockhaus.
- Géhin, Paul (1992). 'Un Recueil d'extraits patristiques: Les *Miscellanea Coisliniana* (*Parisinus Coislinianus* 193 et *Sinaiticus gr.* 461)'. *Revue d'histoire des textes* 22: 89–130.
- Guinot, Jean-Noël (1995). *L'Exégèse de Théodoret de Cyr.* Théologie historique 100. Paris: Beauchesne.
- Guinot, Jean-Noël (2012). *Théodoret de Cyr exégète et théologien, Vol. 1: Le Dernier grand exégète de l'école d'Antioche au Ve siècle.* Patrimoine christianisme. Paris: Cerf.
- Hagedorn, Ursula, and Dieter Hagedorn (1994). *Die älteren griechischen Katenen zum Buch Hiob. Band I. Einleitung, Prologe und Epiloge, Fragmente zu Hiob 1,1–8,22.* Patristische Texte und Studien 40. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Humphreys, M. T. G. (2015). *Law, Power, and Imperial Ideology in the Iconoclast Era, c.680–850.* Oxford Studies in Byzantium. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jalabert, Louis (1914). 'Citations bibliques dans l'épigraphie grecque'. *Dictionnaire de l'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* 3.2: 1731–56.
- Janz, Timothy (2008). 'Le *Vat. gr.* 330 et la nature du texte "lucianique" de la Septante', in J. M. Martin, B. Martin-Hisard, and A. Paravicini Bagliani, eds., *Vaticana et medievalia: Études en l'honneur de Louis Duval-Arnould.* *Millennio Medievale* 71. Strumenti e testi n.s. 16. Florence: Sismel—Galluzzo, pp. 253–66.
- Kiourtzian, Georges (1997). 'Le Psaume 131 et son usage funéraire dans la Grèce, les Balkans et la Cappadoce à la haute époque byzantine'. *Cahiers archéologiques* 45: 31–9.
- Lagarde, Paul de (1882). *Ankündigung einer neuen ausgabe der griechischen übersezung des alten testaments.* Göttingen: Kaestner.
- Lagarde, Paul de (1887). *Onomastica sacra.* Göttingen: Rente [repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1966].
- Léonas, Alexis (2005). *Recherches sur le langage de la Septante.* OBO 211. Fribourg: Academic Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Loukaki, Marina (1998). 'Remarques sur le corps de douze didascales au XIIe siècle', in *Εὐψυχία: Mélanges offerts à Hélène Ahrweiler, Vol. 2.* *Byzantina Sorbonensia* 16. Paris: Centre de Recherches d'Histoire et de Civilisation Byzantines, pp. 427–38.
- Lowden, John (2010). 'Illustrated Octateuch Manuscripts: A Byzantine Phenomenon', in P. Magdalino and R. Nelson, eds., *The Old Testament in Byzantium.* *Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Symposia and Colloquia* 2. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, pp. 107–52.
- Magdalino, Paul, and Robert Nelson (2010). 'Introduction', in P. Magdalino and R. Nelson, eds., *The Old Testament in Byzantium.* *Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Symposia and Colloquia* 2. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, pp. 1–38.
- Martens, Peter W. (2017). *Adrian's Introduction to the Divine Scriptures: An Antiochene Handbook for Scriptural Interpretation. Edited with a Study, Translation, and Commentary on the Text.* Oxford Early Christian Texts. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Martínez Manzano, Teresa (2019). 'Malaquías Mónaco, *alias Anonymus Aristotelicus*: filosofía, ciencias y exégesis bíblica en la Constantinopla de la controversia palamita'. *Aevum* 93: 495–558.

- Mercati, Giovanni (1948). *Osservazioni a proemi del Salterio di Origene, Ippolito, Eusebio, Cirillo Alessandrino e altri, con fragmenti inediti*. Studi e testi 142. Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
- Miller, James (2010). 'The Prophetologion: The Old Testament of Byzantine Christianity?,' in P. Magdalino and R. Nelson, eds., *The Old Testament in Byzantium*. Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Symposia and Colloquia 2. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, pp. 55–76.
- Nedungatt, George, and Michael Featherstone (1995). *The Council in Trullo Revisited*. Kanonika 6. Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale.
- Ouspensky, Theodor (1907). *L'Octateuque de la bibliothèque du Sérail à Constantinople*. Bulletin de l'Institut archéologique russe à Constantinople 12. Sofia: Imprimerie de l'État.
- Papadopoulos, Konstantinos N. (1969). 'Ἀνέκδοτος μεσαιωνικὴ παράφρασις τοῦ Ψαλτηρίου.' *Θεολογία* 40: 503–6.
- Parpulov, Georgi R. (2014). *Toward a History of Byzantine Psalters ca. 850–1350 AD*. Plovdiv; digital edition available from <https://archive.org/details/ByzPsalters>.
- Petit, Françoise (1986). *Catena Graecae in Genesim et in Exodum*, Vol. 2: *Collectio Coisliniana in Genesim*. CCSG 15. Turnhout: Brepols; Leuven: University Press.
- Petit, Françoise (2003). *Autour de Théodoret de Cyr: La Collectio Coisliniana sur les derniers livres de l'Octateuque et sur les Règnes. Le Commentaire sur les Règnes de Procope de Gaza*. TEG 13. Leuven: Peeters.
- PG = J.-P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Graeca*, 161 vols. Paris: apud editorem, 1857–66.
- Quast, Udo, ed. (2006). *Ruth*. Septuaginta. VTG 4.3. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Ra = Rahlfs 1914; Rahlfs and Fraenkel 2004 (followed by the manuscript number).
- Rahlfs, Alfred (1914). *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments*. MSU 2. Berlin: Weidmann.
- Rahlfs, Alfred (1922). 'Studie über den griechischen Text des Buches Ruth,' in *Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse*, pp. 47–164 [= MSU 3.2. Berlin: Weidmann].
- Rahlfs, Alfred, and Detlef Fraenkel (2004). *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments*. Band I, 1: *Die Überlieferung bis zum VIII. Jahrhundert*. Septuaginta. VTG, Supplementum. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Rahlfs, Alfred, and Robert Hanhart (2006). *Septuaginta: Id est Vetus Testamentum graecae iuxta LXX interpretes*, editio altera. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft.
- Schäfer, Christian (2012). *Benutzerhandbuch zur Göttingen Septuaginta*, Band 1: *Die Edition des Pentateuch von John William Wevers*, erarbeitet im Auftrag des Septuaginta-Unternehmens der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Siegert, Folker (2016). *Einleitung in die hellenistisch-jüdische Literatur: Apokrypha, Pseudepigrapha und Fragmente verlorener Werke*. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Simelidis, Christos (2009). *Selected Poems of Gregory of Nazianzus: I.2.17; II.1.10, 19, 32. A Critical Edition with Introduction and Commentary*. Hypomnemata 177. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Simotas, Panayotis N. (1984). *Νικήτα Σεΐδου Σύνοψις τῆς Ἁγίας Γραφῆς κατὰ τὸν ὑπ' ἀριθ. 483 κώδικα τῆς Ἐθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Ἑλλάδος: Εἰσαγωγή, κείμενον, σχόλια. Ἀνάλεκτα Βλατάδων* 42. Thessaloniki: Πατριαρχικὸν ἴδρυμα πατερικῶν μελέτων.
- Skarsaune, Oskar (1996). 'The Development of Scriptural Interpretation in the Second and Third Centuries—Except Clement and Origen,' in M. Saebø, ed., *Hebrew Bible/Old*

- Testament: The History of Its Interpretation*, Vol. 1: *From the Beginnings to the Middle Ages (until 1300)*, Part 1: *Antiquity*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 373–442.
- Westerink, Leendert G. (1986). *Photii Patriarchae Constantinopolitani Epistulae et Amphilochia*, Vol. 5: *Amphilochiorum pars altera*. Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. Leipzig: Teubner.
- Wutz, Franz (1914–15). *Onomastica sacra: Untersuchungen zum Liber interpretationis nominum hebraicorum des Hl. Hieronymus*, 2 vols. TU 41. Leipzig: Hinrichs.
- Ziegler, Joseph (1939). *Isaias. Septuaginta*. VTG 14. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht [repr. 1983].

CHAPTER 41

THE SEPTUAGINT IN THE LATIN WORLD

MICHAEL GRAVES

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE LXX IN THE LATIN WORLD

GREEK was the primary language of the earliest Christian communities, as shown by the fact that Paul wrote his letter to the Romans in c.56 CE in Greek, not Latin. The Greek translation of Israel's Scriptures, which came to be known as the Septuagint, already possessed substantial authority in the Greek-speaking Jewish world, as reflected in the *Letter of Aristeas*, Philo (*Mos.* 2.26–44), and Josephus (*Ant.* 12.11–118). Whereas in Jewish sources the story of the Septuagint pertained only to the Pentateuch, among Christians it was applied to the Prophetic and other sacred books. With Greek being the first language of the Church, and with Christianity developing out of a Hellenistic Jewish framework, it was natural that the growing Christian movement throughout the Mediterranean world recognized the Greek translation of the 'Old Testament' as authoritative. Even when Latin-speaking Christians began to translate their Scriptures into Latin, they used the Greek version as their model, and ultimate authority continued to reside in the Greek. Not until Jerome of Stridon in the late fourth century did the reliability of the Greek Old Testament come into serious question.

Our earliest evidence for biblical texts in Latin comes from the second century CE (see Chapter 42). Most scholars trace the origins of the Latin Bible to North Africa, as evidenced by the reference to 'books and letters of Paul' in the *Acts of the Scillitan Martyrs*, c.180 CE (Saxer 1985: 341; Houghton 2016: 3–5). For Old Testament books, the source text on which the Latin translations were based was the Greek version as it was known in the second century. The Bible was not at first translated as a whole or systematically, but

appears to have come about through ad hoc translations, perhaps originally oral, for liturgical, catechetical, and apologetic purposes. Biblical passages used in these contexts were no doubt the first to be translated, along with key books such as the Gospels and the Psalms. Translations were likely shared around and then filled out, and the rest of the Bible probably came from Greek into Latin through such a process.

TERTULLIAN AND THE AUTHORITY OF THE SEPTUAGINT

The first Latin Father who testifies to the Septuagint in the Latin world is Tertullian of Carthage (c.160–230 CE). His perspective on the Septuagint is best understood in comparison with the Greek Christian tradition. The earliest preserved Christian witness to the story of the origin of the Septuagint is Justin Martyr, who relates that the writings of the prophets were translated by order of King Ptolemy of Egypt (1 *Apol.* 31.1–5). Justin brings the number of translators down from seventy-two as in *Aristeas* to seventy (*Dial.* 71.1–2), which became the traditional number in most Christian sources. While the *Letter of Aristeas* merely hints at divine aid in the translation (*Let. Aris.* 307) and the account of Josephus is essentially non-supernatural, Justin follows the trajectory reflected in Philo by seeing direct divine involvement with the translators. Other early Greek Fathers likewise emphasize the supernatural nature of the Greek translation; for example, Irenaeus reports the story of how each of the translators arrived miraculously at the same translation, although working in separate cells (*Haer.* 3.21.2; see also *Exhortation to the Greeks* 13; and Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 1.22.148–9). In comparison with these early Greek Christian sources, Tertullian alone mentions Aristeas by name, omits the supernatural embellishments, and gives the number of translators as seventy-two. Tertullian's statement on the Septuagint, found in *Apology* 18.5–9 (c.200 CE), is as follows:

There was a Ptolemaic king, surnamed Philadelphus, who was highly learned and knowledgeable in all literature. This king rivalled Pisistratus, I think, in his devotion to libraries... At the suggestion of Demetrius of Phalerum, the most distinguished scholar of his day whom the king had commissioned to oversee the library, King Ptolemy requested books from the Jews also, their own native literature which they alone possessed... Seventy-two translators were set apart for this task, men whom Menedemus the philosopher and defender of Providence admired because they agreed with his view. Aristeas also confirms this account for you. As a result of all this, these records as set forth in the Greek language are on display even today at the Serapeum in Ptolemy's library, together with the Hebrew originals.

Tertullian's rendition of this story is notable for its 'realistic' details and its presentation of the translation as a work of learned men. As for details, the name of Philadelphus is

given, as is that of Demetrius, together with his position as head librarian. The number of translators is given precisely, not rounded to seventy, reference is made to Aristeas as a corroborative source, and the location is given where the documents (including the Hebrew originals) were deposited, with the assurance that they are still there to this day (see also *Exhortation to the Greeks* 13; Justin Martyr, *1 Apol.* 31.1–5). Most of these details were taken from *Aristeas* or Josephus (or perhaps simply Josephus; see Wasserstein and Wasserstein 2006: 105), but Tertullian contributes a few new points, such as his mention of the Serapeum as the storage place for the originals. If in Tertullian's day there were biblical texts in the Serapeum in Egypt, these texts may not have been the actual documents of the original translation of the Septuagint; more likely, they were deposited there closer to Tertullian's time, as the shrine of Serapis became a point of cultural fusion in late antiquity (Rajak 2009: 43–6). Still, Tertullian's aim in offering these details was to give a sense of authenticity to the account and thus bolster the authority of the Greek translation. This aim was also served through Tertullian's references to the intellectual credentials of those involved: Philadelphus was 'highly learned and knowledgeable in all literature', rivalling Pisistratus, an important sixth-century Athenian ruler; Demetrius was 'the most distinguished scholar of his day'; the Jewish translators themselves were esteemed by the respected philosopher Menedemus (see Diog. Laert. 2.17) because of their correct views on Providence. In sum, Tertullian depicts the translation of the Septuagint not as a supernatural event but as a learned work executed by competent people and corroborated by credible details. Tertullian's account suggests that the Septuagint was viewed as authoritative in his context, but that the miraculous nature of the translation as seen in Greek sources had not yet become commonplace in the Latin Christian world, as it would in later times (e.g. Augustine). Tertullian's account may thus be seen as a distinctively early Latin version of the story of Septuagint origins.

It is not entirely clear whether Tertullian made use of written Latin translations of the Septuagint or else simply made his own ad hoc translations from Greek into Latin. In some places Tertullian comments on a received Latin rendering of the Bible, usually in the process of correcting it, as with his remark on *δύο διαθήκαι* in Gal. 4:24, *duo testamenta, sive duae ostensiones, sicut invenimus interpretatum* ("two testaments", or "two manifestations", as we have found it translated', *Marc.* 5.4.8). Moreover, Tertullian often feels obligated to explain a Latin biblical expression that is not his own but is already 'in usage' (e.g. *Mon.* 11.10–11; *Marc.* 4.1.1; *Prax.* 5.2–3). Passages such as these indicate that at least some biblical texts had been translated into Latin in Tertullian's time. This may also be suggested by certain agreements between Tertullian's biblical citations and quotations of Scripture found in later European Latin Fathers. Nevertheless, other evidence calls into question the existence of a complete Latin translation of the Greek Bible in the late second century. Tertullian is often free in his quotations and he sometimes quotes the same passage differently in different places, as if he is simply translating on the spot (Gribomont 1985b: 47). Numerous and sometimes substantial differences exist between Tertullian's biblical citations and those of Cyprian, whose quotations are much closer to later Old Latin manuscripts (Billen 1927: 132). Passages where Tertullian agrees with

later Latin Fathers may merely show Tertullian's influence on the later tradition, or they may reflect independent corrections towards the same Greek text or to improve the Latin style (Gryson 1987: 17). Some of the customary Latin equivalencies known to Tertullian might have simply been 'in usage' orally among Christians. Even if written Latin translations existed for certain important parts of the Christian Greek Bible, such as the beginning of Genesis, the Psalms, and much of the New Testament, this does not imply that the whole of the Septuagint had at that time been translated into Latin. It is most likely that Tertullian knew written Latin translations of select biblical texts that were regularly used in the Church, but that his normal practice in quoting Scripture was to translate directly from the Greek (O'Malley 1967: 62–3). At the very least, Tertullian inherited elements of an already existing Latin biblical terminology, which points to the beginnings of Latin biblical translations in his day.

The fact that Tertullian regularly appeals to the Greek text of Scripture as his authority demonstrates his respect for the Septuagint. For example, in Gen. 1:1 the word *principium* ('beginning') was apparently interpreted by Tertullian's opponents as the name of a material substance, whereas Tertullian argues that it refers simply to the order in which the actions were done. Tertullian sets out to prove his case by returning to the original document (*originale instrumentum*) of Moses, arguing primarily from the Latin text of Gen. 1:1, 'in principio...' (*Herm.* 19.1–4). Yet at the end of his argument he suggests another possible meaning that would likewise prove his opponents wrong, this time going back to the Greek source: 'Moreover, the word in Greek for "beginning", which is ἀρχή, implies pre-eminence not only in order, but also in power; this is why rulers and magistrates are called ἄρχοντες. Therefore, according to this sense "beginning" may be taken as implying rulership and power' (*Herm.* 19.5; cf. 20.1–5). If the meaning of the Latin is in dispute, the final court of appeal is the Greek text from which it was translated. Similarly, Tertullian is aware of some who translate the Greek πνοή ('breath, wind') in Gen. 2:7 as *spiritus* ('spirit'), as in God's Spirit, which in Tertullian's view leaves the text open to misunderstanding. Tertullian does think that πνεῦμα in Gen. 1:2 should be translated *spiritus* (*Bapt.* 3.2), but he insists that the proper translation of πνοή at Gen. 2:7 is not *spiritus*, but *afflatus* ('breath'): 'Above all we must hold fast to what is indicated by the Greek Scripture, which says "breath", not "spirit". For some of those who translated from the Greek put "spirit" instead of "breath", since they did not recognize the difference between these words and were unconcerned for their precise meanings. In this way, they gave the heretics an opportunity to stain the spirit of God, that is, God himself, with fault' (*Marc.* 2.9.1–2; cf. *An.* 11.1–2; see also Augustine, *Quaest. Hept.*, Gen., qu. 8). An important example of Tertullian's focus on the Greek is where Tertullian, in discussing the Son in relation to Gen. 1:1, reports that 'There are some who say that Genesis in Hebrew begins thus: "In the beginning God made the Son"' (*Prax.* 5.1). But Tertullian continues, 'As this is not reliable, I am led to follow other arguments based on God's overall plan, extending from before the composition of the world up to the generation of the Son, and he turns his attention to analysing the concept of *ratio*, as based on the Greek word λόγος (*Prax.* 5.2–3). Tertullian was indeed correct not to adopt this erroneous tradition about the Hebrew of Gen. 1:1, which

probably arose as a conflation with John 1:1, and was finally straightened out based on the Hebrew by Jerome (*Qu. hebr. Gen.* 1:1). Given the Church's lack of competent Hebraists it was difficult to verify information about what the Hebrew supposedly said; this made it impractical to view the Hebrew as the ultimate authority. Yet it was natural to place confidence in the Greek text, which already possessed high status and served as the basis for any oral or written Latin translations that were made. For Tertullian, the Septuagint was a reputable translation produced by learned men and therefore functioned as the authoritative version of Scripture.

THE LXX IN LATIN DURING THE THIRD AND FOURTH CENTURIES: COMPLETE BUT EVOLVING

By the time of Cyprian (c.200–58) it is likely that the whole Septuagint existed in Latin translations. The biblical quotations of Scripture in Cyprian are for the most part internally consistent and generally agree with later African texts, which indicates written translations. Scholars have identified African and European families of the Old Latin Bible, Cyprian being the most important witness to the African family, supplemented by others such as Lactantius (c.250–325) and Tyconius (c.330–90). Key witnesses to the European family include Novatian of Rome (c.250) and Lucifer of Cagliari (d. c.71). Although identifiable differences exist between these two families, recent scholarship argues that they generally go back to a common original, as suggested by peculiar biblical renderings shared by diverse Latin Fathers and also by phrases used in antiquity to describe the Old Latin Bible, such as *vetus editio*, *antiqua interpretatio*, and *vetus translatio*. The translation of the Septuagint into Latin helped enrich the Latin language with distinctively Christian Latin terms. Many of these were simply borrowed Greek words, such as *agape*, *anastasis*, *baptisma*, *blasphemia*, *diabolus*, *ecclesia*, *episcopus*, *martyr*, and *synagoga*. In other cases, familiar Latin words took on new meanings, as with *sanctificatio* (cf. Greek *ἁγιασμός*) and *confessio* (cf. Greek *ἐξομολόγησις*). A few Hebrew words, such as *amen* and *alleluia*, also entered into Latin through the Septuagint. Moreover, the Old Latin Bible with its sometimes harshly literal translations of the Greek (e.g. infinitives of purpose; object clauses with *quia*) established a peculiar biblical Latin idiom that was perceived as stylistically unattractive to many educated Latin speakers, such as Lactantius, Jerome, and Augustine. The Old Latin translations of the Septuagint were made anonymously over time without any official sanction. The Latin was often seen simply as a cipher for the Greek. Consequently, from the beginning people felt free to revise the Latin according to the Greek. Augustine's statement that many people felt free to make their own translations reflects the situation of textual diversity that existed in the late fourth century as a result of continuous revisions (*Doctr. chr.* 2.11.16; cf. *Epist.* 71.6).

In fact, several forces led to the evolution and diversification of Old Latin texts from the second to the fifth centuries. First, African texts were revised to conform to European text forms. Important differences between 'African' and 'European' usages include: *δοξάζειν*, African: *clarificare*, European: *glorificare*; *λόγος*, African: *sermo*, European: *verbum*; *μακάριος*, African: *felix*, European: *beatus*; *βαπτίζειν*, African: *tinguere*, European: *baptizare*. It is not that any of these words were strictly 'African' or 'European', but these were the equivalencies that came into usage in these regions. Second, older language was updated to current usage. Third, modest improvements were made in the style of the translation. Fourth, new terms were adopted in order to reflect the development of religious ideas, as in the changes from *donum* to *munus*, from *festus* to *sollemnis*, from *ministrare* to *sacrificare*, and from *votum* to *oratio*. Fifth and most importantly, revisions were made to the Old Latin in order to bring the translation into closer conformity with whatever Greek text was known to the reviser. The Greek texts of the second century upon which the first Old Latin translations were made were not the same as the Greek texts used to revise the Old Latin in the third through fifth centuries. Thus, for the book of Daniel, Tertullian's quotations match the Old Greek, Cyprian's quotations are partly Old Greek and partly Theodotion (as if he was using a partly updated Latin text), and from the third-century text *De Pascha Computus* onward (including Commodian and Lucifer) the text is strictly Theodotion. Similarly with Job, the original short Greek text of Job is known to Cyprian and Lucifer, the modestly filled out version known from the major Greek uncials is quoted in Latin by Ambrose, and the completely filled out version produced by Origen was used by Augustine (Burkitt 1896: 6–9; Bogaert 2012: 48–99). For any given book, complexity in the evolution of the Greek text usually manifested itself in revisions within the Old Latin tradition (see Haelewyck 2006: 441–4).

The diversification of the Old Latin based on Greek texts is especially evident in the second half of the fourth century and onward. Ambrose of Milan (c.339–97), for example, knows a variety of Latin versions, and he regularly consults not only the Septuagint but also the Hexaplaric versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, especially in his commentary on the Psalms (Nauroy 1985: 387–8, 390–1). While Ambrose is witness to the Old Latin text of his day in usage at Milan, he also corrects the current Latin translation according to the Greek, or else makes his own translations from the Septuagint or whatever Greek work he is using (Schulz-Flügel 1996: 647–8; Fischer 1951: 18; Billen 1927: 137–8). Moreover, Ambrose sometimes expounds multiple texts, seeing textual diversity not as a problem to be corrected but as an opportunity to enrich his exegesis with multiple meanings. In Ambrose the Latin biblical tradition diversified through the intermingling of a variety of Greek texts. Augustine likewise experienced and contributed to the plurality of Latin versions. At least for some biblical books (e.g. the Psalms), the Old Latin version that Augustine used was not an African text but a European text, which he acquired in Milan and brought back to Africa (Bogaert 2006: 521–2.). This European text is perhaps what Augustine had in mind when he recommended the *Itala* as the preferred version of

Scripture (*Doctr. chr.* 2.15.22). Biblical texts quoted by Augustine often have distinctive features; for example, in quotations from the Heptateuch Augustine reflects a unique text type that has been systematically revised according to the Greek (Billen 1927: 133). Both Ambrose and Augustine in their own ways reflect textual diversity in the Latin biblical tradition that flowed from the complexities of the Greek Bible in the third and fourth centuries.

Like Ambrose, Hilary of Poitiers (c.315–67) consulted Greek texts directly in his commentaries and sometimes modified his received Latin version on the basis of the Greek. He is also noteworthy for his unique defence of the Septuagint in light of the availability of the Hexaplaric versions. As Jerome often pointed out, the Hebrew language had a reputation for being ambiguous and subject to various interpretations (Graves 2007: 38–41). Moreover, traditions existed within Christianity that Moses had transmitted his teaching office to seventy elders, whose learning was preserved down to early Christian times (see *Epistle of Peter* 1.2 [third century]; cf. Exod. 24:1, 9–11; Num. 11:16–17, 24–5), and that the scribes and Pharisees in Jesus's day actually possessed the 'key of knowledge', although they failed to use it (Origen, *Philoc.* 2.2; cf. Luke 11:52). Hilary combined these ideas and attached them to the Septuagint, perhaps encouraged by Epiphanius's interpretation of Moses's seventy elders as a 'type' of the Septuagint translators (Epiphanius, *Weights and Measures* 11), in order to explain why the Septuagint alone is fully trustworthy (see Kamesar 2005: 265–9). As Hilary states:

At the request of King Ptolemy seventy elders translated the books of the Old Testament from the Hebrew text into Greek. It had already been established by Moses previously that in the entire assembly there should be seventy teachers. For that same Moses, although he had committed to writing the words of the [Old] Testament, nevertheless communicated separately, from hidden sources, certain more secret hidden mysteries of the law to seventy elders, who would continue as teachers after him. The Lord mentions these teachings in the Gospels, when he says, 'The scribes and Pharisees sit on the seat of Moses. For this reason, do and observe everything that they tell you. But do not behave as they do' (Matt. 23:2–3).

(*Tract. Psal.* 2.2; trans. Kamesar 2005: 271)

As Hilary further explains, the secret mysteries that Moses transmitted to the seventy elders were preserved down to the time of the seventy translators of the Septuagint, who made use of this knowledge in producing their translation. As a result, the Septuagint embodies the Hebrew text properly interpreted based on Mosaic tradition. This secret tradition, however, apparently died out shortly after the time of Jesus, and so later translators, such as Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, could not understand the Hebrew text of Scripture. Hilary's argument maintains the idea of an authoritative original Hebrew Old Testament, but it renders all post-Septuagintal attempts to interpret the Hebrew invalid. The only remaining access to the original meaning of the Hebrew text is through the Septuagint.

THE SEPTUAGINT IN JEROME: SUPERSEDED BUT NOT FORSAKEN

Jerome often expressed frustration at the textual plurality of the Latin Bible, which came about through continuous miscopying and revision (e.g. *Pref. Gosp.*; *Pref. Josh.*; *Pref. Job (IH)*; *Pref. Prov. (LXX)*). Ultimately, Jerome came to realize the central value of the Hebrew text through his awareness of plurality in the Septuagint tradition (e.g. the ‘three-fold variety’ of Alexandrian, Lucianic, and Origenian texts; *Pref. Chonicles (IH)*) and through his experience with the Hexaplaric versions (e.g. *Epist.* 32.1; *Comm. Eccl.*, Prol.). As early as the mid-380s Jerome recognized that the best way to resolve the problem of textual diversity among the Greek and Latin versions was to go back to the Hebrew (*Pref.* to Eusebius’s *Chronicon*; *Epist.* 20.2; *Epist.* 34.4). Yet, although the Hebrew text became the focal point of Jerome’s scholarship, he never gave up interest in the Septuagint.

In the late 380s Jerome translated several biblical books into Latin using Origen’s Hexaplaric recension of the Septuagint, including the Psalms (called the ‘Gallican Psalter’ due to its reception in Gaul), Job, and the Song of Songs (all extant), as well as Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and 1–2 Chronicles (known from the surviving prologues). Jerome seems to have favoured the Hexaplaric recension because he regarded it as closest to the Hebrew (Kamesar 1993: 57–8), and because he was an admirer of Origen (e.g. *Pref. Nom. Hebr.*). Jerome sometimes spoke of this Origenian recension as the ‘emended and true’ text of the Septuagint (*Comm. Isa.* 58:11; see also *Epist.* 106.2; *Comm. Isa.* Bk. XVI, Prol.), although he was also willing to criticize this recension when defending his Hebrew-based translation (*Epist.* 112.19). It is likely that Jerome gave up on this Hexaplaric translation in the early 390s at around the same time that he began his *iuxta Hebraeos* (‘according to the Hebrews’) translation project; he never specifically indicates that he completed the Hexaplaric versions of books besides the ones mentioned above, even when he had occasion to do so (Kelly 1975: 159). Yet Jerome does sometimes speak generally as if he had revised the entire Old Testament according to the Hexaplaric Septuagint text (*Ruf.* 2.24, 3.25; *Epist.* 71.5; *Epist.* 106.2; *Epist.* 134.2), and Cassiodorus (d. 583) claims to have used Jerome’s (complete?) Hexaplaric translation in the production of a large one-volume Bible (Gribomont 1985a: 146–7). Jerome’s statements may be explained simply as exaggeration, and perhaps Cassiodorus was himself misled by Jerome. The matter remains subject to differing interpretations. Thus, the Septuagint-based lemmata that Jerome gives in his *Commentary on Isaiah* agree not with the regular Old Latin text of Jerome’s day but with Origen’s Hexaplaric version. This may be interpreted as Jerome translating on the spot from the Hexaplaric Greek text into Latin (Jay 1985: 118, 125), or else these lemmata might be taken as evidence that Jerome had previously produced a Latin translation of the Hexaplaric text of Isaiah (Gryson 1987: 18–19; Gryson 1993: 52).

In the course of promoting his own Hebrew-based translation Jerome offered numerous arguments meant to undercut the general belief in the absolute perfection of the Septuagint. Jerome insists that the Septuagint translators were not inspired, and he points out that the earliest sources say nothing about these translators producing the same translation miraculously although in separate cells, or of translating anything beyond the Pentateuch (*Pref. Pent.*; *Pref. Chronicles (IH)*; *Comm. Ezek.* 33:23–33). If the Septuagint alone is suitable for Christian use, then why do the churches read Daniel according to the edition of Theodotion (*Pref. Dan.*; *Pref. Josh.*; *Comm. Dan.*, Prol.)? And why do churches that use the Hexaplaric Septuagint not protest against the passages that have been inserted from Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion? And if they will read scriptural material written by these Jewish translators, why will they not accept the work of a Christian such as Jerome (*Pref. Job (IH)*; *Pref. Chronicles (IH)*; *Pref. Ezra-Neh.*; *Comm. Dan.*, Prol.)? In reality, Jerome asserts, the Septuagint translators hid mysteries concerning Christ and the Trinity in their translation, so as not to appear as polytheists before King Ptolemy; but now Jerome, living in the time of Christ, can bring these truths out clearly in his translation (*Pref. Pent.*; *Qu. Hebr. Gen.*, Prol.). Especially in his Prophetic commentaries Jerome pointed out places where the Septuagint translators did not understand the passage at hand or failed to bring out the Christian theological sense (e.g. *Comm. Zeph.* 2:5–7; *Comm. Jer.* Prol., 17:1–4, 18:1–10, 19:6, 22:13–17, 22:29–30, 23:36–40, 27:18–22, 30:12–15, 31:21–2, 31:37; on the *Comm. Isa.* see Jay 1985: 121). Jerome even capitalized on the textual ambiguity of many citations of the Old Testament in the New Testament (see *Epist.* 57.7; Fernández Marcos 2001: 320–37) to make the remarkable claim that New Testament writers ultimately quoted from the Hebrew text, often translating for themselves the general sense of the Hebrew, and only following the Septuagint when they confirmed its agreement with the Hebrew (e.g. *Epist.* 57.11; *Ruf.* 2.34; *Comm. Jer.* 31:15; *Comm. Isa.* 7:14, 28:9–13, 29:15–16, Bk. XV, Prol.; *Comm. Matt.* 2:15; *Comm. Gal.* 3:13–14).

Jerome was sharply criticized for his work on the Hebrew text, especially as his return to the Hebrew was taken as censure of the Septuagint (e.g. Rufinus, *Apol. Hier.* 2.32–7; Augustine, *Epist.* 71.4). For his part, Jerome often tried to pacify his critics by denying that he intended to charge the Septuagint with errors (*Pref. Job (IH)*; *Hebr. Qu. Gen.*, Prol.), even though in his exegetical works he clearly did. In the late 380s Jerome was willing to say publicly that the Septuagint translators were ‘filled with the Holy Spirit’ (*Pref. Chronicles (LXX)*), and even in 395–6 Jerome implied in the preface to his Hebrew-based translation of Chronicles that the original Septuagint was in no need of correction (*Pref. Chronicles (IH)*). Jerome was not entirely consistent on this topic. His sense of freedom in criticizing the Septuagint seems to have increased over time. One suspects that his own mature views came out in his learned works in which he openly faulted the Septuagint, whereas in prefaces or homilies intended for a wider readership he was less critical of the Septuagint.

Even though Jerome came to believe that the Septuagint needed to be corrected based on the Hebrew, he never stopped studying and using the Septuagint. Jerome regarded

the Septuagint as the Church's Bible (see *Epist.* 106.46; *Comm. Mic.* 1:10–15; *Comm. Isa.* 28:9–13), and he did not want to cut himself off from the biblical text recognized by his fellow Christians. 'Necessity' impressed on Jerome the requirement that he offer an explanation of the Septuagint text (*Comm. Zech.* 6:9–15; *Comm. Mic.* 1:16). The Septuagint was the version used by 'ecclesiastical men' (*Comm. Isa.* 10:28–32) and Jerome employed the Septuagint together with the Hebrew in preaching (*Pref. Chronicles (IH)*; *Ruf.* 2.24; *Tract. Ps.* 75:3 [MT 76:3]). After giving a Hebrew-based interpretation in one homily Jerome says, 'Let us also explain the text according to the Seventy translators; for someone might say, "What does the Hebrew have to do with me? I follow the Church"' (*Tract. Ps.* 115:11 [MT 116:11]). In particular, Jerome typically associated the Septuagint with Christian spiritual interpretation, whereas he tended to associate his Hebrew-based translation with interpretation according to *historia* (Jay 1985: 276–9; Graves 2007: 189–91). In his Prophetic commentaries Jerome very often presented the biblical text on which he was commenting (the lemma) twice, once according to his Hebrew-based Latin translation, and again in a Latin version based on the Greek. Jerome typically associated the latter with the spiritual sense of Scripture.

Jerome continued throughout his career to comment on the Septuagint through the Greek-based lemmata in his commentaries, and he usually quoted from the Old Latin version that was derived from the Septuagint whenever he cited a scriptural passage from memory. The Old Latin version was the Bible that Jerome had learned in his youth, and the Septuagint remained the Bible of the Church in his day. Thus, Jerome never totally withdrew his attention from the Septuagint. But starting in the mid-380s and continuing until his death in 419, the Hebrew text displaced the Septuagint as holding the central position in Jerome's view of biblical authority.

AUGUSTINE'S DEFENCE OF THE SEPTUAGINT

Augustine was aware of the diversity that existed among Latin biblical manuscripts in his day (*Doctr. chr.* 2.11.16). Yet Augustine did not know Hebrew and his Greek was not highly functional, and so he did not appreciate as Jerome did the problems associated with the existence of multiple Greek texts and the relationships between these Greek texts and the Hebrew. Augustine's most significant contribution to early Christian thinking about the Septuagint is his evolving defence of the Septuagint in response to his ever-increasing awareness of Jerome's translations (see Graves 2000).

Augustine followed the mainstream position of the Greek and Latin churches in seeing the Septuagint as the divinely authorized version of the Old Testament. Augustine's earliest statement on the Septuagint is in a letter to Jerome (*Epist.* 28, c.394/5), objecting to Jerome's practice of translating the Old Testament from the Hebrew. A substantial part of this letter is devoted to the interpretation of Gal. 2:11–14 (see also *Epist.* 40, 82, 112). But Augustine also requests that if Jerome is going to continue translating books of the Old Testament directly from the Hebrew, he should do as he had done with Job and

include critical signs indicating where his edition differs from the Septuagint, since the Septuagint is the authoritative version (*Epist.* 28.2). Augustine is of course referring to Jerome's translation of the Hexaplaric Greek Job, which included Origen's critical signs. Augustine goes on to express his surprise that anything at so late a time could be found in the Hebrew text that had not already been seen by previous translators. If the translators of the Septuagint, who were very experienced in the Hebrew language, did not choose to translate a certain way, it does not make sense that one man later on would be in a position to correct them. Augustine concludes this part of his letter by inviting Jerome to explain his position (*Epist.* 28.2).

Unfortunately, Augustine's letter did not immediately reach Jerome. In fact, Jerome did not see it until 403 CE, when Augustine attached a copy of this letter to *Epistle* 71, in order to clear up some confusion that had arisen concerning its original contents. In the meantime (396 CE), Augustine gave a more complete presentation of his views in *On Christian Teaching* 2.15.22. Augustine affirms that the Septuagint translators were inspired by the Holy Spirit and that their translation should serve as the basis for correcting Latin texts. Moreover, Augustine is aware of arguments against the authority of the Septuagint and he responds to them: the story of the seventy cells is reported among the more learned churches, but even if the Seventy were not separated, the authority of these seventy men working together should be preferred over the efforts of one man; even if differences are found between the Hebrew and the Septuagint, the Seventy should be preferred because the Holy Spirit used them providentially to transmit Scripture to the Greeks; while other translations (such as the Hexaplaric versions) may be of value for explaining the sense of the words, priority belongs to the Septuagint. Augustine's presentation of the Septuagint in *On Christian Teaching* contains traditional elements, but he is also beginning to develop responses to the issues raised by the Hexapla and Jerome.

Because *Epistle* 28 did not initially reach Jerome, Augustine attached a copy of it to his *Epistle* 71 (403 CE), in which Augustine again takes up the topic of the Hebrew and Septuagint and provides two additional reasons why Jerome should translate the Old Testament from the Septuagint alone. First, if Jerome's version should become widely read in the West, a rift may occur between the Latin churches and the Greek churches, since the Greek churches will continue to read the Old Testament in Greek. Second, if someone were to object to an expression in Jerome's translation, how would the church be able to evaluate his work? With the Old Latin, it was always possible to find a Greek-speaking Christian who could settle any disputes about the text. But who would settle disputes about Jerome's translation? If the Jews are asked to verify Jerome's translation, who will arbitrate between Jerome and the Jews when they disagree (*Epist.* 71.2)? Augustine illustrates his point with the example of a bishop in the town of Oea who read from Jerome's version of the prophet Jonah in his congregation. When the Greek Christians heard something in the reading that differed from what had been read in the churches for generations, they raised such a commotion that the bishop almost lost his congregation. Furthermore, when the bishop asked some local Jews to explain Jerome's rendering, they indicated that the Septuagint rendering was correct and that Jerome's

rendering was mistaken. This seemed to prove Augustine's point: Jerome is liable to make mistakes, and his work cannot easily be checked because Hebrew is not commonly used in the Church (*Epist.* 71.3). Augustine closes the letter by reaffirming his stance on the authority of the Septuagint, pointing to the wide circulation of the Septuagint among the churches and the fact that it was used by the apostles. It would be more profitable, argues Augustine, if Jerome would devote his efforts to making a fresh Latin translation of the Septuagint (*Epist.* 71.4).

In Jerome's *Epistle* 112 (404 CE; *Epist.* 75 in Augustine's corpus), Jerome finally responds to Augustine, both on Galatians 2:11–14 and on the text of the Old Testament. Jerome explains that his most recent translations do not have critical signs because they were made directly from the Hebrew and not from Origen's Hexapla; the nature of Augustine's question indicates that he does not understand the issue. Jerome points out that churches already read and accept Hexaplaric texts that contain post-Septuagintal interpolations (*Epist.* 112.5). Augustine (*Epist.* 28) had argued that nothing new of value could come from one man retranslating the Hebrew after so many men had already translated the Septuagint in the past. Jerome counters by applying the same reasoning to Augustine's commentary on the Psalms: after so many Christians have already commented on the Psalms, how could Augustine possibly discover some truth that was not already explained sufficiently by one of these previous commentators? Jerome also takes up the charge that the Church has no way to check the fidelity of his work by asserting that Christians can always ask the Jews to verify his translations (*Epist.* 112.6). As for the disturbance at the church in Oea, Jerome suspects that the issue was his translation of *qīqāyōn* in Jonah 4:6, which the Septuagint had rendered *κολοκύνθη* ('gourd'), but which Jerome translated *hedera* ('ivy'), based on Aquila, the other Hexaplaric versions, and the contemporary 'Syrian' cognate. Since no one would understand what was meant if he simply transliterated the Hebrew word into Latin (*ciceion*), he chose *hedera* as the closest approximation to the Hebrew. Jerome contends that the Jews who gave the false report to the Bishop of Oea either did not know Hebrew or else were having a laugh at the Christians (*Epist.* 112.7).

In *Epistle* 82 (405 CE), Augustine admits that some benefit may come from going back to the Hebrew, but only so as to correct what the Jews may have altered. Yet Augustine doubts that the Seventy would have had reason to modify or omit anything, since they translated before the time of Christ. Augustine emphasizes that his only reason for objecting to the public reading of Jerome's translation was that he did not want to cause offence to the churches by challenging the authority of the well-known Septuagint. Augustine's request that Jerome send him his Hexaplaric translations and his treatise *On the Best Method of Translating* (Jerome's *Epist.* 57) shows Augustine's general openness to Jerome's work.

Augustine's final statement on the Septuagint is found in *City of God* 18.42–4 (c.420 CE or shortly after). He begins by giving his own version of the Septuagint origins legend, including divine inspiration and the separate cells, affirming the authorized status of the Septuagint for the Greek and Latin churches on the basis of Church usage. Augustine includes this statement on Jerome: 'Although our times have not been left wanting, since

Jerome, a most learned man who is skilled in all three languages, translated these Scriptures into Latin speech not out of the Greek, but out of the Hebrew' (*Civ.* 18.43; see also *Doctr. chr.* 4.7.15 and 4.20.41, late 420s CE). Augustine acknowledges that the Jews recognize Jerome's work to be accurate, but he insists that the LXX should still be preferred (*Civ.* 18.43).

After many years of exposure to Jerome's work, Augustine finally came to accept both the inspired status of the Hebrew and the reality that differences existed between the Hebrew and the Septuagint. Still, Augustine persisted in arguing that the Septuagint should not be corrected towards the Hebrew. The Septuagint translators were prophets, and the differences between the Septuagint and the Hebrew text should be likened to the differences between the prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah. God may give one message through Isaiah, and another through Jeremiah, but it is the same Spirit that speaks through both. Often, the same meaning will shine forth through both versions, although the words are different. At other times, the meanings will differ, but only because the Spirit did not choose to say the same thing through both of them. The Spirit may have chosen to say one thing through the Hebrew prophets, and something else through the prophetic translators (*Civ.* 18.43). In this way, Augustine validated the study of the Hebrew but also defended the sanctity of the Septuagint.

Augustine gives an example to show how this principle should operate. In the Hebrew text of Jonah 3:4, the prophet announces to the city of Nineveh, 'Yet forty days, and Nineveh will be overturned,' whereas in the Septuagint it reads, 'Yet three days, and Nineveh will be overturned.' How is one to know what the prophet really said? In terms of the historical question, Augustine sides with the Hebrew text: 'If someone were to ask me, which of these did Jonah say? I think that it is rather what we read in the Hebrew.' But the Septuagint contains 'one and the same meaning, but with a different significance,' such that one should not reject either, but rather transcend the level of history, in order to find 'the matters that the historical account itself was written to signify' (*Civ.* 18.44). The proclamation of Jonah did take place, but it was meant to signify something greater: Jonah's three days in the belly of the sea creature signified the three days spent by the Lord in the underworld. Nineveh represents the Church of the Gentiles, overturned through repentance. The number of days represents Christ, in the Hebrew text because Christ spent forty days with his disciples after the resurrection, and in the Septuagint because he rose from the dead on the third day. Augustine further justifies his dual-version approach by pointing to the testimony of the apostles, who quoted prophetic testimonies from both the Hebrew and the Greek, thus indicating that they considered both to be authoritative (*Civ.* 18.44).

Augustine remained committed to the authority of the Septuagint throughout his life, using some of the same arguments in *City of God* as he had employed in the second book of *On Christian Teaching*. Yet he also showed himself willing to assimilate new data into his understanding. He was forced to recast some traditional Christian arguments on behalf of the Septuagint, but he could always appeal to Church usage as evidence for the central position of the Septuagint. It appears that the stability of the churches and the harmony between Latin and Greek Christianity were two of Augustine's major concerns in defending the Septuagint.

THE ‘AFTERLIFE’ OF THE SEPTUAGINT IN THE LATIN WORLD

In spite of Augustine’s defence, the Septuagint lost its authoritative status in the Latin West in the centuries following Augustine’s death. This may be credited both to the growing cultural distance between Greek East and Latin West during this period and also to the increasing prestige of Jerome’s edition. The commendations given to Jerome’s Hebrew-based version by figures such as Prosper of Aquitaine (d. c.460; see *De Ingrat.* 1.55–60), Gregory the Great (d. 604; see *In Job, Ep.* 5), and Isidore of Seville (d. 636; see *Etymolo.* 6.4.5) testify to the expanding popularity of Jerome’s version. A key figure in the creation of what later became the Latin ‘Vulgate’ was Cassiodorus (d. c.580), who supervised the monastery of Vivarium in Italy. Cassiodorus prepared three editions of the Bible: (1) a nine-volume edition of the Old Latin text based on the traditional Septuagint; (2) a large one-volume Bible (*codex grandior*) supposedly containing Jerome’s translations based on the Hexaplaric Septuagint; and (3) small one-volume Bibles (*pandectes*) containing Jerome’s Hebrew-based translations for the Old Testament. The famous Codex Amiatinus, produced in Northumbria c.700 CE based on texts from Italy, was partially based on the model of Cassiodorus’s *codex grandior*, except that Jerome’s Hebrew-based translation was used for the Old Testament instead of the Hexaplaric translations. From the time of Alcuin’s recension of the Latin Bible at the beginning of the ninth century, the standard Latin Bible contained: Jerome’s Hebrew recension of the Latin Bible (except for the Psalms), Jerome’s ‘Gallican Psalter’ (i.e. the Hexaplaric revision of the Psalms), Jerome’s renderings of Judith and Tobit, Old Latin editions of the other deuterocanonical books (e.g. Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus, 1–2 Maccabees), Jerome’s revisions of the Gospels, and revised (non-Hieronymian) versions of the rest of the New Testament. The term ‘Vulgate’ was not regularly used for this collection until the sixteenth century; in Jerome’s day, the phrase *editio vulgata* was used for the Septuagint-based Old Latin version. But the Bible founded on Jerome’s translations and presented by Alcuin became the ‘common’ (*vulgata*) edition of Scripture for the Latin Church in the Middle Ages. Thus, the authority of the Septuagint was eclipsed in the Latin West starting in the fifth century. But remnants of the Septuagint in Latin survived in Jerome’s Bible through the Gallican Psalter and deuterocanonical books, in select Old Latin manuscripts, as variant readings in the margins of ‘Vulgate’ manuscripts, and especially in quotations made by the early Latin Church fathers.

SUGGESTED READING

There are many studies related to the LXX in the Latin world but no monographs or extensive essays that survey the whole subject. The entries by Graves on the Latin Church fathers (2016) and Barrera on the *Vetus Latina* (2016) in *the Textual History of the Bible* address the role of the LXX in the Latin world and provide the best bibliographical information in addition to the

bibliography to the present chapter. The volume of Fontaine and Pietri (1985) is older, but contains many important essays on both Latin Bible manuscripts and the Latin Fathers in connection with the LXX. Kamesar's 1993 book has an excellent discussion of the 'problem' of the Greek Bible in the tradition leading up to and including Jerome. Kauhanen (2018) on Lucifer of Cagliari and the text of 1–2 Kings offers detailed analysis of the Greek and Latin witnesses and up-to-date bibliography on a key section of Scripture within Greek Bible scholarship.

- Barrera, Julio Trebelle (2016). 'Vetus Latina', in A. Lange and E. Tov, eds., *Textual History of the Bible*, Vol. 1A: *Overview Articles*. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, pp. 319–31.
- Fontaine, J., and C. Pietri, eds. (1985). *Le Monde latin antique et la Bible*. Paris: Beauchesne.
- Graves, Michael (2017). 'Latin Church Fathers', in A. Lange and E. Tov, eds., *Textual History of the Bible*, Vol. 1C: *Writings*. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, pp. 759–63.
- Kamesar, Adam (1993). *Jerome, Greek Scholarship, and the Hebrew Bible: A Study of the Quaestiones Hebraicae in Genesis*. Oxford Classical Monographs. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Kauhanen, Tuukka (2018). *Lucifer of Cagliari and the Text of 1–2 Kings*. Septuagint and Cognate Studies 68. Atlanta, GA: SBL Press.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Billen, A. V. (1927). *The Old Latin Texts of the Heptateuch*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bogaet, Pierre-Maurice (1988). 'La Bible latine des origines au Moyen Age: Aperçu historique, état des questions'. *RTL* 19:137–59, 276–314.
- Bogaert, Pierre-Maurice (2006). 'Les Bibles d'Augustin'. *RTL* 37: 513–31.
- Bogaert, Pierre-Maurice (2012). 'Job latin chez les Pères et dans les bibles: D'une version courte à des versions longues sur le grec et sur l'hébreu'. *RBén* 122: 48–99.
- Bouton-Touboulic, A.-I. (2006). 'Autorité et tradition: La Traduction latine de la Bible selon Saint Jérôme et Saint Augustin'. *Aug* 45.1: 185–229.
- Bright, Pamela, ed. (1986). *Augustine and the Bible*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame.
- Burkitt, F. C. (1896). *The Old Latin and the Itala*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fischer, Boniface (1951). *Vetus Latina: Die Reste der Altlateinischen Bibel: Genesis*. Freiburg: Herder.
- Fürst, Alfons (2003). *Hieronymus: Askese und Wissenschaft in der Spätantike*. Freiburg: Herder.
- Fürst, Alfons (2011). *Von Origenes und Hieronymus zu Augustinus: Studien zur antiken Theologiegeschichte*. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Graves, Michael (2000). 'The Authority of the LXX in Augustine' (unpublished seminar paper, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, OH), <http://wheaton.edu/academics/faculty/profile/?expert=michael.gravesphd> (under 'Resources').
- Graves, Michael (2007). *Jerome's Hebrew Philology: A Study Based on his Commentary on Jeremiah*. VCSup 90. Leiden: Brill.
- Graves, Michael (2017). 'Latin Church Fathers', in A. Lange and E. Tov, eds., *Textual History of the Bible*, Vol. 1C: *Writings*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 759–63.
- Gribomont, Jean (1985a). 'Cassiodore et la transmission de l'héritage biblique antique', in J. Fontaine and C. Pietri, eds., *Le Monde latin antique et la Bible*. Paris: Beauchesne, pp. 143–52.

- Gribomont, Jean (1985b). 'Les Plus Anciennes Traductions latines,' in J. Fontaine and C. Pietri, eds., *Le Monde latin antique et la Bible*. Paris: Beauchesne, pp. 43–65.
- Gryson, Roger (1987). *Vetus Latina: Die Reste der Altlateinischen Bibel: Esaias*. Freiburg: Herder.
- Gryson, Roger (1993). *Commentaire de Jérôme sur le Prophète Isaïe, Livres I–IV*. Freiburg: Verlag Herder.
- Haelewyck, Jean-Claude (2006). 'The Relevance of the Old Latin Version for the Septuagint, with Special Emphasis on the Book of Esther.' *JTS*: 439–73.
- Houghton, H. A. G. (2016). *The Latin New Testament: A Guide to Its Early History, Texts, and Manuscripts*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jay, Pierre (1985). *L'Exégèse de saint Jérôme d'après son 'Commentaire sur Isaïe'*. Paris: Études Augustiniennes.
- Kamesar, Adam (1993). *Jerome, Greek Scholarship, and the Hebrew Bible: A Study of the Quaestiones Hebraicae in Genesim*. Oxford Classical Monographs. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Kamesar, Adam (2005). 'Hilary of Poitiers, Judeo-Christianity, and the Origins of the LXX: A Translation of *Tractatus super Psalmos* 2.2–3 with Introduction and Commentary.' *VC* 59: 264–85.
- Kelly, J. N. D. (1975). *Jerome*. London: Duckworth.
- La Bonnardière, A.-M., ed. (1986). *Saint Augustin et la Bible*. Paris: Beauchesne.
- Nauroy, Gérard (1985). 'L'Écriture dans la pastorale d'Ambrose de Milan,' in J. Fontaine and C. Pietri, eds., *Le Monde latin antique et la Bible*. Paris: Beauchesne, pp. 371–408.
- O'Malley, T. P. (1967). *Tertullian and the Bible: Language-Imagery-Exegesis*. Utrecht: Dekker & Van de Vegt.
- Marcos, Natalio Fernández (2001). *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Versions of the Bible*. Trans. W. G. E. Watson. Leiden: Brill.
- Rajak, Tessa (2009). *Translation and Survival: The Greek Bible of the Ancient Jewish Diaspora*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Saxer, Victor (1985). 'La Bible chez les Pères latin du IIIe siècle,' in J. Fontaine and C. Pietri, eds., *Le Monde latin antique et la Bible*. Paris: Beauchesne, pp. 339–64.
- Schulz-Flügel, Eva (1996). 'The Latin Old Testament Tradition,' in M. Sæbø, ed., *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament, The History of Its Interpretation*, Vol. 1: *From the Beginnings to the Middle Ages (until 1300)*, Part 1: *Antiquity*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 642–662.
- Schulz-Flügel, Eva (2014). 'Hieronymus—Gottes Wort: Septuaginta oder hebraica Veritas,' in W. Kraus and S. Kreuzer, eds., *Die Septuaginta: Text, Wirkung, Rezeption*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 746–58.
- Wasserstein, Abraham, and David J. Wasserstein (2006). *The Legend of the Septuagint: From Classical Antiquity to Today*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

PART VI

THE
SEPTUAGINT IN
TRANSLATION

CHAPTER 42

THE VETUS LATINA (OLD LATIN)

PIERRE-MAURICE BOGAERT

THE BACKGROUND TO THE LATIN VERSIONS

THE translations of the Hebrew Bible, carried out by Jerome from around 390 CE and later referred to as the Vulgate, were at first no more than new translations alongside the current forms and revisions of the first Latin translations from the Greek, now termed the Vetus Latina, 'Old Latin' (henceforth VL). Most Christian Latin writers used such translations of the Septuagint (henceforth LXX). Their Old Testament had more or less the same content as the LXX, the corpus of which was more extensive than that of the Hebrew Bible. Until the middle of the sixth century, as long as access to the Greek was easy or possible, it was not the VL as such but its Greek original, the LXX, that was regarded as authoritative. Increasing ignorance of Greek and the slow but sure rise of the translations of Jerome transferred the authority from the Greek version to the Latin of Jerome, since with few exceptions Hebrew was not accessible to Christians. Jerome's paraphrastic version of Tobit and Judith, his translation of the Greek supplements of Esther and Daniel, and one of the available VL texts of the other books of the LXX (Wisdom, Sirach, 1 and 2 Maccabees) were later added in order to complete the canonical list in Latin pandect Bibles. Julian of Eclanum, Philippus Presbyter, and Gregory the Great are the first Christian writers to use the *nova translatio*, without rejecting the old one. Jerome himself did not publish a grouped edition of his own translations from the Hebrew, which he referred to as his *iuxta Hebraeos* version ('according to the Hebrews', see also Chapter 41).

Terminology

- (i) *Vetus Latina* (Old Latin). This term covers all the translations from Greek to Latin of the books of the Hebrew canon (MT) interspersed with books or parts of books present only in the LXX, and followed by the New Testament. Before translating the Hebrew Bible, Jerome translated some books according to the Origenian (Hexaplaric) recension, along with the asterisks and obeli: Job, the 'Gallican' version of the Psalter, and Canticles are preserved. Those Hexaplaric translations have sometimes been cited by Latin fathers and are often very similar to the previous forms of the Latin. Consequently they are conveniently given the common designation *Vetus Latina*. This widely accepted term is less ambiguous than the following terms:
- (ii) *Itala*. The exact signification of this term, used only once by Augustine to indicate and to praise a form of the Old Latin Bible read in Italy, has been disputed. It was also used as a synonym of *Vetus Latina* or in the pair *afra* (African)–*itala* (Italian). *Vetus Italica* was the title used by Dom Pierre Sabatier (1743) for his collection of the Old Latin biblical material.
- (iii) *Vulgate*. Latin Fathers use the term *vulgata*, i.e. 'common', to point out the common, unrevised LXX, or by extension its Latin version, thus the VL. However, from the sixteenth century onwards *Vulgata* is applied to Latin Bibles as copied from the Carolingian period, and as printed since Gutenberg (1450), i.e. with the translations of Jerome according to the Hebrew (apart from the Psalter).

HISTORY OF RESEARCH

The comparison of the Latin citations of Church writers with the LXX began in the last decades of the sixteenth century. The Roman edition of the LXX (1586–7) was followed by a Latin translation (1588), the work of Flaminio de Nobili, with many Latin patristic citations in the accompanying notes. It was intended to justify the choice of the LXX Codex Vaticanus (B) rather than Byzantine witnesses as the main source for the edition of the LXX. This edition influenced the subsequent edition of the Latin fathers and marked the end of the period during which Cardinal Montalto had adjusted the biblical quotations of Ambrose to match the Vulgate (Petitmengin: St 2002).

At the end of the sixteenth century patristic citations were the only source for our knowledge of VL. The documentation slowly increased, and attention was paid to completely preserved texts in some medieval Bibles. During the seventeenth century the Benedictines of the Congregation of Saint-Maur (the Maurists) gathered an extensive collection of citations, liturgical readings and canticles, and complete texts. This collection was eventually published by Dom Pierre Sabatier (Sabatier: Ed 1743). In the second half of the nineteenth century, Ernst Ranke (Ed 1871), Leo Ziegler (Ed 1883), and Ulysse Robert (Ed 1881, 1900) published palimpsests and very early witnesses.

Philipp Thielmann (St 1900) carried out a first synthesis. The great critical editions of the LXX (Cambridge and Göttingen) mention the Old Latin as an important daughter version. Henry Crawford Burkitt, Alban Dold, Teofilo Ayuso Marazuela, Bonifatius Fischer, and more recently Adrian Schenker, Julio Trebolle Barrera, Jean-Claude Haelewyck, and Philippe Hugo have all published significant studies on the topic (see Bibliography below).

SOURCES

The following sources are available:

- (a) Some Bibles, often late (up to the thirteenth century), preserve complete VL texts of Ruth in one recension, and in two or more recensions Judith (Bogaert and Haelewyck 2001–2020), Esther (Haelewyck: Ed 2003–8), Tobit (Auwers: St 2005), Job (Lagarde: Ed 1887; Bogaert: St 2012), Canticles (De Bruyne: Ed 1926; Vaccari: Ed 1958), Baruch (Bogaert: St 2005b), 1–2 Maccabees (De Bruyne and Sodar: Ed 1932).
- (b) Numerous fragments of biblical manuscripts, some of them palimpsests, are mostly of early date. Advances in codicology and palaeography allow better use of them.
- (c) Liturgical books (lectionaries etc.), which tend to be conservative textually, preserve biblical canticles, readings, antiphons according to the VL.
Biblical witnesses (a–c) are conveniently represented by the number they have been given in the list of Beuron (Gryson: St 1999 and 2004): e.g. the Heptateuch of Lyons = VL 100.
- (d) Among patristic citations, various types may be distinguished. Long quotations, surely based on consultation of a codex, are expected to be excellent (e.g. Lucifer of Cagliari: see now Kauhanen 2018). Collections of citations are important witnesses (e.g. Cyprian's *Testimonia ad Quirinum Libri III*, and *Liber de diuinis scripturis*). Citations in works, often commentaries, translated or adapted from the Greek, for instance by Ambrose, Rufinus, Jerome, and others, are unavoidably influenced by the Greek original, to a degree to be evaluated in each case. In the numerous more or less literal citations, the possible influence of the Vulgate has always to be considered owing to the process of transmission. For the proper understanding of a passage in these writers, one must refer to the VL, since this is the text with which they were familiar. VL quotations are found in Carolingian writers (e.g. Claudius of Turin) and later, sometimes through their sources, sometimes according to their biblical codices.
- (e) The lemmata need a special entry. In the transmission of biblical commentaries, the copy of the lemma, which is the biblical text at the head of each comment, does not always share the same transmission as the commentary itself. In some cases, the author has not judged it necessary to quote the passage commented

upon. In other cases, he only quoted the first (and last) words. Scribes afterwards added or completed the excerpted text according to manuscripts available to them. Even if the lemma was given in full from VL from the beginning, some scribes were tempted to introduce the current text. In all these cases, the original biblical text is more reliably preserved in the commentary than in the lemma. The supplemented lemma itself is not always the Vulgate. For example, in the commentary on Canticles by Philo of Carpasia translated into Latin by Epiphanius, a friend of Cassiodorus (sixth century), and preserved in a manuscript of the second half of the sixth century (BAV, Vat. lat. 5704), the lemma is not Philo's, but taken from the first translation of Jerome according to the Hexaplaric LXX, with the consequence that the commentary does not match the lemma. In Cant. 7:1, Philo of Carpasia and Epiphanius read and commented on Ὁδολαμίτις, not *Salamitis*, which appears in the Latin lemma; the etymology 'quae testificatur in aqua' supposes the Hebrew root 'd 'testis' (Vaccari: St 1958: 123; Bogaert St 2020).

THE BIBLE OF THE LATIN FATHERS

History in Brief

The birth of a Christian Latin literature took place in Africa with great writers such as Tertullian and Cyprian. The *Testimonia ad Quirinum Libri III* attest the translation in Latin of nearly all the books of the LXX about 250 CE (Fahey: St 1971). At an early date, before the spread of Origen's revision, the Latin translations were made on the basis of unrevised or barely revised Greek texts. The presence of Jewish communities in the same area is documented. A Jewish initiative in the translation of some books from Greek to Latin in Africa, although possible, is not likely (Bogaert 1988: 143–4), but there was some interaction (see section 'Interesting Cases', b, c, on Esther and Judith). Why did Italy and Rome not step in sooner? It is a fact that there were only a few Italian Christian Latin writers in the third century. Novatian, c.250 CE, is an exception. Greek remained the main language of Roman Christianity until the middle of the fourth century (Pietri: St 1976: 1.103–4; Lampe: St 1987: 117–19). From 350 onwards, Italy played a major role, and several revisions of the old African translation originated north of the Mediterranean Sea (Bogaert: St 1988: 143–9).

The Bible as a Set of a Dozen Codices: Possible Heterogeneity

There are no traces of Latin biblical books on scrolls. 'Pandects' (Bibles in a single volume) are definitely attested in the sixth century (Cassiodorus), but were possibly already in existence during the fifth century. They become a common feature at the end of the eighth century. During the patristic era, each book or group of books was copied on one

codex, a dozen covering the Old Testament. The early canonical lists with stichometrical indications provide an image of their possible distribution. In the *Liber de divinis scripturis* from Italy, perhaps dating to the fifth century, it is even possible to reconstruct the order of the books inside the codices (Thiele: Ed 1977–85: 223). Consequently the biblical text quoted by the Fathers may be heterogeneous: they may use an old African text in one book and a European revised text elsewhere. Even for the same book, Augustine cites the old African text, the Hexaplaric version of Jerome, and his translation according to the *Hebraica veritas* (Bogaert: St 2012: 64–6, 77–9, 86). When Augustine preaches outside his own city, the codex used in the liturgy there may give a reading which is not his usual text. In other cases, he simply uses the text of his correspondent or of his adversary (Bogaert: St 2006).

Lists and Titles

Lists give a rather accurate image of sets of codices. The earliest list is the stichometry of Mommsen (Preuschen: St 1893: 138–9), c.350 CE, which is certainly African, and perhaps Donatist. Other significant lists are from the African councils of Hippo and Carthage at the end of the fourth century (Munier: St 1972–3), Augustine's *De doctrina christiana*, II.viii.13, the Letter of Pope Innocent I to Exsuperius, bishop of Toulouse, 405 (Wurm: St 1939), and the *Decretum Gelasianum* (Pietri: St 1976: 2.883–4). A correct interpretation of the lists and of the quotations of the Fathers involves terminology. When those lists note two books of Esdras, Esdras I is our III Esdras (Esdras A' in the LXX), 'Esdras II' is our Esdras-Nehemia (Esdras B' in the LXX). Ambrose, *Spir.* II, 6 (CSEL 79, p. 105) quotes our IV Esdras, unattested by the Latin lists above, as 'Esdras III'. In the VL, Baruch is an appendix to Jeremiah and has no title of its own. Sirach is commonly called *Ecclesiasticus* and is often attributed to Solomon (De Bruyne: St 1929). Daniel and Esther are always accompanied by their supplements as in Greek. Deuterocanonical books are interspersed between the canonical ones. Nevertheless, Hilary of Poitiers, Jerome, and Rufinus of Aquileia make a distinction, under the influence of Origen. In the early lists, Ruth is joined to I–IV Reigns, not to Judges, and the first seven books of the Bible form an *Eptaticus* (Heptateuch: Bogaert: St 1997). The list in the Letter of Innocentius I (405 CE) may be cited as an example (Wurm: St 1939: 75–6): *Moysi libri V, id est Genesis, Exodi, Leuitici, Numeri, Deuteronomii; et Iesu Naue I, Iudicum I; Regnorum libri IIII simul et Ruth; Prophetarum libri XVI; Salomonis libri V; Psalterium. Item historiarum: Iob liber I, Tobiae liber I, Hester liber I, Iudith liber I, Machabaeorum libri II, Hesdras libri II, Paralypomenon libri II.*

Inventory of Citations

A large card index, initiated by J. Denk and regularly brought up to date by the Vetus Latina Institute, is kept in Beuron and is now available on line (Brepols: Vetus Latina Database). The identification of citations may be problematic, because the concordances

of the Vulgate are inadequate for locating VL passages. The vocabulary that Jerome employed to translate from the Hebrew is only partly traditional, and the Hebrew source text is sometimes far from the LXX. In doubtful cases, the concordance of the LXX has to be consulted, after tentative retroversion. For example, Verecundus, *Commentarii super Cantica* 2, 4 (CCSL 93, p. 18, 8), does not quote Jdt. 8:19 or 9:19 according to the Vulgate (which he does not use), but Isa. 26:13 according to the VL. The way in which quotations are introduced also must be checked: Baruch is quoted as Jeremiah; an early numeration of the Psalms, particular to Africa (Bogaert 2000b: 55–7), tends to be standardized according to the LXX.

Types of Texts

In most books, it may be safely assumed that there was a first translator, always anonymous, whose version was subsequently revised. Only rarely, in some sections of books, was the revision actually a new translation, with its Greek *Vorlage* being fundamentally different from the Greek base text of the first Latin translation. The scope of the revisions was twofold. Firstly, the vocabulary of the first versions was African. Some of its characteristics remained until the last stages, but many were replaced, especially in the European (mostly Italian) revisions. Secondly, in Africa and in Europe revisions were made according to Greek texts revised or differing from the initial one. In such cases each book has its own particular history.

THE VETUS LATINA AS A WITNESS TO THE LXX AND THE OLD GREEK

Facts

- (a) In Genesis, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Paralipomenon, Esdras A' (III Esdras), Esdras B' (Ezra-Nehemiah), Judith, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Wisdom, Isaiah, the differences between the VL and the LXX are of interest, but not structural and usually of limited extent. As a rule, the VL follows the LXX in those places where the LXX differs from the Masoretic Text: for instance, the presence of Esdras A' (our III Esdras), the order of the XII Prophets, the special structure of Jeremiah, etc.
- (b) Some books appear different in Latin from the LXX, or at least from the LXX text in circulation in the early centuries of the Common Era. Minor local differences are linked to major 'minuses' or 'pluses'. In I–IV Reigns, the agreements are often with Lucianic variants, but VL 115 goes its own way. Jeremiah is shorter in VL than in the already short LXX, everywhere, and especially in two

chapters (MT 39 = LXX 46; 52). Chapter 52 is immediately followed by Baruch 1–5 without a separate title, and is accordingly attributed to Jeremiah by the Latin fathers and in the liturgy (both lection and canticle).

- (c) Special mention must be made of those books (or part of books) organized differently in the VL and in the LXX. In chapters 36–40 of Exodus (describing the construction of the Tabernacle), where the order of the LXX is different from the Masoretic Text, the VL according to the very early *Monacensis* (VL 104) has the same order as the LXX but contains a very different text and some ‘pluses’. In Ezekiel chs. 36–40, an early palimpsest, the *Wirceburgensis* (VL 177), and the Greek Papyrus 967 (third century CE) agree on the omission of 36:23c–38 and the order of chapters: 36:1–23b; 38–9; 37; 40. In Daniel, Quodvultdeus, alone among the Latin writers yet already aware of Jerome’s translation from the Hebrew, maintains the order of the chapters, Daniel 1–4, 7–8, 5–6, 9–12, found in the same Papyrus 967 (Bogaert: St 1978). In all the Greek manuscripts of Sirach, two passages (two quires of a codex according to Rahlfs: II, 429) are inverted. The Latin, which preserves the original order as do the Syriac and the Hebrew, is often longer and some ‘pluses’ are attested in Greek only by the *Sacra Parallela* of John of Damascus. The book is commonly attributed to Solomon by the Latin writers, in relation to the addition of the *Oratio Salomonis* (2 Par. = 2 Chr. 6:13–22) as a final subscription in many manuscripts. The case of Job is special: there are no longer any direct witnesses of the VL, only quotations, but the translation of Jerome according the Hexaplaric LXX is preserved in three medieval manuscripts (VL 132, 160, 161). The first Latin translation was perhaps shorter than the already short original Greek Job that did not possess the asterized *stichoi* (Bogaert 2012: 59–62, 97).
- (d) A few books are translations of a lost or badly preserved form of the Greek. In this category fall the VL of Esther and, to some extent, the VL of Tobit whose text is paralleled in the *Sinaiticus* and (poorly) in Qumran.
- (e) The Psalter is abundantly cited and may justify particular attention. Here it is enough to list the more significant forms: the old African text; the Psalterium Romanum, which for a long time remained in liturgical use in England and central Italy; the text commonly used by Augustine; the revision by Jerome based on the Hexaplaric Greek known as the Gallican Psalter and universally present in Latin liturgical use and in Vulgate Bibles; the Visigothicum; the Milan Psalter, etc. All these Latin forms of the Psalter are related. To illustrate this, the Greek *καρπός* means the palm of the hand or a fruit. In LXX Ps. 127:2, the meaning is clearly ‘hand’, and the Hebrew of the psalm confirms the meaning. Nevertheless the Roman Psalter and most of the Latin fathers with Augustine translate ‘*labores fructuum tuorum*’.

It is well known that the numeration of the Psalms in the LXX differs from the Hebrew one. The Old Latin numeration, as witnessed in the works of Cyprian and the *Liber de diuinis scripturis*, did not distinguish Psalms 1 and 2. In spite of corrections by medieval

scribes or by modern editors following the LXX, many traces of this early usage, distinct from LXX and MT, persist, even if we have to look for them in the apparatus (Bogaert 2000: 55–7). In the Psalter of Augustine, Psalm 113 was divided into two parts, the second beginning with verse 12 (not v. 9). This division, attested by Origen, by Papyrus Bodmer XXIX, and in Sahidic (Barthélemy 1972: 15–16), allows the true interpretation of Augustine's *Enarrationes in Ps.* 113 (CCSL 40, pp. 1640–1). Most Latin Psalters end with Psalm 151 (*Hic psalmus proprie scriptus David...: Pusillus eram inter fratres meos*), serving as a subscription, just as the prayer of Solomon that ends Ecclesiasticus (see (c) above).

Interpretation

- (a) The Latin translators respected their Greek source text. In the best-preserved books and sections of books, we may easily verify their word-for-word rendering of the Greek.
- (b) Where the VL differs from the LXX, certain Greek papyri or even the Hebrew scrolls from Qumran (see section 'From the Old Latin to the Old Hebrew through the Old Greek') may demonstrate the version's accuracy in certain cases, e.g. Ezekiel chs. 36–40 (Pap 967 and *Wirceburgensis* VL XX), Tobit (*Sinaiticus* and the majority of the VL MSS).
- (c) Consequently, when we find major differences in order and quantity (pluses or minuses), it may be presumed and sometimes proved that those differences were already present in the Greek source text.
- (d) The Latin translators, and the scribes thereafter, were fallible, and our documentation on the VL is often very poor. Moreover, minor differences can usually be explained in various ways. Nevertheless, not all are accidental, and if they have a possible connection with major ones, they must be taken seriously.
- (e) Latin translators, literal or not, put forward the obvious interpretation of the Greek Bible for common readers, who include most Latin fathers. This is the case even when better knowledge of the underlying Hebrew proves that such a sense is inappropriate or unsatisfactory. This point is important and frustrating for the translator of the LXX into a modern language, who in such cases cannot satisfactorily give both senses: that attempted by the Greek translation of the Hebrew, and that given to the Greek by a native reader. The Old Latin translator and some Latin fathers are in the situation of the native reader of the Greek. Other Latin fathers who did not know or did not use Greek, read the available Latin versions in the more obvious sense in Latin, even when the text resulted from a too literal or even a bad translation. For instance, Bachiarius, in the work *De reparatione lapsi* (c.410), copiously cites the VL but ignores the Greek. He gives an allegorical interpretation of the gates of Jerusalem according to Nehemiah ch. 3 (LXX: Esdras B' 13). In v. 13, he reads *porta frugis*, 'the gate of the produce of the land' (PL 20,1057A). *Frugis* is a corrupted transliteration (rather

than a translation) of the Greek *φάραγγος* '(gate of) the valley'. So Bacharius explains it as meaning 'fruit of the words of God' (*uerborum dei fructus*).

From the Old Latin to the Old Hebrew through the Old Greek

'From the Old Latin to the Old Hebrew through the Old Greek' was the title of an article by Julio Treballe Barrera (St 1984). It ably expresses much present research in the field. Qumran has amply demonstrated that the biblical text was not definitively fixed before the second century CE (Bogaert: St 2013).

- (a) In some rare cases, the Old Latin clearly goes with the Hebrew (or the Aramaic) through a lost or a preserved Greek text. Such is the case with 4QJer (Bogaert: St 2006: 526–8), Sirach (in the order of the chapters and some individual characteristics; see Thiele: Ed 1987–2005), Tobit (Auwers: St 2005, 2010). In other cases, when the LXX is distinct from MT, the Old Latin is shown to be a translation of the Hebrew.
- (b) Consequently, in cases where the Old Latin stands alone, we must consider with due caution the possibility that it may reflect a lost Greek text that could witness to a lost Hebrew text, since the Latin may be the result of an unexpected form of the Greek. Here we might cite the example of Exodus chs. 35–40 according to the *Monacensis* (VL 104) (Dold: St 1956; Bogaert: St 1996; 2005a).

On Jeremiah, see next section.

Interesting Cases

- (a) The complete text of 2 Paralipomenon is preserved in one manuscript (VL 109) and edition (Weber, *Paralipomenon*, 1954). A special feature in the translation, the frequent occurrence of 'et quidem', seems to follow closely the presence of *wəgam* in Hebrew and, consequently, of *καίγε* in the intermediary Greek, a feature typical of Theodotion (Carmignac: 1981).
- (b) The VL is sometimes distinctive. In the narratives of Judith and Esther, a Spanish manuscript (VL 109) adds the mention of a 'liber memorialis' (Est. 9:23) or of a 'memoriale in quo scripti sunt...' (Jdt. 8:6). Both indications, absent in the Greek, are connected to, and might witness use of, those books in Jewish festivals.
- (c) Esther. The VL is the accurate translation of a Greek recension, with major differences from the common Greek text and from the so-called Lucianic revision. It may be the only witness of the original form of the Greek of the book. The prayer of Esther is longer in Latin than in Greek: the VL addition in C16 is also preserved in the Armenian version, elsewhere a witness of the common text

- (Haelewyck, *Hester*: 76, 273–6). It is a convincing example of the persistence of early, unrevised or less revised texts in peripheral regions far from scholarly influence. Two readings typical of the VL are now attested in P.Oxy 4443, a fragmentary Greek scroll of the first century CE of Jewish origin (Haelewyck: St 1999).
- (d) Canticles. In the VL, in chapter 5 the order of verses is 12, 14b, 13, 14a, 15. Ambrose has the same order (*Ob. Val.* 59–61). It is no accident in the Latin. This same order is witnessed in Greek by a papyrus codex (952) and in Coptic. A Carolingian Bible with the translation of Jerome according to the Hebrew (Metz, BM 7) has put v. 14b after v. 12, as in the VL.
- (e) Jeremiah (including Baruch). The Würzburg palimpsest (VL 177) preserves the earliest Latin translation of an early Greek text of Jeremiah, unrevised. The very short chapter 46 in LXX (MT 39) is the best example. It omits not only verses 4–13 as in Greek, but also verses 1–2. The resulting text looks perfectly natural, and the addition is easy to explain (Bogaert: St 2003). The book takes on a new aspect if we observe that all the Latin fathers (following the early Greek fathers before Origen) cite Baruch as Jeremiah. When they refer to ‘Baruch’ they refer to unknown pseudepigrapha (Bogaert: St 2005b). In this configuration of Jeremiah, Baruch (without a title) looks like a deutero-Jeremiah.
- (f) To give another example, here is the *Embassy for the Christians* by Athenagoras (c.177 CE).

But the voice of the prophets guarantees our reasoning besides. (I expect that you who are so learned and so eager for truth, are not without some introduction to Moses, Isaias, Jeremias, and the rest of the prophets, who, when the Divine Spirit moved them, spoke out what they were in travail with, their own reasoning falling into abeyance and the Spirit making use of them as a flautist might play upon his flute.) What then do these men say? *The Lord is our God; no other shall be reckoned beside Him* (Bar. 3:36; not Exod. 20:2–3). Again: *I, God, am the first and the last, and besides me there is no God* (Isa. 44:6). Similarly: *Before me there was no other god formed, and after me there shall be none. I am God and there is no other apart from me* (Isa. 43:10–11). And concerning His immensity: *Heaven is my throne and the earth my footstool. What is this house that you will build to me? And what the place of my rest?* (Isa. 46:1). I leave it to you, since you are possessed of the books themselves, to examine more closely the prophecies of those men...

(*Leg.* §9, tr. Crehan 1956: 39)

Until recently editors and translators of the *Embassy* identified the first quote as Exod. 20:2–3. Vaccari (St 1958) recognized the error and suggested Bar. 3:36. In fact Isaiah and Jeremiah are mentioned, and Isaiah is cited three times. So where does Jeremiah come in? If we remember that the early Greek fathers and the Latin fathers always introduced Baruch as Jeremiah, a solution is found. The mention of Moses is to be understood in connection with ‘the rest of the Prophets’ to indicate the span of the whole Old Testament. If the Latin fathers had not provided the clue, the error would have been perpetuated.

PROMISING DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

1. The number of studies on the LXX has increased massively over the last two decades. Its importance in itself, its use by the Christian writers, its dependence on Hebrew, as well as its versions are subject to new insights.
2. The Latin translations of the LXX are the earliest. Only Coptic may compete in this respect. In Latin and Coptic more frequently than in other versions, access to early stages of the LXX is possible. The Coptic tradition has the advantage of having preserved many early small codices and of completing in this regard our physical image of the LXX among Christians, between the original scrolls and the great uncial codices. VL is often the oldest indication of rare Greek variant readings, and is better dated, a fact that has consequence for the historian of the Septuagint and of its revisions. VL also has the advantage of going back earlier than Coptic and of a greater kinship with Greek in the matters of vocabulary and syntax.
3. Our own time is no longer one of great discoveries. All the same, there are fragments in bindings, the Latin Psalter in the Library of Mount Sinai in 1950 (Gryson and Thibaut, *Le Psautier*: Ed 2010). Present work lies in dating, comparing, and using the Latin material in order to delineate the history of the LXX and its recensions.
4. To go ‘upstream’ first, in terms of transmission, the VL is the unique witness for Exodus, Kingdoms, and Jeremiah, not only of local variants, but even of a specific shape of the LXX, which may compete with the *textus receptus*. In some cases, it may be demonstrated or, at least, proposed with due caution that this type of text, with its unexpected structure, follows the original Greek that was subsequently revised on the basis of the standardized Hebrew text. Scholars are now aware of the plurality of Hebrew texts during the period of the Second Temple. Such Old Latin witnesses of the LXX complete the documentation discovered in the Judean desert.
5. ‘Downstream’, the VL, as a translation of the LXX, is the Bible of the majority of the Latin fathers. Their exegesis depends on it, directly in many cases, but also indirectly by the mediation of Greek commentaries by Philo, Origen, Didymus, John Chrysostom, and others.
6. Greek patristic studies may also benefit. The distinctive features of the VL are mainly of Greek origin. Such words as *Eptaticus*, *Ecclesiasticus*, although not preserved as titles in the main Greek patristic works, may once have been used in Greek. If the *Sacra Parallela*, a late anthology, quotes verses of Sirach present in Latin but absent in all our Greek manuscripts, the possibility of similar phenomena must be kept in mind for other books and for the entire period. Otherwise they will remain hidden.

7. As mentioned earlier, translators of the LXX into modern languages have to accept a challenge. They must reproduce the sense intended by the Greek translator of the Hebrew, but they have also to cope with the same text as understood by a reader unaware of the Hebrew substratum. At this point (vocabulary, syntax), the VL and patristic exegesis may help.

As fruitful as Old Latin studies are for a competent knowledge of the LXX, the reverse is also true. All that has been said above demonstrates the incomplete preservation of the VL. Consequently a precise understanding of patristic Latin exegesis requires some familiarity with the LXX, which gives a more complete view of what the Latin Bible of the Fathers was. Even if a concordance of the remnants of the VL were available, it would remain necessary to keep an eye on the Greek and to use a concordance of the LXX.

SUGGESTED READING

Studies on the VL and the Greek New Testament are numerous in English, but rare on VL/LXX relations since Burkitt (St 1896), Swete (St 1900: 88–104), and Billen (St 1927). Synthetic overviews on the VL usually concern both Old and New Testaments (Bogaert: St 1988). Especially important are the contributions of Bonifatius Fischer, the founder of the *Vetus Latina Institut*, easily available in vols. 11 and 12 of the series ‘Aus der Geschichte der lateinischen Bibel’, including studies and materials on the Latin Old Testament (Fischer: St 1985; 1986). Studies on the vocabulary and of the syntax limited to the New Testament may be found useful. Specific studies involving the VL as witness of the LXX and its history are due also to various authors (see Bibliography).

The Bible of the Latin fathers is a topic that has been touched on by rare survey studies and by many editors and commentators. The volumes of the *Biblia Augustiniana* are the only systematic, although unfinished, work (La Bonnardière: St 1955 onwards). Greater access to VL material and sound methods have led recent studies to new identifications and better appreciation. This should be so in the future. To follow current research, the annual *Forschungsbericht* of the *Vetus Latina Institut* (latest issue: 49, 2016–17) and the biennial ‘Bulletin de la Bible latine’ (latest issue: *Revue bénédictine* 129.1 [2019]: 189–217) are available.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Editions of Texts (Principal Publications only) [= Ed]

- Ayuso Marazuela, Teófilo (1957). *Psalterium uisigothicum-mozarabicum*. *Biblia Polyglotta Matritensia* VII/21. Madrid: CSIC.
- Ayuso Marazuela, Teófilo (1967). *La Vetus Latina Hispana*. II. *El Octateuco*. Madrid: CSIC.
- Bogaert, Pierre-Maurice (1968). ‘La Version latine du livre de Judith dans la première Bible d’Alcalá.’ *Revue bénédictine* 78: 7–32, 181–212.
- Bogaert, Pierre-Maurice (1975, 1976, 1978). ‘Recensions de la vieille version latine de Judith.’ *Revue bénédictine* 85: 7–37, 241–65; 86: 7–37, 182–217; 88: 7–44.
- Bogaert, Pierre-Maurice, and Jean-Claude Haelewyck (2001–2020). *Judith*. *Vetus Latina* 7/2. Freiburg: Herder.

- De Bruyne, Donatien (1926). 'Les Anciennes Versions latines du Cantique des Cantiques.' *Revue bénédictine* 38: 97–122.
- De Bruyne, Donatien, and Bonaventure Sodar (1932). *Les Anciennes Traductions latines des Machabées*. Maredsous: Abbaye de Maredsous.
- Dold, Alban (1923). *Konstanzer altlateinische Propheten- und Evangelienbruchstücke... aus Zürich und St. Gallen*. Texte und Arbeiten 1, 7–9. Beuron: Beuroner Kunstverlag.
- Dold, Alban (1940). *Neue St. Galler vorhieronymische Propheten-Fragmente...* Texte und Arbeiten 1, 31. Beuron: Beuroner Kunstverlag.
- Fischer, Bonifatius (1951–4). *Genesis*. Vetus Latina 2. Freiburg: Herder.
- Forte, Anthony J. (2014). *Sirach (Ecclesiasticus) 25,1–28,24(20)*. Vetus Latina 11/2. 1. Lief. Freiburg, Herder.
- Gesche, Bonifatia (2005). *Ruth*. Vetus Latina 4/5. Freiburg: Herder.
- Gesche, Bonifatia (2008–2016). *Esra 1 [III Esdras]*. Vetus Latina 6/2. Freiburg: Herder.
- Gryson, Roger (1987–97). *Esaias*. Vetus Latina 12. Freiburg: Herder.
- Gryson, Roger, and André Thibaut (2010). *Le Psautier latin du Sinaï*. Aus der Geschichte der lateinischen Bibel 39. Freiburg: Herder.
- Haelewyck, Jean-Claude (2003–8). *Hester*. Vetus Latina 7/3. Freiburg: Herder.
- Lagarde, Paul de (1887). 'Des Hieronymus Uebertragung der griechischen Uebersetzung des Iob,' in Paul de Lagarde, ed., *Mittheilungen* 2. Göttingen: Dieterichsche Universitaetsbuchhandlung, pp. 189–237.
- Ranke, Ernst (1871). *Par palimpsestorum Wirceburgensium*. Vienna: G. Braumüller.
- Robert, Ulysse (1881). *Pentateuchi versio Latina antiquissima e codice Lugdunensi*. Paris: Firmin-Didot.
- Robert, Ulysse (1900). *Heptateuchi partis posterioris versio Latina antiquissima*. Lyon: A. Rey et Cie.
- Sabatier, Pierre (1743). *Bibliorum sacrorum Latinae versions antiquae*, 3 vols. Reims: Florentain. Reprint Turnhout: Brepols.
- Schulz-Flügel, Eva (1992). *Canticum Canticorum: Einleitung*. Vetus Latina 10/3. Freiburg: Herder.
- Thiele, Walter (1977–85). *Sapientia Salomonis*. Vetus Latina 11/1. Freiburg: Herder.
- Thiele, Walter (1987–2005). *Sirach (Ecclesiasticus) 1,1–24,47*. Vetus Latina 11/2. Freiburg: Herder.
- Vaccari, Alberto (1958). 'Recupero d'un lavoro critico di S. Girolamo,' in Alberto Vaccari, *Scritti di erudizione e di filologia*, Vol. 2. Storia e letteratura 67. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura.
- Weber, Robert (1953). *Le Psautier romain et les autres Psautiers latins apparentés*. Collectanea Biblica Latina 10. Città del Vaticano: Libreria Vaticana.
- Weber, Robert (1954). *Les Anciennes Versions latines du deuxième livre des Paralipomènes*. Collectanea Biblica Latina 8. Rome: Libreria Vaticana.
- Ziegler, Leo (1883). *Bruckstücke einer vorhieronymischen Übersetzung des Pentateuch aus einem Palimpseste*. Munich: Th. Riedel.

Studies

- Auwers, Jean-Marie (2005). 'La Tradition vieille latine du livre de Tobie: Un État de la question,' in G. X. Xeravitz and J. Zsengeller, eds., *The Book of Tobit: Text, Tradition, Theology*. JSJSup 98. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, pp. 1–21.

- Auwers, Jean-Marie (2010). *Vetus Latina. Forschungsbericht des Instituts Beuron* 43 (= Bericht 54). Freiburg: Herder, pp. 13–15.
- Barthélemy, Dominique (1972). 'Le Papyrus Bodmer 24 jugé par Origène', in Josef Schreiner, ed., *Wort, Lied und Gottesspruch: Festschrift für Joseph Ziegler*, Vol. 1. Würzburg: Echter-Verlag, pp. 11–19.
- Billen, A. V. (1927). *The Old Latin Texts of the Heptateuch*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bogaert, Pierre-Maurice. (1978). 'Le Témoignage de la *vetus latina* dans l'étude de la tradition de la Septante: Ézéchiël et Daniel dans le Papyrus 967'. *Biblica* 59: 384–95.
- Bogaert, P.-M. (1988). 'La Bible latine des origines au moyen âge: Aperçu historique, état des questions'. *Revue théologique de Louvain* 19: 137–59, 276–314.
- Bogaert, P.-M. (1996). 'L'Importance de la Septante et du *Monacensis* de la *vetus latina* pour l'exégèse du livre de l'Exode (chap. 35–40)', in M. Vervenne, ed., *Studies in the Book of Exodus*. BETL 126. Leuven: Peeters Press, pp. 399–428.
- Bogaert, P.-M. (1997). 'Eptaticus: Le Nom des premiers livres de la Bible dans l'ancienne tradition chrétienne grecque et latine', in J.-Cl. Fredouille et al., eds., *Titres et articulations du texte dans les œuvres antiques*. Collection des Études Augustiniennes. Série Antiquité 152. Paris, Études Augustiniennes, pp. 313–37.
- Bogaert, P.-M. (2000a). 'Les Livres d'Esdras et leur numérotation dans l'histoire du canon de la Bible latine'. *Revue bénédictine* 110: 5–26.
- Bogaert, P.-M. (2000b). 'Le Psautier latin des origines au XIIe siècle: Essai d'histoire', in A. Aejmelaeus and U. Quast, eds., *Der Septuaginta-Psalter und seine Tochter-Übersetzungen*. MSU 24 = AAWG, Phil.-Hist. Kl. III, 230. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 51–81.
- Bogaert, P.-M. (2003). 'La *vetus latina* de Jérémie: Texte très court, témoin de la plus ancienne Septante et d'une forme plus ancienne de l'hébreu (Jr 39 et 52)', in A. Schenker, ed., *The Earliest Text of the Hebrew Bible*. SCS 52. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, pp. 51–82.
- Bogaert, P.-M. (2005a). 'La Construction de la Tente (Ex 36–40) dans le *Monacensis* de la plus ancienne version latine: L'Autel d'or et Hébreux 9,4', in Adrian Schenker and Philippe Hugo, eds., *L'Enfance de la Bible hébraïque: L'Histoire du texte de l'Ancien Testament à la lumière des recherches récentes*. Geneva: Labor et Fides, pp. 62–76.
- Bogaert, P.-M. (2005b). 'Le Livre de Baruch dans les manuscrits de la Bible latine: Disparition et réintégration'. *Revue bénédictine* 115: 133–63.
- Bogaert, P.-M. (2006). 'Les Bibles d'Augustin'. *Revue théologique de Louvain* 37: 513–31.
- Bogaert, P.-M. (2008). 'Les Livres des Maccabées dans la Bible latine: Contribution à l'histoire de la Vulgate'. *Revue bénédictine* 118: 201–38.
- Bogaert, P.-M. (2012). 'Job latin chez les Pères et dans les Bibles: D'une version courte à des versions longues sur le grec et sur l'hébreu'. *Revue bénédictine* 122: 48–99, 366–93.
- Bogaert, P.-M. (2013). 'De la *vetus latina* à l'hébreu pré-massorétique en passant par la plus ancienne Septante: Le Livre de Jérémie, exemple privilégié'. *Revue théologique de Louvain* 44: 216–43.
- Bogaert, P.-M. (2015). 'IV Esdras (2 Esdras ; 4-5-6 Ezra) dans les Bibles latines'. *Revue bénédictine* 125: 266–304.
- Bogaert, P.-M. (2020). 'L'Odolamite, fille d'Aminadab, une oubliée du Cantique (6,12–7,2)' in Dionisio Candido and Leonardo Pessoa da Silva Pinto, eds., *A Necessary Task. Essays on textual criticism of the Old Testament in Memory of Stephen Pisano*. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, pp. 211–37.
- Burkitt, Francis C. (1896). *The Old Latin and the Itala*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Capelle, P. (1913). *Le Texte du psautier latin en Afrique*. Collectanea Biblica Latina 4. Rome: F. Pustet.
- Carmignac, Jean (1981). 'Les Devanciers de S. Jérôme: Une Traduction latine de la recension καίγρε dans le second Livre des Chroniques', in P. Casetti, Othmar Keel, and A. Schenker, eds., *Mélanges Dominique Barthélemy: Etudes bibliques offertes à l'occasion de son 60e anniversaire*. OBO 38. Fribourg/Suisse: Éditions Universitaires/Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 31–50.
- Crehan, Joseph H. (1956). *Athenagoras*. Ancient Christian Writers 23. Westminster, MA: The Newman Press/London: Longmans, Green and Co.
- De Bruyne, Donatien (1929). 'Le Prologue, le titre et la finale de l'Écclésiastique'. ZAW 47: 257–63.
- Dold, Alban (1956). 'Versuchte neu- und erstergänzungen zu den altlateinischen Texten im Cod. Clm 6225 der Bayer. Staatsbibliothek'. *Biblica* 37: 39–58.
- Fahey, Michael A. (1971). *Cyprian and the Bible: A Study in Third-Century Exegesis*. Beiträge zur Geschichte der biblischen Hermeneutik 9. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr.
- Fischer, Bonifatius (1951). 'Lukian-Lesarten in der Vetus Latina der vier Königsbücher', in A. Metzinger, ed., *Miscelanea Biblica et Orientalia*. Studia Anselmiana 27–8. Rome: Pontificium Institutum S. Anselmi.
- Fischer, Bonifatius (1985). *Lateinische Bibelhandschriften im frühen Mittelalter*. Aus der Geschichte der lateinischen Bibel 11. Freiburg: Herder.
- Fischer, Bonifatius (1986). *Beiträge zur Geschichte der lateinischen Bibeltex-te*. Aus der Geschichte der lateinischen Bibel 12. Freiburg: Herder.
- Gryson, Roger (1999, 2004). *Altlateinische Handschriften: Manuscripts vieux latins*. Vetus Latina 1/2A, 1/2B. Freiburg: Herder.
- Gryson, Roger (2007). *Répertoire général des auteurs ecclésiastiques latins de le l'Antiquité et du Haut Moyen Âge*. Vetus Latina 1/1. 2 vols. Freiburg: Herder.
- Haelewyck, Jean-Claude (1999). 'Le Papyrus Oxyrhynque 4443 et la *vetus latina* du livre d'Esther'. *Revue bénédictine* 109: 267–71.
- Haelewyck, Jean-Claude (2006). 'The Relevance of the Old Latin Version for the Septuagint with Special Emphasis on the Book of Esther'. *JTS* 57: 439–73.
- Kauhanen, Tuukka (2018). *Lucifer of Cagliari and the Text of 1–2 Kings*. Septuagint and Cognate Studies 68. Atlanta, GA: SBL Press.
- La Bonnardière, Anne-Marie (1955). 'Le Cantique des Cantiques dans l'œuvre de saint Augustin'. *Revue des Études Augustiniennes* 1: 225–37.
- La Bonnardière, A.-M. (1960). *Biblia Augustiniana. A.T. II. Livres historiques*. Paris: Études Augustiniennes.
- La Bonnardière, A.-M. (1963). *Biblia Augustiniana. A.T. Les Douze Petits Prophètes*. Paris: Études Augustiniennes.
- La Bonnardière, A.-M. (1967). *Biblia Augustiniana. A.T. Le Deutéronome*. Paris: Études Augustiniennes.
- La Bonnardière, A.-M. (1970). *Biblia Augustiniana. A.T. Le Livre de la Sagesse*. Paris: Études Augustiniennes.
- La Bonnardière, A.-M. (1972). *Biblia Augustiniana. A.T. Le Livre de Jérémie*. Paris: Études Augustiniennes.
- La Bonnardière, A.-M. (1975). *Biblia Augustiniana. A.T. Le Livre des Proverbes*. Paris: Études Augustiniennes.
- Lampe, Peter (1987). *Die stadtrömischen Christen in den erste beiden Jahrhunderten*. WUNT II, 18. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr.

- Munier, Charles (1972–3). ‘La Tradition manuscrite de l’Abrégé d’Hippone et le canon des églises africaines.’ *Sacris Erudiri* 21: 43–55.
- Petitmengin, Pierre (1985). ‘Les Plus Anciens Manuscrits de la Bible latine’, in J. Fontaine and Ch. Pietri, eds., *Le Monde latin antique et la Bible*. Bible de tous les temps 2. Paris: Beauchesne, pp. 89–123, 3 pl.
- Petitmengin, Pierre (2002). ‘Les Éditions patristiques de la contre-réforme romaine’, in M. Cortesi, ed., *I padri sotto il torchio: Le edizioni dell’antichità cristiana nei secoli XV–XVI. Atti del Convegno di studi. Certosa del Galluzzo, giugno 1999*. Florence: SISMEL, edizioni del Galluzzo, pp. 3–31.
- Pietri, Charles (1976). *Roma Christiana*. Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d’Athènes et de Rome 224–5. Rome: Ecole française de Rome.
- Preuschen, Erwin F. (1893). *Analecta*. Freiburg/Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr.
- Schenker, Adrian (2004). *Älteste Textgeschichte der Königsbücher: Die hebräische Vorlage der ursprünglichen Septuaginta als älteste Textform der Königsbücher*. OBO 199. Fribourg/Suisse: Academic Press/Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Swete, Henry B. (1900). *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Thielmann, Philippe (1900). ‘Bericht über das gesammelte handschriftliche Material zu einer kritischen Ausgabe der lateinischen Übersetzungen biblischer Bücher des Alten Testaments’, in *Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-Hist. Classe*, 1899, II, 2. Munich, pp. 205–43.
- Trebolle Barrera, José (1984). ‘From the “Old Latin” through the “Old Greek” to the “Old Hebrew” (2 Kings 10:23–25)’. *Textus* 11: 17–36.
- Trebolle Barrera, José (2005). ‘The Text-Critical Value of the Old Latin and Antiochean Greek Texts in the Books of Judges and Joshua’, in F. García Martínez and M. Vervenne, eds., *Interpreting Translation*. BETL 192. Leuven: University Press/Peeters Press, pp. 401–13.
- Vaccari, Alberto (1958). ‘Tranelli di citazioni bibliche’, in A. Vaccari, *Scritti di erudizione e di filologia*, Vol. 2. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, pp. 5–7.
- Wurm, Hubert (1939). ‘Decretales selectae ex antiquissimis Romanorum Pontificum epistulis decretalibus’. *Apollinaris* 12: 40–93.

CHAPTER 43

ARMENIAN, GEORGIAN, AND CHURCH SLAVONIC VERSIONS

PABLO A. TORIJANO

ARMENIAN

Introduction and State of Research

AMONG the secondary versions of LXX, the Armenian translation stands out. The Armenian version is well attested: all the OT books were translated at an early date, and many manuscripts of the whole Bible and many more of single books have been preserved (Cox 1984a; 2014). The reason for such quantities can be explained from the reverential regard accorded to Armenian manuscripts from an early date (Mathews and Wieck 1994). The translation of the Bible was the first literary work in Armenian and this contributed to the careful textual transmission. Biblical text and language were identified from the very beginning, and the Bible became the linguistic and literary model to which Armenian culture would conform in the following centuries (Burchard 1993). The creation of the Armenian alphabet was the first step along that path, since in itself it constitutes a mark of religious and cultural identity (Russell 1994). With it, what was a sociolect of the fifth century CE of a given geographical zone became first a full-fledged literary language, and later a mark of national identity almost to our days (Alpago Novello 1986; Weitenberg 2014).

The Armenian version, in consequence, is quite stable from a linguistic point of view, since the first books to be translated constituted the model for the rest. However, there are problems concerning the nature of its *Vorlage* and the possible existence of successive

translations/revisions (Cowe 1990–1). According to Koriun's *Life of Mashtots* (first half of the fifth century) Mashtots went to Edessa and Samosata around 406 CE, where he developed the alphabet and translated the book of Proverbs (Koriun 1980: 277, 286–7). Koriun does not tell us much about the text he used. It has been assumed, given the bilingual Syriac–Greek context of the narrative, that the original must have been Syriac. This constitutes the first unsolved conundrum of the Armenian version. The hypothesis of Lyonnet that the Armenian New Testament was based on a Syriac *Vorlage* heavily influenced the study of the Armenian OT text (Lyonnet 1960). A Syriac stratum has been discussed for several books (e.g. Psalms, Ecclesiasticus) whereas other translations such as Daniel and Ruth seem to go back to both Greek and Syriac *Vorlagen* (Cox 2010). However, most of the books seem to have been translated directly from a Greek *Vorlage*. Koriun's narrative seems to suggest that the first translations were revised later to conform them to new texts brought from the Greek West. Therefore, it is quite likely that we have here comparable recensional activity to that which the LXX underwent to align it further with the Hebrew proto-Masoretic text. This recensional process is linked to the problem of the original *Vorlage* of the Armenian version: it entails a complex situation since it involves both the nature of the original *Vorlage* and later recensional activity.

Dates and Witnesses

Christianity was adopted as state religion in 314. It was a political choice, but grew culturally from the Greek-speaking communities in Cappadocia and Syriac-speaking groups of Mesopotamia, as the adoption of religious terms from both cultures suggests. The Armenian version can be dated to the early fifth century according to the *Life of Mashtots*. In the century that passed between the adoption of Christianity and the version, the new religion had to be transmitted orally. This possibly meant that the texts were translated orally from Syriac and/or Greek, producing a sort of Armenian 'Targum' for cultic use (Cowe 2013: 145). There are traces of this oral translation attested by the formula 'X began to speak and said', which usually translates the Greek (or Syriac) 'X said'. It is likely that this stage had some kind of influence when the translators began their work (Cowe 1990–1: 89).

There was a first version, almost simultaneous with the invention of the alphabet (c.406 CE) in a Syriac-speaking milieu, the city of Edesssa (Kouymjian 2014: 14–15). This version began with Proverbs, perhaps because the manuscript to hand did not include the whole OT. According to Koriun the translation was dictated by Mashtots to two disciples: this motif seems to be hagiographical since it underlines the authority of the translation by linking it directly to the creator of the script. It suggests, however, that it was a collaborative work from the very beginning. Around 429–30 CE several of Mashtots's disciples met in Constantinople, returning shortly after to Armenia with 'reliable' manuscripts. These were used to 'establish' the previous translations, i.e. either to correct them or to create them anew. In any case, Koriun's narratives points clearly towards the Greek world. According to Koriun, by the early fifth century the

Pentateuch, the Prophets, and Psalms had been translated. Although manuscripts are the primary witnesses for the Armenian version, the oldest text has been preserved in the breviaries and rituals that, textually speaking, were very conservative, in comparison with the periodically updated lectionaries (Cox 1983). Complete Bible manuscripts are a rather late phenomenon (thirteenth century), but there are some two hundred Bibles from the early eighteenth century onwards. Previously, the usual way of transmission consisted of thematically related collections such as the Wisdom books or the Pentateuch. Most of the manuscripts preserve a single book, as in the case of the 450 manuscripts of Psalms. Those numbers make modern textual criticism complex (Coulie 1992; van Esbroeck 1998: 415–22). A collection of seven incomplete Bibles of the twelfth century (c.1171) constitutes the touchstone for establishing the different groups of manuscripts for modern editions. The oldest preserved parts of the Old Testament are fragments of Job chs. 37 and 38 dating from the eighth century and some other fragments preserved as flyleaves in later manuscripts (Cox 2006). Most of the manuscripts are found mainly in four libraries: the Matenadaran of Erevan, the Armenian Patriarchate of Jerusalem, St Lazzaro Monastery, and the Mechitarist Monastery at Vienna, although there are smaller collections as well in other places (e.g. Isfahan) (Coulie 2014).

A printed edition saw the light as early as 1666, Oskan's Bible (Oskan Erevants'i 1666). It was superseded in 1805 by Zohrap's edition (Zohrapian 1984). This is a diplomatic edition which transcribes very carefully a fourteenth-century manuscript; this manuscript is supplemented in the apparatus with Oskan's Bible readings and six other manuscripts (Cox 1984b). The apparatus indicates textual variants in a general way ('one exemplar', 'some'). The quality of Zohrap's copy text is uneven, changing book by book. It forms the basis for the Armenian collation of the editions of Brooke–McLean and the Göttingen Unternehmen. Besides Zohrap, there are modern critical editions for some of the books. They are of uneven quality but offer important data about the classification of manuscripts that can be extrapolated to books not edited yet.

Texts, Influences, Perspectives

Due to its antiquity and its excellent attestation, the Armenian version ranks among the most important secondary sources of LXX (Cox 1982; 2005). Its most important issue deals with the exact nature of its *Vorlage*. Based on external and internal indications, it is possible to speak of two translations, Armenian 1 and Armenian 2 (henceforth Arm 1 and Arm 2). Arm 2 was finished after 431 and it was based on Greek manuscripts; according to Koriun it was more a revision of an early text than a new translation. Traditionally, scholars defended the idea that Arm 1 was based on a Syriac text and Arm 2 revised it according to a Greek text. However, the situation is more complex, and that hypothesis must be checked against the individual textual history of each book. In any case, it is clear that the Armenian version is related to some types of Greek texts and that there is a Syriac component for some of the books. Thus, the translators of the books of Daniel

and Ruth used both a Lucianic Greek text and the Syriac Peshitta (Cowe 1985; 1992). Chronicles was translated from a Greek text but it displays Syriac readings as well. Samuel and Kings seem to have a Greek *Vorlage* of the Lucianic type (Arm 1) which was revised afterwards using Hexaplaric-type manuscripts (Arm 2) (Cox 2014). Deuteronomy follows a Byzantine text very influenced by Hexaplaric readings as well (Cowe 1989), whereas there are some signs of Syriac influence in Genesis, Psalms, and Lamentations. Job was translated from a Lucianic Greek text that included the Hexaplaric additions; it shows no evidence of Syriac influence (Cox 2006). In some books, the oldest Armenian translation (Arm 1) goes back to a Lucianic Greek text (e.g. Samuel-Kings, Ecclesiasticus, the Minor Prophets, Jeremiah, Daniel, Epistle of Jeremiah, Job). It is clear that the nature of the Greek *Vorlage* changes from book to book. The equation of Arm 1 with a Syriac *Vorlage* was made on the basis of Lyonnet's studies of the Gospels, but it does not hold true for most of the Armenian translation. In any case, after 431 CE, the translations or revisions were based only on Greek texts. Arm 2 replaced Arm 1 in most cases, except for some books such as Chronicles that preserve Arm 1 in some manuscripts. Arm 2 tends to witness in most cases to a Hexaplaric Greek text; many manuscripts preserve the Hexaplaric signs in marginal readings, even in places where the Greek tradition has lost them (Cox 1996). In the same way, Arm 1 preserves in some books (e.g. 2 Kings) Lucianic readings that were lost in the Lucianic manuscript tradition due to the influence of the majority Greek tradition (Piquer and Torijano 2014).

Among the characteristics that allow us to distinguish between Arm 1 and Arm 2, the following stand out: whereas Arm 1 succeeds in making a faithful but linguistically sound translation, Arm 2 had a very literal approach to the text of the *Vorlage*. Thus, Arm 1 tends to translate at the phrase level, whereas Arm 2 translated at the word level. In any case both are very faithful, so they constitute a supplementary witness to their respective Greek *Vorlagen* (Cowe 2013). Doublets that combine Arm 1 and Arm 2 translations occur as a consequence. The books of Kings display this phenomenon on several occasions. The existence of Arm 1 and Arm 2 as separate layers of the Armenian version is a consequence of a revision process that reached many books but not all of them, as in the case of Job, which attests only Arm 1. Arm 2 replaced Arm 1 almost completely after the fifth century. Arm 1 survived in the form of single readings, doublets, and quotations for the most part. Arm 1 and Arm 2 are both excellent witness of different Greek text types, but it is not possible to identify each of the translations in every book with the same text type.

Much work remains to be done regarding the edition of the Armenian OT text (Cox and Stone 1983). The existing critical editions have problems. In the meantime, Zohrap's edition still constitutes a valuable tool, especially when it is supplemented by manuscripts such as Jerusalem 1925 (Cox 2014: 239–40). This sort of combination could make up for the lack of a critical edition for a given book. It is necessary to undertake a systematic study of the relationship between the Armenian version and the exact nature of its *Vorlage* (Cox 1985).

GEORGIAN

Introduction and State of Research

Tracing the history of the Georgian versions of the Old Testament is a difficult enterprise, since the Georgian manuscript tradition is barely known in the Western academic world. In the same way, most secondary bibliography, written either in modern Georgian or Russian, is out of the reach of the average Western Septuagint scholar (Birdsall 1998; van Esbroeck 1998: 465–80). Leaving aside accessibility, the study of the Georgian version entails the same kind of issues we encounter when dealing with the Armenian version. They involve the need to discriminate between different translations and several stages of textual revision, which may originate from different sources, text types, or even versions. As in the case of the Ethiopic version, this is further aggravated by the temporal distance between the manuscript witnesses and the proposed date of the first translations of the Bible into Georgian (Blake and Brière 1926; Kharanauli 2004). All these considerations materialize in the lack of a reference edition of the whole Georgian Bible, whether a modern critical edition or a diplomatic edition with a solid apparatus. Therefore, in order to incorporate Georgian materials into a text-critical study of the Septuagint, the scholar has to consult individual manuscripts and critical editions of single books (Childers 2016: 170), all within the complex textual landscape detailed above (Outtier 1993).

The Georgian tradition has preserved the text of the Old Testament in its entirety. Moreover, it constitutes also the first literary work in Georgian (Tarchnischvili 1955: 131–2, 161–3, 186); no other Caucasian language has a Bible translation. It is attested by a large and well-preserved manuscript tradition. There are important collections of texts in the National Centre of Manuscripts in Tbilisi and in other libraries outside Georgia (Monastery of Saint Catherine, Mount Athos, Jerusalem, Cambridge University, Oxford University). Its critical use in LXX has the same problems that the Armenian version poses. The exact nature of its *Vorlage* is not clear; modern research tends to propose a Greek original for most of the OT, although there are also evident contacts with Syriac and/or Armenian textual traditions in some of the books, possibly through the Georgian monasteries in Palestine and Syria between the fifth and eighth centuries (Outtier 2008; Childers 2016: 170–1; Birdsall 1972; Jellicoe 1968: 261–2). Even if it is assumed that the Georgian version is ultimately based on the LXX Greek tradition at least at some point in its history, its exact textual type is not self-evident since the Georgian version has a history of successive new translations and versions, with at least four main stages:

1. The first translation took place between the fifth and the eighth centuries; it is not certain that every book was translated back then since the material sources are rather scarce for this period.

2. The first complete Georgian Bible, Codex Athos copied at Oshki in 978, seems to reflect the final product of the Old Georgian translation; it did not include Chronicles, Psalms, and Maccabees (Blake and Brière 1929).
3. Afterwards, within the so-called Athonite recension some of the books began to be retranslated in the eleventh century, giving rise finally to the 'Gelati Bible' in the twelfth–thirteenth century; it was already a product of the 'middle Georgian' Hellenophile translations (Blake and Brière 1926: 278–9).
4. The latest stage took place at the beginning of the eighteenth century with the creation of the so-called 'Mxeta Bible', under the aegis of the Bagrationi dynasty. These stages are not clear-cut, since revisions within each period were carried out following different Greek text types, either directly or indirectly through interposed *Vorlagen*.

Dates and Influences

According to the 'Martyrdom of the Holy Queen Shusanik' (late fifth century) (Ehrman and Jacobs 2004: 499–504), the first OT book to be translated into Georgian was Psalms (Garitte 1961; Birdsall 1981). The oldest Georgian lectionary is dated also to the fifth century and included parts of Psalms and other OT texts (Tarchnischvili 1959). By the sixth century it is likely that a full translation of the Octateuch and Prophets already existed. By the end of the seventh century, most of the OT books were translated, except for Chronicles, considered of dubious attribution for a long time, and 1–4 Maccabees, translated from the Slavonic version in 1743. Religious inscriptions in Palestine and Georgia seem to support this chronology. In any case, it is not clear how this old translation originated and whether it was the result of a single scholar or the work of a school (Kharanauli 2013).

The different stages of the translation are unevenly attested. The textual witnesses include palimpsests, lectionaries, manuscripts of single books, and complete Bible manuscripts. The earliest witnesses (fifth–eighth centuries CE) are fragmentary and relatively scarce; they are formed by the so-called *xanmeti* palimpsests (fifth–seventh centuries CE), which preserve fragments of Genesis, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Proverbs, 1 Esdras, and Wisdom of Solomon (Kharanauli 2003a; 2001; Blake and Brière 1932). The *haemeti* fragments (seventh–eighth centuries CE) are formed mainly by parchment leaves. The lectionaries, some manuscripts pages, and codex Oshki dated to the tenth century constitute the second group of witnesses of the Old Georgian version. The Psalter circulated separately and there are also many manuscripts dating from the ninth or tenth centuries (Shanidze 1960). Collections of Prophetic books are preserved in several manuscripts of the eleventh century (Blake and Brière 1961; 1963).

From the ninth century on, a Georgian literary renaissance took place around three Georgian monasteries (Sinai, Iveron in Athos, and the Black Mountain near Antioch). As a result, several extensive revisions of the previous Georgian version were made

mainly in the Iveron monastery. The so-called ‘Athonite recension’ consisted in either new translations made directly from the LXX or a thoroughgoing revision according to a Greek text. Thus, Psalms were retranslated or revised in the eleventh century by George the Athonite. The Octateuch and the Prophets were retranslated as well. This new translation is known as the Gelati Bible; it is preserved in two manuscripts (Georg^{Ga} and Georg^{Gb}) dated to the twelfth–thirteenth centuries. From the thirteenth to the seventeenth century, a group of manuscripts with shortened versions of the text constitute another sub-stage. In the eighteenth century the second full biblical codex, the ‘Mcxeta Bible’, for the first time includes Psalms as part of the Bible (Childers 2016: 170). After it, we find the first printed Georgian text, the 1743 Moscow edition, the so-called ‘Bakar Bible’, which marks the end of manuscript transmission (Vateishvili 1983).

The textual history of the Georgian version is marked by script and orthographical changes: uncial script in the inscriptions and the earliest manuscripts, cursive or angular script called ‘priestly’ (*xucuri*) by the ninth century, and ‘military’ (*mxdruli*) script from the tenth century to the present (Birdsall 1991). In the same way the oldest texts use the *x-/xan* prefix from the fifth to the seventh centuries (*xanmeti* texts); from the seventh to the ninth centuries it was replaced by the *hae-* prefix (*haemeti* texts) (Tuite 1991). The earliest surviving *xanmeti* text of Genesis, Proverbs, and Jeremiah (fifth to seventh century) support this chronology.

The *Vorlage* of the oldest strata of the Georgian translation is not clear (Kharanauli 2013). It is likely that Syro-Armenian and Greek textual traditions were used in the early period and that the Georgian version experienced the influence of both traditions at least until the end of the seventh century, when the Georgian clergy moved towards the Greek cultural sphere by adopting Chalcedonian doctrine at the expense of Armenian influence. Greek textual types can be discerned in *xanmeti* fragments (Blake and Brière 1932; Kharanauli 2003b). When it is possible to reconstruct its *Vorlage*, the Georgian version appears to be very literal (Kharanauli 2013). The lectionaries, due to the antiquity of the text they preserve, play an important role in assessing the textual filiation of later manuscripts (Tarchnischvili 1959–60). Modern synoptic editions of the oldest textual strata exist for the Octateuch, Prophets, and Daniel; there are modern diplomatic editions of Job and Canticles (Outtier 1993: 278). There is a complete Georgian Bible online based on the so-called Mcxeta Bible, a codex from the late seventeenth century (<http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/cauc/ageo/at/mcat/mcat.htm>).

Perspectives

The complex history of translation makes the assessment of its critical value complicated. Contrarily to the NT, the Georgian OT has not been studied until relatively recently. Care should be exercised when extrapolating conclusions from book to book, or even between manuscripts of the same book. Generally speaking, the previous scholarly consensus regarding the Armenian *Vorlage* of the Georgian version has been put in doubt for the whole of the version (Kharanauli 2013). Modern research shows that at

least some of the earliest translations of several books were directly based on Greek texts. In accordance with this, two avenues of research should be pursued: identifying the Greek text types of the Georgian version when possible, and studying its translation technique. Those two steps form the preliminary basis for coping with the complicated recensional history of the version. In the meantime, careful assessment of the Georgian version when possible should be undertaken since it could provide interesting results for LXX textual criticism. However, Bakar's Bible cannot be used for textual criticism of the LXX. Preference should be given to modern editions when existing, and, occasionally, direct recourse to Georgian manuscript evidence could prove useful.

SLAVONIC

Introduction and State of Research

The Slavonic *Vorlage* derives from LXX, Vulgate, and, occasionally, OL versions. It has been transmitted in two different scripts, Glagolitic, the oldest one, and Cyrillic, the script that gradually superseded Glagolitic with the spread of Orthodox Christianity in Bulgaria from the ninth century onwards (Kulik et al. 2016). The Slavonic textual witnesses display a good deal of variation regarding the dates of copying (from the eleventh to the eighteenth century), their linguistic and orthographic characteristics, and the existence of multiple recensions and/or translations of every book. The Slavonic version (or better still versions) underwent several stages of transition due to changes in script, language, and *Vorlage* (Cooper 2012). Every transition overlapped with the previous one, making the developmental history of the text difficult to assess. Scholars have not yet tackled many of these problems in a convincing way. The access to both primary and secondary sources is complicated for the Western scholar: the latter sources are usually in Slavic languages and the former are difficult to locate and study (Mathiesen 1983a).

The study of the Slavonic version has many issues and difficulties in common with the Armenian and Georgian versions, but it also presents many problems of its own that have to be considered. The Slavonic version is the direct result of the Christianization of the Slav nations. This Christianization took place at different dates and geographical zones. Consequently, the Old Church Slavonic version arose at different stages and places as well (Thomson 2006). This process began in the eighth century at the hands of Irish monks, and was continued by Frankish priests and monks in the ninth century. It may well be the case that some partial translation of the NT and perhaps of the OT was made back then, but no remnant has reached us. There were two main periods in the OT translation into Slavonic (Thomson 1998). The first one extended from the mid-ninth century to the first half of the tenth century, and its result is usually described as the 'Cyrillo-Methodian' translation (Cooper 2012: 181–2). This first translation is geographically centred on the south-west of the Slavic world (Bulgaria, Macedonia, Serbia, and later on the monasteries on Mount Athos and Romanian Territories).

According to their *Lives*, Cyril and Methodius translated large portions of OT Scripture for use in daily offices and liturgy (Kantor and White 1976: 73–5). Apparently Methodius translated the whole of OT except for 1–4 Maccabees in 864–5 CE, but this is most probably legendary (Cooper 2012: 183–5). After the collapse of the Moravian mission their disciples moved to Bulgaria, and continued there with the work. The version at this point was the result of the work of several translators, working perhaps on previous efforts, although some scholars affirm that it is possible to reach a ‘Methodian’ stage, by attending first to the translation technique of the books, allegedly less literal than the later translation, and second, to the type of Greek text reflected in the version, mainly Lucianic and or Hexaplaric depending on the books. However, both criteria are contested by other scholars, who do think it possible to reach back to that first translation.

The second period of translation took place during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and it has a clear East Slavic imprint. Before this stage, the Slavonic textual tradition was moved progressively towards East Slavic locations, mainly the Old Russian states, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Muscovy, and what would later become the Russian Empire. In between, the old version was revised many times to bring it nearer to the Greek text current at the time, making it, as a secondary result, more literal and linguistically Hellenized (Cooper 1991). In any case, the oldest manuscripts come from scriptoria in Macedonia and Bulgaria, dating at least one century after Methodius’s death (885 CE). Some of the oldest surviving codices are copied in the Glagolitic script. By the end of the tenth century, the Cyrillic script was developed at Preslav by some of the students of Methodius. Both scripts were employed within the Slavonic textual tradition until the twelfth century, when Cyrillic script became normative and the Glagolitic alphabet was used only in Croatia (Nazor 1998). Most of the Slavonic manuscripts have reached us in Cyrillic script, but it can be supposed that many of them derive from Glagolitic codices and reflect earlier textual stages. The transcription of Glagolitic manuscripts into Cyrillic has an impact on the textual transmission of the Slavonic OT and, consequently, on our knowledge of it (Veder 2008). Only Psalms have survived in eleventh-century Glagolitic copies, so the original stages of most of the Slavonic translation are mediated at an early date by the change of script.

This situation can be extended to the so-called Old Church Slavonic, the language of the Slavonic version (Huntley 1993). Therefore the linguistic profile of the version is completely heterogeneous: the manuscripts go back to two different linguistic varieties, South Slavic and East Slavic. Within each of them, there are important diatopic and diachronic differences (Schenker 1995). At the earliest stages, the Slavonic version and its successive revisions and/or retranslations reflected different vernacular dialects. Many of the textual changes were due to linguistic changes in the Slavic dialects. The translation by Methodius and Cyril in the Pannonian-Moravian dialect kept being changed to render it more comprehensible to the readers of the Macedonian-Bulgarian dialect, and so forth. Gradually it did not reflect any real spoken language but was an artificial and archaizing Slavonic *koiné* that was obscure and difficult to understand for later readers. From the fourteenth century onwards, most of the books were continually revised to update the orthography and the style (Mathiesen 1983b). Only the text of Psalms seems

to have a more stable history, since its use in liturgy, very conservative in its own right, made the text less prone to linguistic and/or stylistic changes (MacRobert 1998).

The same kind of heterogeneity is to be found regarding the *Vorlage* of the Slavonic version and its exact textual filiation. The main and basic *Vorlage* seems to be the majority Greek text of the Byzantine Church at the moment of the translation (Cooper 2003: 112). Apparently, some of the oldest manuscripts attest a Lucianic textual type whereas others witness a Greek text with many Hexaplaric readings (Cooper 2012). The presence of Lucianic and/or Hexaplaric traits in a Slavonic manuscript may vouch for the antiquity of the version. However, most of the time it is difficult to ascertain the original textual filiation of the version, since it kept being revised according to several Greek textual types until the end of the fifteenth century. This recensional activity differs from similar processes that went on in the Greek version itself or other secondary versions such as the Armenian and Georgian. It did not follow a systematic approach that tried to conform the text to a different Greek *Vorlage*. These revisions mirrored as closely as possible some but not all details of their parent Greek text, overlapping the different textual types and making it quite difficult to identify the different layers. In some instances, a Latin influence cannot be discarded, at least in some Croatian manuscripts which could have been translated from, or more likely revised, according to Vulgate or Old Latin manuscripts (Thomson 1998). To sum up, the Slavonic version is defined in its present textual state by its heterogeneous hybridity, which makes its use delicate in textual criticism of the LXX.

Dates and Witnesses

The date of the Slavonic version is subject to interpretation. Apparently, by 880 (Letter of Pope John VIII) an Old Slavonic text of Psalms and some kind of OT lectionary already existed. The existence of a complete ninth-century OT version is supported indirectly by the *Life of Methodius* (ninth–tenth centuries CE), but the hagiographical character of this text should be taken into account. In any case no textual witness of that first translation survived after the death of Methodius (885). The earliest surviving versions of OT books show considerable variation with regard to both language and translation technique. This makes it impossible to ascribe them to the work of a single translator.

As the first translations were rooted in the liturgical needs of the process of Slavic Christianization, it is not surprising that most of the oldest witnesses are represented by liturgical compilations. The Slavonic OT evolved from liturgical lectionaries to complete books. The oldest manuscripts of the *Profetologium* go back to the late twelfth–early thirteenth centuries (Thomson 1998: 719–21). Although it survives only in Cyrillic copies, the text it witnesses can be used as a touchstone to assess the value of later manuscripts, as it is reflected in the earliest Croat Glagolitic breviaries and missals (Graciotti 1973–4). Besides those liturgical compilations, the OT texts were transmitted within *chronographical* collections of world history, like the so-called *Jewish Chronicle*, or in manuscripts including different sets of books (Octateuch, 1–4 Kingdoms, Major

and Minor Prophets, sapiential books) (Thomson 1998: 648–50). The first complete Bible manuscript, the ‘Gennadian Bible’, was made in Russia at the end of the fifteenth century (Thomson 1998: 615–19; Cooper 2003: 132–4). It collected previous Slavonic translations and used the Vulgate to organize the sequence of the text, clarify obscure passages, and translate some books for the first time (Chronicles, Tobit, Judith). This Bible is very important for the history of the Slavonic text because it was the basis for later revisions and the model for future editions. The printed Bibles, from the editio princeps of the Ostrog Bible (1581) onwards, were revisions of the Gennadian Bible (Cooper 2003: 135–5) (Thomson 1998: 683–6). Some of them included collations of additional Slavonic manuscripts or corrected the text against Western printed editions (Aldina, Complutensia Polyglot). In 1751 the Elizabethan or Synodal Bible saw the light: it was corrected against the Polyglot of Walton (Thomson 1998: 693–712). These early printed editions are textual hybrids of little use for LXX textual criticism. In order to solve this problem, the Salzburg project endeavours to find the ‘earliest attainable’ text of the Slavonic Bible; to do so, individual biblical books are to be published in standardized Old Bulgarian with special attention to the critical apparatus. However, the collation of manuscripts is not large enough to assure enough textual ground and the critical editions tend to favour an East Slavic recension; errors or omissions are corrected according to the Ostrog Bible or by resorting to editorial conjectures (Thomson 1998: 717–19).

Texts and Perspectives

In the present state of affairs, the textual interest of the Slavonic translations regarding their relationship with the Greek version is somewhat limited. The absence of a typological analysis, due to the serious palaeographic, linguistic, and chronological problems that the version presents, makes its use in LXX criticism delicate, despite the rather optimistic opinion of some scholars. On the one hand, there is a considerable gap between the alleged date and geographical origin of the so-called Cyrillo-Methodian first translation and the earliest textual witnesses that may go back to that first stage. On the other, the continuous revision process that the version underwent from the very beginning of its history, with frequent horizontal contaminations and linguistic upgrades, makes the study of the translation technique of the version most uncertain. It is not an easy task to identify the exact Greek textual type that is behind it. As the revision process went on until the last stages of the Slavonic textual history (fifteenth century), it is complicated to establish an accurate characterization of the text. Some of the specific characteristics of the Slavonic version do not go back to its Greek *Vorlage* but to inner Slavonic traits that are not easily defined in many cases. Distinguishing between translation technique features and characteristics of a *Vorlage* is difficult on many occasions.

Most of these difficulties could be tackled with modern critical editions. Unfortunately, the Salzburg project, although theoretically taking a modern approach, still follows traditional Slavic practices and theories and it is not always systematic in its

understanding of modern textual criticism. Without modern critical editions, the use of the Slavonic version as a secondary witness for LXX textual criticism is rather limited. If it is used the greatest care should be exercised and the results should be considered as highly hypothetical.

SUGGESTED READING

For further exploration of the Armenian, Georgian, and Slavonic versions and their characteristics in the different books, articles by Bruni and Cox in the series *Textual History of the Bible* (Bruni 2016a, b; Cox 2016) edited by Armin Lange offers a general overview of the versions and a more detailed account of the translation techniques, textual history, and recensional history of each book of the Old Testament. It has to be taken into account that the main focus of this work is the Hebrew text, so the Armenian, Georgian, and Slavonic texts are seen as secondary translations regarding it.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alpago Novello, A. (1986). *The Armenians*. New York, NY: Rizzoli.
- Birdsall, J. N. (1972). 'Traces of the Jewish Greek Biblical Versions in Georgian Manuscript Sources'. *JSS* 17: 82–93.
- Birdsall, J. N. (1981). 'Evangelienbezüge Im Georgischen Martyrium der Hl. Schuschaniki'. *Georgica* 4: 20–3.
- Birdsall, J. N. (1991). 'Georgian Paleography', in A. C. Harris, ed., *The Indigenous Languages of the Caucasus*, Vol. 1: *The Kartvelian Languages*. Delmar, NY: Caravan, pp. 85–128.
- Birdsall, J. N. (1998). 'Georgian Translations of the Bible', in J. Krasovec, ed., *Interpretation of the Bible: The International Symposium in Slovenia*. JSOTSup 189. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, pp. 387–91.
- Blake, R. P. (1924–5). 'Georgian Theological Literature'. *JTS* 26: 50–64.
- Blake, R. P., and C. M. Brière (1926). 'Ancient Georgian Versions of the Old Testament'. *HTR* 19: 271–97.
- Blake, R. P., and C. M. Brière (1929). 'The Athos Codex of the Georgian Old Testament'. *HTR* 22.1: 33–56.
- Blake, R. P., and C. M. Brière (1932). 'Khanmeti Palimpsest Fragments of the Old Georgian Version of Jeremiah'. *HTR* 25: 225–76.
- Blake, R. P., and C. M. Brière (1961). *The Old Georgian Version of the Prophets: Critical Edition with a Latin Translation*. PO 29.2–5. Paris: Firmin Didot.
- Blake, R. P., and C. M. Brière (1963). *The Old Georgian Version of the Prophets: Critical Apparatus*. PO 30.3. Paris: Firmin Didot.
- Bruni, A. M. (2016a). '1.4.8 Georgian Translations', in Armin Lange et al., eds., *Textual History of the Bible*, Vol. 1. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill.
- Bruni, A. M. (2016b). '1.4.10 Old Church Slavonic Translations', in Armin Lange et al., eds., *Textual History of the Bible*, Vol. 1. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill.
- Burchard, Ch. (1993). *Armenia and the Bible: Papers Presented to the International Symposium Held at Heidelberg, 1990*. UPATS 12. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.
- Childers, J. W. (2016). 'The Bible in Georgian', in R. Marsden and E. A. Matter, eds., *The New Cambridge History of the Bible: From 600 to 1450*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 162–78.

- Cooper, H. R., Jr. (1991). 'The Bible in Rus': A Case Study'. *Canadian-American Slavic Studies* 25:71–9.
- Cooper, H. R., Jr. (2003). *Slavic Scriptures: The Formation of the Church Slavonic Version of the Holy Bible*. Madison, WI and Teaneck, NJ/London: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press.
- Cooper, H. R., Jr. (2012). 'The Bible in Slavonic', in R. Marsden and E. A. Matter, eds., *The New Cambridge History of the Bible: From 600 to 1450*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 179–97.
- Coulie, B. (1992). *Répertoire des catalogues et des bibliothèques de manuscrits arméniens*. Corpus Christianorum. Series Graeca. Turnhout: Brepols.
- Coulie, B. (2014). 'Collections and Catalogues of Armenian Manuscripts', in V. Calzolari, ed., with M. E. Stone, *Armenian Philology in the Modern Era: From Manuscript to Digital Text*. Handbook of Oriental Studies 23/1. Leiden: Brill, pp. 23–64.
- Cowe, S. P. (1985). 'The Armenian Version of Ruth and Its Textual Affinities', in N. Fernández Marcos, ed., *La Septuaginta en la investigación contemporánea*. Madrid: CSIC, pp. 183–97.
- Cowe, S. P. (1989). 'The Armenian Version', in N. Fernández Marcos and J. R. Busto Saiz, eds., *El Texto Antioqueno de la Biblia Griega I: 1–2 Samuel*. Madrid: Instituto de Filología, CSIC, pp. lxxi–lxxix.
- Cowe, S. P. (1990–1). 'The Two Armenian Versions of Chronicles: Their Origin and Translation Technique'. *REArm* n.s. 22: 53–96.
- Cowe, S. P. (1992). *The Armenian Version of Daniel*. UPATS 9. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.
- Cowe, S. P. (2013). 'The Bible in Armenian', in J. C. Paget, J. Schaper, R. Marsden, and E. A. Matter, eds., *The New Cambridge History of the Bible: From 600 to 1450*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 143–61.
- Cox, C. (1982). 'Biblical Studies and the Armenian Bible: 1955–1980'. *RB* 89: 99–113.
- Cox, C. (1983). 'The Use of Lectionary Manuscripts to Establish the Text of the Armenian Bible', in T. Samuelian and M. Stone, eds., *Medieval Armenian Culture*. UPATS 6. Chico, CA: Scholars Press, pp. 365–80.
- Cox, C. (1984a). 'Manuscripts Groupings in the Text Tradition of the Armenian Bible'. *JSAS* 1: 69–77.
- Cox, C. (1984b). 'The Textual Character of the Manuscript Printed as Text in Zorahpean's Bible', in P. Cowe and M. Stone, eds., *Archbishop Norayr Bogharian Festschrift*. *REArm* n.s. 18, pp. 69–83.
- Cox, C. (1985). 'The Use of the Armenian Version for the Textual Criticism of the Septuagint', in N. Fernández Marcos, ed., *La Septuaginta en la investigación contemporánea*. Madrid: Instituto Arias Montano, pp. 25–35.
- Cox, C. (1996). *Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion in Armenia*. SBLSCS 42. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.
- Cox, C. (2005). 'Biblical Studies and the Armenian Bible: 1980–2002'. *RB* 112–13: 355–8.
- Cox, C. (2006). *The Armenian Job*. Hebrew University Armenian Series. Leuven: Peeters.
- Cox, C. (2010). 'The Syriac Presence in the Armenian Translation of the Bible: With Special Reference to the Book of Genesis'. *Journal of the Canadian Society for Syriac Studies* 10: 45–67.
- Cox, C. (2014). 'The Armenian Bible: Status Quaestionis', in V. Calzolari, ed., with M. E. Stone, *Armenian Philology in the Modern Era: From Manuscript to Digital Text*. Handbook of Oriental Studies 23/1. Leiden: Brill, pp. 231–46.
- Cox, C. (2016). '1.4.7 Armenian Translations', in Armin Lange et al., eds., *Textual History of the Bible*, Vol. 1. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill.
- Cox, C., and M. E. Stone (1983). 'Guidelines for Editions of Armenian Biblical Texts'. *REArm* n.s. 17: 627–33.

- Ehrman, B. D., and A. Jacobs, eds. (2004). *Christianity in Late Antiquity, 300–450 C.E.: A Reader*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Garitte, G. (1961). 'Une Édition critique du Psautier géorgien.' *Bedi Karthlisa* 11–12 [36–7]: 12–20.
- Goussen, H. (1906). 'Die georgische Bibelübersetzung: A) Alte kirchliche Abhängigkeit Georgiens von Armenien. Die alte Übersetzung.' *OrChr* 6: 300–18.
- Graciotti, S. (1973–4). 'La tradizione testuale dell'antico lezionario croato.' *Ricerche Slavistiche* 20–1: 125–80.
- Huntley, D. (1993). 'Old Church Slavonic', in B. Comrie and G. G. Corbett, eds., *The Slavonic Languages*. London: Routledge, pp. 125–87.
- Jellicoe, S. (1968). *The Septuagint and Modern Study*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Kantor, Marvin, and Richard S. White (1976). *The Vita of Constantine and the Vita of Methodius*. Ann Arbor, MI: Dept. of Slavic Languages and Literature, University of Michigan.
- Kharanauli, A. (2001). 'Das Chanmeti-Fragment aus Jeremia: Fragen seiner Entstehung und seiner Übersetzungstechnik.' *OrChr* 85: 204–36.
- Kharanauli, A. (2003a). 'Ein Chanmeti-Fragment der georgischen Übersetzung von Esra I (Fragen der Authentizität, Vorlage und Übersetzungstechnik)'. *Mus* 116: 181–216.
- Kharanauli, A. (2003b). 'The Khanmeti Fragments of the Old Testament and the Problems of the Origin of the Georgian Bible.' *Kartvelologist* 11: 55–77.
- Kharanauli, A. (2004). 'Die Geschichte der Übersetzung der georgischen Bible.' *Phasis* 7: 58–68.
- Kharanauli, A. (2013). 'Questions Regarding the Origin of the Georgian Bible Translation.' *Kartvelologist* 18: 129–41.
- Koriun. (1980). *The Life of Mashtots*. Ed. E. Pivazyan. Erevan: Erevan University Press.
- Kouymjian, D. (2014). 'The Archaeology of the Armenian Manuscript: Codicology, Paleography and Beyond', in V. Calzolari, ed., with M. E. Stone, *Armenian Philology in the Modern Era: From Manuscript to Digital Text*. Handbook of Oriental Studies 23/1. Leiden: Brill, pp. 23–64.
- Kulik, A., C. M. MacRobert, S. Nikolova, and M. Taube (2016). *The Bible in Slavic Tradition*. *Studia Judaeoslavica* 9. Leiden: Brill.
- Lyonnet, S. (1960). *Les Origines de la version arménienne et le Diatessaron*. *BibOr* 13. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute.
- MacRobert, C. M. (1998). 'The Textual Tradition of the Church Slavonic Psalter up to the Fifteenth Century', in J. Krasovec, ed., *Interpretation of the Bible: The International Symposium in Slovenia*. *JSOTSup* 189. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, pp. 921–42.
- Mathews, T. F., and R. S. Wieck (1994). *Treasures in Heaven: Armenian Illuminated Manuscripts*. New York, NY: The Pierpoint Morgan Library, Princeton University Press.
- Mathiesen, R. (1983a). 'Handlist of Manuscripts Containing Church Slavonic Translations of the Old Testament.' *Polata Knigopisnaja* 7: 3–48.
- Mathiesen, R. (1983b). 'The Typology of Cyrillic Manuscripts (East Slavic vs. South Slavic Old Testament Manuscripts)', in M. S. Flier, ed., *American Contributions to the Ninth International Congress of Slavists, Kiev, September 1983*, Vol. 1: *Linguistics*. Columbus, OH: Slavica, pp. 193–202.
- Nazor, A. (1998). 'The Bible in Croato-Glagolitic Liturgical Books', in J. Krasovec, ed., *Interpretation of the Bible: The International Symposium in Slovenia*. *JSOTSup* 189. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, pp. 1031–7.

- Nersessian, V. N. (2007). 'Armenian Christianity', in K. Parry, ed., *The Blackwell Companion to Eastern Christianity*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 23–46.
- Oskan Erevants'i, ed. (1666). *The Bible in the Ancient Armenian Translation from the Greek: With Introduction and Appendices [Armenian]*. Amsterdam.
- Outtier, B. (1993). 'Langues et littérature géorgiennes', in M. Albert, ed., *Christianismes orientaux: Introduction à l'étude des langues et des littératures*. Paris: Cerf, pp. 261–96.
- Outtier, B. (2008). 'L'Ancien Testament a-t-il été traduit en arménien et géorgien du syriaque?', in F. Briquel-Chatonnet and P. Le Moigne, eds., *L'Ancien Testament en syriaque*. Études Syriaques 5. Paris: Geuthner, pp. 215–20.
- Piquer Otero, A., and P. Torijano Morales (2014). 'Between the Search in the Word and the Asking to God: Two Mantic Verbs in the Textual History of Samuel-Kings', in K. de Troyer and T. M. Law, eds., *In The Footsteps of Sherlock Holmes: Studies in the Biblical Text in Honour of Anneli Aejmelaeus*. CEBT. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 299–330.
- Rapp, S. H. (2007). 'Georgian Christianity', in K. Parry, ed., *The Blackwell Companion to Eastern Christianity*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 137–55.
- Russell, J. R. (1994). 'On the Origins and Invention of the Armenian Script'. *Le Muséon* 107: 317–33.
- Salia, K. (1975). 'Georgian Literature from Its Beginnings to the Present Day'. *Bedi Kartlisa* 33: 87–118.
- Schenker, A. M. (1995). *The Dawn of Slavic: An Introduction to Slavic Philology*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Shanidze, M., ed. (1960). *The Old Georgian Recensions of the Psalter According to Manuscripts of the 10–13th Centuries*. Tbilisi.
- Tarnischvili, P. M. (1955). *Geschichte der kirchlichen georgischen Literatur*. Studi e Testi 185. Vatican City: BAV.
- Tarnischvili, P. M. (1959–60). *Le Grand Lectionnaire de l'église de Jérusalem (ve–viii siècle)*. CSCP 188–9. Louvain: Secrétariat du Corpus.
- Textual History of the Bible (2016–). Armin Lange (general editor), Emanuel Tov, Matthias Henze, Frank Feder, Russell E. Fuller, and Hanna Tervanotko. THB 1C.
- Thomson, F. J. (1998). 'The Slavonic Translation of the Old Testament', in J. Krasovec, ed., *Interpretation of the Bible: The International Symposium in Slovenia*. JSOTSup 189. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, pp. 609–920.
- Thomson, F. J. (2006). *A Brief Survey of the History of the Church Slavonic Bible from Its Cyrillomethodian Origins until Its Final Form in the Elizabethan Bible of 1751*. Slavica Gandensia 32.2. Ghent: Department of the Slav and East European Studies of the University of Ghent.
- Tuite, K. (1991). 'Das Präfix x- in Frühgeorgischen'. *Georgica* 13–14: 34–61.
- Tuite, K. (2008). 'Early Georgian', in R. D. Woodard, ed., *The Ancient Languages of Asia Minor*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 145–65.
- van Esbroeck, M. (1982). 'Église géorgienne des origines au moyen âge'. *Bedi Kartlisa* 40: 186–99.
- van Esbroeck, M. (1998). 'Les Versions orientales de la Bible: Une Orientation bibliographique', in J. Krasovec, ed., *The Interpretation of the Bible: The International Symposium in Slovenia*. JSOTSup 189. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, pp. 399–508.
- Vateishvili, D. (1983). 'The First Georgian Printed Bible: On the History of Its Appearance'. *Estudios Bíblicos* 41: 205–40.

- Veder, V. (2008). 'The Glagolitic Barrier'. *Studies in Slavic and General Linguistics* 34: 489–501.
- Weitenberg, J. J. S. (2014). 'Manuscripts and Dialects', in V. Calzolari, ed., with M. E. Stone, *Armenian Philology in the Modern Era: From Manuscript to Digital Text*. Handbook of Oriental Studies 23/1. Leiden: Brill, pp. 214–30.
- Zohrapian, Hovhann (1984). *Astuatsaschunch' Matean Hin Ew Nor Ktakarants' (Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments): A Facsimile Reproduction of the 1805 Venetian Edition with an Introduction by Claude Cox*. 1805. Repr. Delmar, NY: Caravan Books.

CHAPTER 44

THE SYROHEXAPLA

MARKETTA LILJESTRÖM

INTRODUCTION

THE Syrohexapla is a seventh-century Syriac translation of the Hexaplaric edition of the Septuagint. It is called the version of ‘the seventy’/‘seventy-two’ in Syriac, referring to the Septuagint. In scholarship it came to be known by the name ‘Syrohexapla’ (also Syro-Hexaplar and Syro-Hexapla), meaning ‘the Hexapla in Syriac’. As the name already reveals, throughout its research history, interest in the Syrohexapla has often been initiated by the dire need in Septuagint studies to find ways of retrieving readings of the Hexapla that have caused much confusion in the text history of the Septuagint.

For the most part the Syriac of the Syrohexapla is a mirror translation, and it is often seen as a witness to the Greek text of Origen’s fifth column. Moreover, it usually preserves Origen’s critical signs marking the differences between the Hebrew and the LXX. The Syrohexapla is also a valuable source for the variant readings from the three Jewish *recentiores*, Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, whose translations Origen added to parallel columns in his Hexapla. Recent detailed studies on the text-critical value of the version show that the version has much to contribute to the study of the LXX. However, the Syrohexapla also deserves a closer look as a translation in its own right.

In 1867–75 Frederick Field completed his monumental work, *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt*, in which he back-translated the remnants of the Syrohexapla as part of the reconstruction of the Hexapla. In the Prolegomena he described the Syrohexapla as ‘a Syriac translation of the fifth column of the Hexapla as represented in Codex Sarravianus and others’ (Field 1875: lxvii, tr. Norton). Field was an outstanding scholar, and both his retroversions and his general ideas on the Hexapla have stood the test of time. However, some updating and elaboration are necessary (see Weitzman 1998).

Yet in the literature after Field the notion of the Hexapla itself—the monumental six-columned edition of Origen—being the source text for the Syrohexapla was entertained as a possibility. As Jellicoe stated:

In the absence of evidence to the contrary it cannot be denied that the Hexapla itself was used for compiling the Syro-Hexaplar, though again the presence of Hexaplaric manuscripts in Egypt from as early as the fourth century seems now to be well attested, and it is more probably from such a manuscript, replete with critical symbols, that the version was made.

(Jellicoe 1968: 26)

Even if this was later seen as a far-fetched idea, great trust has been placed in the Syrohexapla's value as a representative of the fifth column of the Hexapla. At the dawn of a new Hexapla project that is committed to producing a 'New Field' for the twenty-first century, more nuanced views are being voiced:

It is important, however, to make the distinction between Syh as a valuable witness to the Hexapla and Syh as a valuable witness *to what is preserved from the Hexapla* . . . Thus, instead of answering that Syh is a faithful witness to the hexaplaric materials in 3 Kgdms, it would be more judicious to affirm that Syh is the *best* witness to the hexaplaric materials in 3 Kgdms.

(Law 2011: 1, 370)

These two quotations showcase the evolution in views of the Syrohexapla, from bold general statements to the recognition of a refined and complex issue. The understanding of the version by nineteenth-century scholars such as Frederick Field and Antonio Ceriani was in many cases remarkably accurate. However, the number of studies on individual books in the Syrohexapla is increasing, and the impression of the translation as a whole is gaining in detail and precision. As we gain knowledge of the complex textual history of the Septuagint and the Hexaplaric recension to which the Syrohexapla is attached, the scholarly view is becoming more cautious with regard to the use of the Syrohexapla in textual criticism.

TEXTUAL EVIDENCE

The original translation made by Paul of Tella in 616–17 has not survived. The oldest Syrohexaplaric manuscripts date, however, from as early as the late seventh century. Most of the manuscripts have been made accessible in publications, but parts remain uncollated or unpublished. The publication of all the textual evidence in an edition remains a desideratum for the study of the Syrohexapla. As the full list of all the existing material is a long one when all the sources are counted, this chapter offers only a brief mention of the most remarkable published manuscripts and other sources. For a full list

of publications and unpublished manuscripts of individual books, Baars's Introduction in his *New Syro-Hexaplaric Texts* (1968) is still the best source of information.

There are no extant codices containing the whole translation. The largest known manuscript is MS Milan, Bibliotheca Ambrosiana, C131 inf., a copy of the original translation. It is dated to the eighth or ninth century on palaeographic grounds. The manuscript was published in a photolithographic edition in 1874 by Antonio Ceriani under the title *Codex Syro-hexaplaris Ambrosianus*. This codex contains the poetical and prophetic books of the Old Testament: Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Wisdom, Sirach, the Minor Prophets, Jeremiah (with Baruch, Lamentations, and the Epistle), Daniel (with Susanna and Bel), Ezekiel, and Isaiah. Parts of the manuscript had been published at the turn of the nineteenth century (see Baars 1968: 6), but Ceriani's photolithographic edition with its notes rendered earlier publications outdated.

A manuscript containing the Pentateuch and the Historical Books was used by the Belgian scholar Andreas Masius (= Andrew Du Maes), who quoted parts of it in his Syriac glossary *Syrorum Peculium* (1571). These readings have been collected and organized in verse order by Alfred Rahlfs (in Lagarde 1892). It is believed that Masius's manuscript was the first part of the Ambrosian manuscript mentioned above, or a manuscript linked very closely to it. What happened to the manuscript after Masius remains an enigma.

For some books we are fortunate in having several witnesses. In *Bibliothecae Syriacae*, mentioned above, Lagarde and Rahlfs published a remarkable collection of the Syrohexaplaric manuscripts in the possession of the British Library, including parts of Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, and 3–4 Kingdoms. Furthermore, the discovery by Arthur Vööbus of a manuscript in Midyat made the Pentateuch accessible (from Genesis 32:9 onwards; photographic edition, Vööbus 1975). The Paris manuscript BnF Syr. 27 contains 4 Kingdoms. This manuscript has been published several times, for example by Lagarde (1880 and 1892). In addition, Thomas Rørdam published Judges and Ruth from BL Add. 17,103 (1859–61). In his *Codex Syro-hexaplaris Ambrosianus*, Ceriani recorded variants from the manuscripts known to him, mostly from the collections of the British Library. After Ceriani's publication, still further manuscripts became known of Psalms, Minor Prophets, Ezekiel, and Isaiah. In addition, of the Apocrypha 1 Esdras (Lagarde 1861) and the book of Tobit (Wadi Naṭrun, Dair as-Syrian. Syr. MS 27) were published by Lebram (1966) in the Leiden edition of the Old Testament in Syriac.

The only books lacking Syrohexaplaric manuscripts are 1–2 Samuel/Kingdoms and 1–2 Chronicles. Short fragments from these books have been preserved in lectionaries alongside readings from other books: see Goshen-Gottstein (1956) and Baars (1968) for the published lectionary passages. For a thorough list of the manuscripts and the extant verses, see Baars (1968: 17–21).

In addition to the biblical manuscripts and the lectionaries, there are some Syrohexaplaric quotations in the biblical commentaries of Syriac authors. The Syrohexapla is quoted as the 'Greek' version (*yawnāyā*), and the readings of the revisers Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion are also given, sometimes even further versions such as Quinta. The reliability and the sources of the quotations are matters that require scrutiny.

One of the earliest commentators who is known to use the Syrohexaspla was Isho'dad of Merv from the ninth century. It is possible that Isho'dad had access to a manuscript with marginal readings like the one described by Timothy I (see section 'The Historical Setting'), as Romeny (2001) suggests. However, not all Isho'dad's references to 'the Greek' agree with the Syrohexaspla. Some of the differences may be due to mistakes, conscious changes, and confusion with readings from other sources. Still, it is equally clear that the Syrohexaspla was not Isho'dad's only source for the readings of the Greek, and there has been discussion in scholarship of the possibility of other Syriac translations from Greek. Sebastian Brock (1996: 13) suggests that besides the Syrohexaspla, Isho'dad had another source, namely 'a totally unrevised Greek text.' However, Salvesen (1997) has observed that many of the Greek readings in Isho'dad's commentary on Genesis were handed down to Isho'dad by earlier Greek commentators whose works were translated into Syriac independently of the Syrohexaspla. Nonetheless, Isho'dad's quotations add to our knowledge of the Syrohexaspla and its use in early exegesis. The indices in Van den Eynde's translations offer easy access to the Hexaplaric readings.

Another early source for Syrohexasplatic readings is the 'spiritual' commentary by Dionysios Bar Salibi (d. 1171). He arranged his commentary on the Old Testament mostly in two parts, 'factual' and 'spiritual', the latter being based on the Syrohexaspla. The commentaries remain unpublished except for part of the Psalter and Qohelet. In addition, a commentary called Gannat Bussame (tenth to thirteenth century) by an anonymous author may be mentioned as a possible minor source for the Syrohexaspla. The *Storehouse of Mysteries* by Barhebraeus (Grigorios Bar 'Ebroyo), dating from the thirteenth century, is an exegetical commentary on the Old and New Testaments. The first part of the commentary was published by Sprengling and Graham (1931), while for the latter part several publications need to be consulted.

THE HISTORICAL SETTING

Information on the Syrohexaspla—its source text(s), translator(s), rationale, and transmission—stems from three sources:

- 1) The colophons, which are short notes added at the end of a manuscript by the copyist. The colophons offer a varying range of information on the manuscript at hand (Marsh 2016).
- 2) A ninth-century letter by the Catholicos of the Church of the East, Timothy I (727/8–823), who wrote about the Syrohexaspla a hundred years after its production and made the version available to the East Syrians. There are also other Syriac authors (see section 'Textual Evidence') who used the Syrohexaspla or referred to it.
- 3) The translation itself, especially on the question of its source texts and the mode of translation.

The reliability of the colophons is rightly questioned sometimes. However, the colophons are the only piece of hard information available, and luckily some of them offer us more on the Syrohexapla itself. The following colophons are discussed by Vööbus (1971; see also Chapter 38).

The colophons reveal that the holy Patriarch Athanasius commissioned the translation that was carried out by Paul of Tella and his co-workers, among whom was deacon Thomas and maybe even the Patriarch Athanasius himself (BnF Syr. 27), in the Monastery of the Antonines at the Enaton, nine miles from Alexandria (BL Add. 14,437). The Enaton was an active monastic region, especially at the time in question.

The dates of the translation mentioned in the colophons are 615/16 (Joshua, in Masius's lost manuscript), February–March 616 (1 Kingdoms), 617 (2 Kingdoms), January 617 (the Minor Prophets, Daniel, and Isaiah). The invasion of the Persians extended to Egypt by June 619, and there are documents bearing evidence that during the invasion and the sack of Alexandria hundreds of monasteries were destroyed. Thus we can only note for certain that the work started before 615 and was finished at the latest in 619, as Vööbus (1971) reasoned. However, often in research literature the years 615–17 are mentioned, and it might very well be that the massive translation project truly was brought to conclusion within just a couple of years.

The name of Paul of Tella is indisputably connected to the Syrohexapla. In addition to the colophons, the tradition handed down by Syriac scholars Moshe Bar Kepha (813–903) and Barhebraeus (1226–86) repeat the testimony that the translator of the LXX into Syriac was 'Mar Paul, the bishop of the faithful'. We do not know much about his life. He lived in the first half of the seventh century, was well versed in Greek and interested in translating, as another of his translations has also survived. Paul was most probably one of the bishops expelled from their sees during the persecution of Dometianus in 599. He found refuge in a monastery of the Antonines at Enaton together with the bishop of Mabbug, Thomas of Harqel (c.570–640). These two scholars worked side by side translating the Old and New Testaments (615/16 is the only exact year mentioned in the colophon to the Harklean Gospels).

Whether Thomas of Harqel took part in translating the Old Testament is a question that divides opinions. Those who see Thomas of Harqel as being one of the translators find it convincing that the certain Thomas, 'synkellus' of the Patriarch Athanasios I Gammälā (594–631) who is mentioned in the colophon of the manuscript of the Syrohexaplaric 4 Kingdoms (BnF Syr. 27), was in fact Thomas of Harqel. Furthermore, they often pinpoint the similarity of the styles of the translations. Those who doubt that the Thomas mentioned in the colophon is the same as Thomas of Harqel point out that the title *šamāšā*, 'deacon', is not appropriate for a bishop. In the colophon of the Harklean version of the Gospels, Thomas of Harqel is called *meskīnā*, 'poor', however, not *ḥasyā*, 'holy', the normal epithet for a bishop, as Ceriani (1861: 'Articulus primus', v–vi) would have expected. Gwynn (1887b) has suggested that Thomas of Harqel lost his episcopal title as he was in exile.

For centuries Syriac churches had been using the Peshitta, the Syriac translation from Hebrew dating to the second century CE. Several explanations have been offered as to

why a new translation was needed. First, the theological reasons. According to Gwynn's suggestion (1887a), followed by A. Juckel (2011), the year 616 marked a reconciliation between Syrian and Coptic Miaphysites after decades of schism. They agreed on a common, ecumenical, and authoritative Greek Scripture based on Origen's Hexaplaric recension of the Old Testament. Thus the rationale of the Syrohexapla was to offer its readers the Septuagint in Syriac, and the Hexaplaric recension was perceived to be ecumenical.

Second, the Syrohexapla may also have met a practical need. Bas ter Haar Romeny (2006) has studied the process of translating texts of the Greek Church fathers into Syriac by West Syrian authors. Romeny notes that in the first phase, the biblical quotations were taken from the Peshitta, but the differences between the Peshitta and the LXX created dissonance in the commentaries between the biblical lemma and the writers' arguments. This then resulted in translators making ad hoc renderings of Greek Bible quotations. It was only in the third phase that the translators had a common version to refer to, namely the Syrohexapla.

Third, the Syrohexapla is a representative of a translational ideal: a literal translation, called a mirror translation by Sebastian Brock (1983). This meticulous translation method stems from the general picture of the development of Syriac translations and attitudes towards Greek literature. While earlier Syriac translation style was quite free and reader-oriented, from the fifth century onwards it developed towards literalism, to the extent that even small details in the Greek source text were imitated in Syriac.

A ninth-century letter of Timothy I, the great Catholicos of the Church of the East, to Mar Sergius sheds light on the copying and early circulation of Syh in the Church of the East. In his letter Timothy I described the laborious task of producing three Syh manuscripts: it was carried out by dictation in six months, using six scribes and two dictators. He also shed light on the manuscripts:

... a copy of the Hexapla, written on sheets using the Nisibene format, was sent to us... no text is so difficult to copy out or to read as this, seeing that there are so many things in the margin, I mean readings of Aquila, Theodotion, Symmachus and others, taking up almost as much space as the text of the Septuagint in the body of the manuscript. There are also a large number of different signs above them—how many, it is not possible for anyone to say... the copies were gone over a second time and read out.

The exemplar from which we were copying, however, contained errors, and most of the Greek names were written in reverse: the person who wrote them must have had a knowledge of Greek as weak as our own, apart only from the fact that he was not aware of the reversal of the characters he was writing, whereas we were at least aware of that! For he had not noticed the replacement and interchange of the characters, sometimes writing the letter chi in place of kappa, and zeta in place of chi, as well as putting all sorts of other things. We, however, recognized the situation.

At the end of every biblical book the following was written: 'This was written, collated and compared with the exemplar of Eusebius, Pamphilus and Origen.'

(trans. Brock 1977)

Despite its somewhat awkward style compared with the Syriac of earlier centuries, the Syrohexapla gained ground rapidly and was used not only for scholarly purposes in commentaries crossing the boundaries of denomination, but also in liturgy. The success that the translation enjoyed throughout Syriac Christianity might be somewhat surprising. However, it demonstrates the interest in the Septuagint and more generally in the Greek Christian heritage, as Syriac Christians continued to accommodate Greek heritage in their culture and thought.

THE SOURCE TEXTS AND TRANSMISSION

As the value of the Syrohexapla in LXX studies is often seen to lie in its connection to the Hexapla, the question of the source text(s) of the Syrohexapla is of utmost importance. At the present time, no thorough study on the Syrohexapla in relation to the Greek textual tradition has been conducted.

While the Syrohexapla is repeatedly introduced rather simplistically as a Syriac translation of the fifth column, the so-called LXX column, of Origen's Hexapla, the translation was not made from the original work. In the course of time scholarly interpretation of the information has shifted towards the idea of the Syrohexapla's *Vorlagen* being different kinds of copies of the LXX column of the Hexapla, along with collation of marginal readings. This coincides with what the colophons say, as well as contemporary descriptions.

According to the letter of Catholicos Timothy I to Mar Sergius, mentioned above (section 'The Historical Setting'), the Syrohexapla was translated from Greek manuscripts written, collated, and compared with texts of Eusebius (c.260–c.340), Pamphilus (d. 309), and Origen (184/5–253/4). Similar testimony is repeated in several preserved colophons of Syrohexaplaric manuscripts, with an addition identifying synoptical editions as *Vorlagen*, namely the Tetrapla (the 'fourfold' edition, for Ruth, Judges, and Job) and the Heptapla ('sevenfold', for 4 Kingdoms), alongside the Hexapla (for Proverbs, Song of Songs, Lamentations, and 3–4 Kingdoms). Even if the colophons leave scope for confusion, their testimony shows that a whole array of manuscripts was used for source texts—a healthy reminder for caution to anyone wishing to use the Syrohexapla as a gateway to the Hexapla. On the other hand, the colophons illustrate the care and consideration exercised in choosing the source texts.

More accurate conclusions on the source text and the text-critical value of the Syrohexapla can be drawn only after careful study of the texts themselves. While the Syrohexaplaric texts are scattered in several publications and some remain unpublished, the study of the version would greatly benefit from comparison of the manuscripts and Syrohexaplaric readings that are transmitted in lectionaries, quotations, and marginal readings. Furthermore, the Syrohexapla should be studied next to critical LXX editions in order to establish its source text(s). One interesting feature reported by the editors of the *editio critica maior* in Ruth, Ben Sira, Wisdom, and II Esdras is the sporadic influence

from the Peshitta. It seems that every close textual study on the Syrohexapla either sheds doubt on the Hexaplaric value of the version or highlights what is already clear from the colophons, that the situation may vary from book to book. The Syrohexapla is not necessarily as consistent a translation as advertised.

In their studies Petra Verwijs (2016) and Michael Law (2011) have discussed the Syrohexapla's readings in common with the Lucianic recension in Amos and 1 Kings respectively. This connection had been noted earlier: in his LXX edition, Rahlfs listed the Syrohexapla of Psalms (according to the Ambrosian manuscript) in the Lucianic group, rather than in the Hexaplaric group. The editors of the Göttingen series of the LXX *editio critica maior* report on agreements between the Lucianic recension and the Syrohexapla in Ruth and II Esdras, and on the marginal notes referring to the Lucianic recension in Job, Twelve Prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel. In this connection it is appropriate to refer briefly to the discussion on the Philoxenian Old Testament and the so-called *Syrolucianic* Isaiah.

The Syrohexapla was not the first attempt to translate the LXX into Syriac. For Canticles Brock (1995) identified a text that resembles the Syrohexapla, but which is most probably a sixth-century, anonymous revision of the Peshitta towards the Septuagint. Likewise sometime around the year 500 Philoxenus of Mabbug commissioned a new translation of the New Testament that came to be known as the Philoxenian version (though the actual translator may have been Polycarp). When it comes to the Old Testament, there is no consensus yet whether this presumed Philoxenian Old Testament (early sixth-century) known from Philoxenus's quotations was a revision of the Peshitta towards the Lucianic recension or a fresh translation of the Lucianic recension.

As the evidence concerning the Philoxenian Old Testament is scarce, it is interesting that on a margin of the Ambrosian Syrohexapla manuscript there is a scholion in the book of Isaiah (fol. 176r) referring to the Philoxenian version: 'From another version that was carefully translated into Syriac, of the holy Philoxenus, bishop of Mabbug', followed by a quotation from Isa. 9:6. Jenkins (1989), who has studied in detail the quotations of Philoxenus and Syriac versions of Isaiah, thinks it possible that the Syrohexapla of Isaiah might be a revision based on the Philoxenian Old Testament rather than a new translation straight from Greek. This procedure would be in line with the parallel project of the New Testament, as the Harklean version was a revision of the Philoxenian: its text was updated to meet the characteristics of a mirror translation, additional Greek readings were added in the margins, and the text was marked with the critical signs (Juckel 2011).

The Psalter has been studied by Hiebert (1989). His study started with the collation of nine manuscripts and continued with consideration of Hexaplaric influence on these manuscripts. Hiebert's results coincide with those of Jenkins in Isaiah. Regrettably, the only proof that we have of the Philoxenian Old Testament is from the books of Psalms, Isaiah (referred to as the *Syrolucianic* version), and in quotations from Genesis and Exodus. Based on these fragments it is doubtful, in many scholars' view, whether a whole Philoxenian Old

Testament ever existed, so it cannot be used as a hypothetical *Vorlage* in all the books of the Syrohexapla. Furthermore, the close relationship between the Greek Lucianic manuscripts and the Hexaplaric manuscripts adds to the complex nature of the question. Although the Hexaplaric flavour of the Syrohexapla's *Vorlage* is clear, tracing the actual Greek *Vorlage* calls for further study, and the result may differ from book to book.

A separate issue from the quest for the *Vorlage* of the text of the Syrohexapla is the source of the marginalia of the Syrohexapla. The Syrohexaplaric manuscripts get their striking appearance from the myriad of marginal readings, and the so-called Aristarchan signs which are also known from Greek Hexaplaric manuscripts. These signs (asterisk ※, obelos †, and lemniscus ∞) stand for readings that are 'pluses' or 'minuses' between the Greek text Origen used and the Hebrew of his day. The lemniscus shows where the variant reading ends. Marginalia are vulnerable to errors and some placements of the signs are questionable.

In the margins one finds abbreviations for the so-called *recentiores*, Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, whose texts Origen had placed in parallel columns in his Hexapla alongside the three anonymous versions known as Quinta, Sexta, and Septima (= the fifth, sixth, and seventh Greek versions). In addition, there are also readings from the Samaritan Pentateuch, words/names written in Greek, and sometimes longer scholia from Greek authors translated into Syriac. Again, we are faced with the question of reliability.

In 2003 Peter Gentry questioned whether the origin of the Syrohexaplaric marginalia is necessarily the same as the *Vorlage* of the text itself. He concluded that in the book of Ecclesiastes the marginal readings were drawn from a Greek non-Hexaplaric source, most probably from catenae. Law (2011), who studied the Hexaplaric materials in 3 Kingdoms, concluded that Paul of Tella and his team had at their disposal catenae or other types of exegetical works (most probably of Antiochian origin) that cited the revisers. Reinhart Ceulemans (2013) could not find indications that in Syh Canticles catenae were used systematically. Nevertheless his conclusions support Gentry's observation that not all the sources of the marginalia of the Syrohexapla depend on the Hexapla.

THE MODE OF TRANSLATION

Interest in the Syrohexapla's mode of translation is twofold. On the one hand, it showcases the evolution of Syriac translations from freer to more rigid mirror translation. On the other hand, knowing what to expect from the translator is the first step in determining the underlying Greek. To what extent the Syrohexapla can be back-translated into Greek is an important question for text critics. Field did it very competently in his *Origenis Hexaplorum*, but the reliability of his retroversions needs to be confirmed and some may need revision in the light of new discoveries.

The Syrohexapla as well as the Harklean New Testament are described as ‘mirror translations’ (a term coined by Brock), in other words, translation that aims at providing a literal translation even at the cost of fully natural Syriac. The consistency of the style of the Syrohexapla has been used as a proof of Paul of Tella’s prominent role in the undertaking, no matter how many collaborators he had or whether they translated certain books or parts of the Old Testament independently. There are, however, very few detailed studies on this proclaimed consistency, or debates on how exactly the work was conducted, in contrast to such studies on the LXX. Do we see the hands of separate translators, or development inside the translation in vocabulary? Can we postulate a word list?

The only broader study on the grammatical elements in the Syrohexapla is Thomas Skatt Rørdam’s dissertation (1859–61). His thorough study describes several features, such as renderings of Greek cases, adjectives and degrees of comparison, articles (which do not exist in Syriac), pronouns, numerals, verbal forms, and particles. Rørdam’s study is rich in examples and shows the measures the translator needed to take in translating from Greek to a Semitic language. In his descriptive approach Rørdam takes Greek as his starting point, and he lists the different renderings he found in the Syrohexapla ‘seldom’ or ‘not so seldom’. Rørdam’s study is a healthy reminder of the limits of mirror translation.

The Syrohexapla is (in)famous for imitating its source text as far as possible. This pertains to several aspects of the translation, starting from the consistency of translation equivalences. Although more research is needed to determine how strictly Paul of Tella was able to maintain one-to-one correspondence in the translation, already Field (1875: lxix) noted that even if Paul aimed at highly consistent equivalents, and to some extent succeeded in this with common Greek and Syriac words, there is variance to be found with ‘rarer words’. Also, as Greek is somewhat more nuanced in vocabulary, Paul had to use one Syriac equivalent to render several words in the source text, something apparent in translating prepositions, or Greek compound verbs with prefixes. For example, a single Syriac verb *hēpak* ‘to turn’ renders *στρέφω, ἀποστρέφω, ἐπιστρέφω, καταστρέφω*, and others.

In the Syrohexapla there is a tendency to represent the Greek isomorphically. An example of this would be the most famous Syrohexaplaric feature mentioned in literature, namely the use of a separate possessive particle *dil* instead of the expected possessive suffix. This syntagm is known already in early Syriac, as Jerome Lund (2006) has pointed out. Its use is correct Syriac, but the sheer abundance of the usage is striking. However, there are exceptions to this rule, as there are variations even within a single verse. For example, for *Σαλωμων ο υίός σου βασιλεύσει μετ’ ἐμέ και αὐτός καθιέται ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου μου* ‘Salomon your son shall be king after me, and he shall sit on my throne’ (NETS) in 1 Kings 1:13, the Syrohexapla reads ‘Solomon *your* son [*with personal suffix*] shall be king after me, and he shall sit on the throne *of mine* [*dil +suffix*].’ Examples such as these are easy to find. As none of the original manuscripts has survived, there is no way of knowing whether such inconsistency originates in the translation itself. Naturally, inconsistency in the use of the possessive particle does not change the

meaning of the text, and thus does not diminish the value of the Syrohexapla as a textual witness, but it is nonetheless an interesting phenomenon since it is one of the most prominent translational features. If the translator was not rigid in this aspect, can we expect slavish renderings elsewhere?

Michael Weitzman, in his study on Hosea (1998), noted that Paul also took into account the context. If a Greek word had a wide semantic range, several Syriac equivalents were needed: *συστροφή* is rendered by two different Syriac words to indicate ‘whirlwind’ in one place and ‘conspiracy’ in another, and the translator made a distinction in Syriac between a calf as a sacrificial animal and the Golden Calf by using two Syriac synonyms. Semantics sometimes demanded the rendering of one Greek word with two in Syriac: *θηρίον* ‘(wild) beast’ with ‘animals of tooth’. Paul also avoided repeating the same Syriac verb twice in the same sentence, although elsewhere the same Syriac verb was used to translate both Greek verbs in the sentence. Weitzman presented an example of a verse where Greek reads *τίθημι* and *τάσσω*, both of which are rendered with the Syriac verb *sîm*, and Paul decided to find another translation for the latter verb. All in all, Weitzman calculated that in Hosea thirty Greek words out of 750 had more than one equivalent. There is as yet no investigation into whether the figures are similar throughout the whole Syrohexapla translation.

Another interesting phenomenon of a mirror translation is the use of transliterations and Greek loanwords studied by Alison Salvesen in Exodus (2016). Some of the loanwords used in Syh are from early stages of Syriac and in usage already in the Peshitta. Sometimes they reflect the general development of the language, as the same terms appear in Jewish Aramaic or Christian Palestinian Aramaic.

Names follow the Peshitta form for gutturals and sibilants (which cannot be easily represented in Greek). Sometimes one finds names written in Greek in the margin, as the Syriac text of the Syrohexapla is unvocalized, and the pronunciation cannot be assessed based solely on the Syriac. There is also variation in spelling, but whether this is due to transmission of the manuscripts or a feature of the original translation is yet to be determined.

CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF THE SEPTUAGINT AND FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR RESEARCH

The text-critical value of the Syrohexapla, along with other Hexaplaric witnesses, is being re-evaluated as the critical edition of the Septuagint nears completion, and the Hexapla Project is progressing.

First, studies like Michael Law’s 2011 monograph on 3 Kingdoms and Peter Gentry’s research on Ecclesiastes prove the importance of the Syrohexapla as preserver of Aristarchan signs and the readings of the Three. However, as the studies by Hiebert,

Jenkins, and Law have already shown, caution and further study are called for when using the text of the Syrohexapla. Its connections to the Lucianic recension/Antiochian texts call for further research.

Questions about Syrohexaplaric translation technique call for further studies that are slowly emerging on single books. The studies have concentrated mostly on smaller translation units, which is natural due to the literal nature of the Syrohexapla.

For both text-critical and linguistic research on the Syrohexapla, several basic elements are missing. Scholarship would greatly benefit from editions of all the existing manuscripts, preferably in electronic and searchable format. Also, full Syriac and Greek indexes are still lacking. At present each scholar must do time-consuming work almost from scratch. There are great beginnings such as Hiebert's edition of the Psalter, or the index to Hosea by Michael Weitzman (1998).

Another area of study would be the influence of the Peshitta on the Syrohexapla. Also the marginal readings need to be studied more closely throughout the Syrohexapla, following in the footsteps of Law, Gentry, and Ceulemans.

The questions and their answers will benefit the study of the Septuagint, hopefully leading us to understand better the way Hexaplaric materials were handled and copied, and generally expand our understanding of the relationships between several Hexaplaric witnesses. The name Syrohexapla should not fool us into believing that the text is a direct translation of the famous fifth column. The recent studies should help us to treat the work of Paul of Tella, one of the best witnesses of the Hexaplaric recension, cautiously and correctly.

SUGGESTED READING

Bradley Marsh (2011; 2019a; 2019b) examines the role of different Greek and Syriac versions, including the Syrohexapla, in the novel Syriac version of Jacob of Edessa for Numbers, Daniel, and Susanna. John Meade (2020) makes full use of Syrohexaplaric evidence in his survey of Hexaplaric remains for the second half of the book of Job. In a separate article discussing the Syrohexapla's value for that book (Meade 2016), he provides the colophon to Syh Job, which reports that the text of the Syrohexapla of Job was based on the 'Old Tetrapla' version.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Baars, Willem (1968). *New Syro-Hexaplaric Texts*. Leiden: Brill.
- Braun, Oskar (1901). 'Ein Brief des Katholikos Timotheos I über biblische Studien des 9. Jahrhunderts.' *Oriens Christianus* 1: 299–313.
- Brock, Sebastian P. (1996). *The Recensions of the Septuagint Version of 1 Samuel*. Quaderni di Henoch 9. Torino: Silvio Zamori Editore.
- Brock, S. P. (1975). 'Some Aspects of Greek Words in Syriac', in A. Dietrich, ed., *Synkretismus im syrisch-persischen Kulturgebiet*. AAWG, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Dritte Folge, 96. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 80–108. Repr. in *Syriac Perspectives on Late Antiquity*. London: Variorum Reprints, 1984, ch. 4.

- Brock, S. P. (1977). *A Brief Outline of Syriac Literature*. Mōrān 'Ethō 9. Kottayam: St. Ephrem Ecumenical Research Institute.
- Brock, S. P. (1983). 'Towards a History of Syriac Translation Technique', in R. Lavenant, ed., *III Symposium Syriacum 1980*. OCA 221. Rome: Pontificum Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, pp. 1–14.
- Brock, S. P. (1995). 'Mingana Syr. 628: A Folio from a Revision of the Peshitta Song of Songs'. *JSS* 40: 39–56.
- Ceriani, Antonio Maria (1861). *Monumenta sacra et profana ex codicibus praesertim Bibliothecae Ambrosianae*. Monumenta sacra et profana 1. Milan: Bibliotheca Ambrosiana.
- Ceriani, A. M. (1874). *Codex Syro-hexaplaris Ambrosianus, photolithographice editus, curante et adnotante*. Monumenta sacra et profana 7. Milan: Bibliotheca Ambrosiana.
- Ceulemans, Reinhart (2013). 'The *ὁμοίως* Notes in the Syro-Hexapla Version of the Song of Songs'. *OCP* 79: 5–36.
- Field, Frederick (1875). *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt, sive veterum interpretum Graecorum in totum Vetus Testamentum fragmenta*. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Gentry, Peter J. (2003). 'Hexaplaric Materials in Ecclesiastes and the Rôle of the Syro-Hexapla'. *Aramaic Studies* 1: 5–28.
- Goshen-Gottstein, Moshe H. (1956). 'Neue Syrohexaplafragmente'. *Biblica* 37: 162–83.
- Gwynn, John (1887a). 'Paulus Tellensis'. *DBC* 4: 266–71.
- Gwynn, J. (1887b). 'Thomas Harklensis'. *DBC* 4: 1014–20.
- Hiebert, Robert (1989). *The "Syrohexaplaric" Psalter*. SBLSCS 27. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press.
- Jellicoe, Sidney (1968). *The Septuagint and Modern Study*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Jenkins, R. G. (1989). *The Old Testament Quotations of Philoxenus of Mabbug*. CSCO 514, Subsidia 84. Leuven: Peeters.
- Juckel, Andreas (2011). 'Harqlean Version', in S. P. Brock, G. A. Giraz, and L. Van Rompay, eds., *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage*. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, pp. 188–91.
- Lagarde, Paul de (1861). *Libri Veteris Testamenti apocryphi syriace*. Leipzig and London: F. A. Brockhaus, Williams & Norgate.
- Lagarde, Paul de (1880). *Veteris Testamenti ab Origene recensiti fragmenta Syros servata quinque*. Göttingen: W. F. Kaestneri.
- Lagarde, Paul de (1892). *Bibliothecae Syriacae a Paulo de Lagarde collectae quae ad philologiam sacram pertinent*. Göttingen: Dietrich Lueder Horstmann.
- Law, Timothy Michael (2011). *Origenes Orientalis: The Preservation of Origen's Hexapla in the Syrohexapla of 3 Kingdoms*. DSI 2. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Lebram, J. C. H. (1966). 'Tobit', in *The Old Testament in Syriac according to the Peshitta Version. Sample Edition*. Leiden: Brill.
- Liljeström, Marketta (2012). 'Observations on the Mode of Translation in the Syrohexapla', in J. Loopstra and M. Sokoloff, eds., *Foundations for Syriac Lexicography, Vol. 5: Colloquia of the International Syriac Language Project, New Orleans, 2009, and Other Contributions*. Perspectives on Syriac Linguistics 7. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, pp. 91–102.
- Lund, Jerome A. (2006). 'Syntactic Features of the Syrohexapla of Ezekiel'. *Aramaic Studies* 4.1: 67–81.
- Marsh, Bradley J. (2011). 'Jacob of Edessa's Greek Manuscripts: The Case from His Revision of the Book of Numbers'. *Journal of Septuagint and Cognate Studies* 44: 5–25.
- Marsh, Bradley J. (2016). 'Early Christian Scripture and the Samaritan Pentateuch: A Study in Hexaplaric Manuscript Activity'. Unpublished DPhil dissertation, Oxford.

- Marsh, Bradley J. (2019a). 'Jacob of Edessa's Witness to the "Theodotion" Daniel Text: Preliminary Observations'. *Journal of Septuagint and Cognate Studies* 52: 197–216.
- Marsh, Bradley J. (2019b). 'The Story of Susanna in Syriac: A Preliminary Survey of Diversity'. *Aramaic Studies*, 17.1: 15–38.
- Masius, Andreas (1571). *Syrorum Peculium: hoc est, vocabula apud syros scriptores passim*... Antwerp: Ex officina Christophori Plantini.
- Meade, John D. (2016). 'An Analysis of the Syro-Hexapla of Job and Its Relationship to Other Ancient Sources'. *Aramaic Studies* 14: 212–41.
- Meade, John D. (2020). *A Critical Edition of the Hexaplaric Fragments of Job 22–42*. Origen's Hexapla: A Critical Edition of the Extant Fragments. Leuven: Peeters.
- Norton, Gérard J., with Carmen Hardin (2005). *Frederick Field's Prolegomena to Origenis Hexaplorum Quae Supersunt, sive veterum interpretum Graecorum in totum Vetus Testamentum fragmenta*. CRB 62. Paris: Gabalda.
- Romeny, R. B. ter Haar (2001). 'Biblical Studies in the Church of the East: The Case of Catholicos Timothy I'. *Studia Patristica* 34. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 503–10.
- Romeny, R. B. ter Haar (2006). 'The Greek vs. the Peshitta in a West Syrian Exegetical Collection (BL Add. 12168)', in R. B. ter Haar Romeny, ed., *The Peshitta: Its Use in Literature and Liturgy. Papers read at the Third Peshitta Symposium*. MPIL 15. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, pp. 297–310.
- Rørdam, Thomas Skatt (1859–61). *Libri Judicum et Ruth secundum versionem Syrio-hexaplaem, quos ex codice Musei Britannici nunc primum edidit, graece restituit notisque criticis illustravit T. Skat Rørdam. Præmittitur dissertatio De Regulis Grammaticis, quas secutus est Paulus Tellensis in Veteri Testamento ex graeco syriace vertendo*. Copenhagen: Otto Schwartz.
- Salvesen, Alison G. (1997). 'Hexaplaric Readings in Išo'dad' of Merv's Commentary on Genesis', in J. Frishman and L. Van Rompay, eds., *The Book of Genesis in Jewish and Oriental Christian Interpretation: A Collection of Essays*. Louvain: Peeters, pp. 229–52.
- Salvesen, Alison G. (2016). 'The Lexicon of the Tabernacle Accounts in the Syrohexapla Version of Exodus', in T. Lewis, A. Salvesen, and B. Turner, eds., *Contemporary Examinations of Classical Languages (Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac and Greek): Valency, Lexicography, Grammar, and Manuscripts*. PLAL 8. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, pp. 187–200.
- Sprengling, Martin, and William Creighton Graham (1931). *Barhebraeus' Scholia on the Old Testament, Part I: Genesis–II Samuel*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago.
- van den Eynde, Ceslas (1950). *Commentaire d'Išo'dad de Merv sur L'ancien Testament*. I Genèse. CSCO 126. SS 67. Louvain: Secrétariat de CorpusSCO.
- van den Eynde, C. (1955). *Commentaire d'Išo'dad de Merv sur L'ancien Testament*. I Genèse. CSCO 156. SS 75. Louvain: Secrétariat de CorpusSCO.
- van den Eynde, C. (1958). *Commentaire d'Išo'dad de Merv sur L'ancien Testament*. II Exode-Deutéronome. CSCO 176. SS 80. Louvain: Secrétariat de CorpusSCO.
- van den Eynde, C. (1958). *Commentaire d'Išo'dad de Merv sur L'ancien Testament*. II Exode-Deutéronome. CSCO 179. SS 81. Louvain: Secrétariat de CorpusSCO.
- van den Eynde, C. (1962). *Commentaire d'Išo'dad de Merv sur L'ancien Testament*. III Livres des Sessions. CSCO 229. SS 96. Louvain: Secrétariat de CorpusSCO.
- van den Eynde, C. (1963). *Commentaire d'Išo'dad de Merv sur L'ancien Testament*. III Livres des Sessions. CSCO 230. SS 97. Louvain: Secrétariat de CorpusSCO.
- van den Eynde, C. (1969). *Commentaire d'Išo'dad de Merv sur L'ancien Testament*. IV Isaïe et Douze. CSCO 303. SS 128. Louvain: Secrétariat de CorpusSCO.
- van den Eynde, C. (1969). *Commentaire d'Išo'dad de Merv sur L'ancien Testament*. IV Isaïe et Douze. CSCO 304. SS 129. Louvain: Secrétariat de CorpusSCO.

- van den Eynde, C. (1972). *Commentaire d'Īṣōḏad de Merv sur L'ancien Testament*. V Jérémie, Ezéchiël, Daniel. CSCO 328. SS 146. Louvain: Secrétariat de CorpusSCO.
- van den Eynde, C. (1972). *Commentaire d'Īṣōḏad de Merv sur L'ancien Testament*. V Jérémie, Ezéchiël, Daniel. CSCO 329. SS 147. Louvain: Secrétariat de CorpusSCO.
- van den Eynde, C. (1981). *Commentaire d'Īṣōḏad de Merv sur L'ancien Testament*. VI Psaumes. CSCO 433. SS 185. Louvain: Secrétariat de CorpusSCO.
- van den Eynde, C. (1981). *Commentaire d'Īṣōḏad de Merv sur L'ancien Testament*. VI Psaumes. CSCO 434. SS 186. Louvain: Secrétariat de CorpusSCO.
- Verwijs, Petra (2016). *The Peshitta and Syro-Hexapla translations of Amos 1:3–2:16*. Leiden: Brill.
- Vööbus, Arthur (1971). *The Hexapla and the Syro-Hexapla: Very Important Discoveries for Septuagint Research*. Estonian Theological Society in Exile 20. Stockholm: ETSE.
- Vööbus, A. (1975). *The Pentateuch in the Version of the Syro-Hexapla: A Fac-Simile Edition of a Midyat MS. Discovered 1964*. CSCO 369, Subsidia 45. Leuven: Peeters.
- Weitzman, Michael P. (1998). 'The Reliability of Retroversions of the Three from the Syrohexapla: A Pilot Study in Hosea', in A. Salvesen, ed., *Origen's Hexapla and Fragments*. TSAJ 58. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 317–59.

CHAPTER 45

COPTIC, ARABIC, AND ETHIOPIC VERSIONS

ANDRÉS PIQUER OTERO

COPTIC

Introduction

No full version of the Old Testament has been preserved in any of the Coptic dialects. Even though it is likely that the Septuagint was translated in its entirety at least into Sahidic Coptic (Nagel 1991), only fragments have been preserved, with a somewhat uneven representation of particular books. This unevenness extends to all dialects in which biblical materials have been preserved. It involves not only the absence or presence of given books or parts of books but also the assessment of how much of the preserved evidence comes from full translations of books of the Greek Bible, or from materials contained in lectionaries and other liturgical texts, or in citations of the Septuagint in patristic materials in Coptic. Therefore, the main problems faced by researchers of the Coptic version(s) of the Septuagint can be summed up as the fragmentary nature of the material and the multiplicity of translations according to dialect (Kasser 1965; 1980; 1991). Establishing the relationship between versions in different dialects (both a mere diachronic sequence and also possible dependencies between them) remains complicated, even more so given the lack of a unified resource allowing easy access to all preserved Coptic materials of the Bible. Although in the last decades such a publication has been taking shape in the form of the ongoing multi-volume *Biblia Coptica* (Schüssler 1995–), a considerable part of this inventory remains unpublished. Thus the scholar has to approach evidence via reference to a wide array of articles by diverse authors and in different journals, which from the early twentieth century cover preserved fragments

classified by book and dialect (Vaschalde 1919; 1920; 1921; 1922; 1930; 1933; Till 1959–60; Nagel 1990). Moreover, the fragments themselves are edited in different publications, from the compendious editions of an archival repository, library, or manuscript, to the edition of a single fragment in a journal article. Evidently, the discovery of new fragments and the progressive appearance in journals of unpublished materials from libraries (Torallas Tovar 2007; van Esbroeck 1998) implies that most critical editions and studies of the Septuagint are already outdated when covering the evidence of Coptic versions. This is most unfortunate, given that the Sahidic translation of the Septuagint is held to be one of the earliest secondary versions of the Greek text of the Old Testament and, therefore, has great potential as a useful witness in the history of the Septuagint, particularly regarding the establishing of an Old Greek text. Despite this potential value, its usefulness is often marred by the lack of global studies of translation technique and analysis of textual typology. An extensive, compendious approach to the Coptic Bible and its position and history within the textual typology of the Septuagint remains to be written, as far as the preserved materials allow.

Dates, Witnesses, and Dialects

There is agreement among scholars regarding the provenance of the earliest translations of the Bible into Coptic in the late third century CE. Despite earlier Christianization of Egypt, the diffusion of the faith outside urban, heavily Hellenized areas (mainly Alexandria) triggered these first translations into the vernacular around 270 CE, at least for the New Testament. Nowadays, it seems that no data indicate the presence of 'oral translations' (in a 'Targumic' style) connected to liturgy. Henceforth the early translations of the Bible would probably have appeared in written format in the usual order of New Testament, then Psalter (at a remarkably late date: Rahlfs 1907) and Prophets, followed by other books (Nagel 1991: 1836b). The oldest extant biblical manuscript, in proto-Sahidic, is the text of Proverbs in Papyrus Bodmer VI (Kasser 1960). In the fourth century CE there was already rich translational activity, which, in all likelihood, ran parallel to the development of monasticism in Egypt and the adoption of Pachomius's rule (*Pracepta* 39, 40, 130, 139, 140). This constituted the basis for the accumulation and production of scriptural texts in Egyptian monasteries (Nagel 1991: 1837a; Steindorff 1950). Parallel to the preserved biblical manuscripts (see the list of books already attested in the fourth century in Nagel 1991: 1836b), monastic activity was also crucial for the transmission of biblical passages in citations within original Coptic literature developed by Pachomius and his followers.

The early translation of the whole Bible into the Sahidic dialect exhibits a considerable level of uniformity between the fourth and twelfth centuries, even though it is not possible to speak of a normative version. However, the importance of the holdings of different monasteries in exemplifying two main text types has been reported (Nagel 1991: 1837b–1838a). Nevertheless, this extensive chronological spread of materials (van Esbroeck 1998: 437) involves meaningful typological variants, relating both to the

intra-Coptic translation and, prospectively, to the *Vorlage* underlying the Sahidic text. It is hard to assess this degree of variation and its impact in the history of the Sahidic Bible and the Septuagint at large, given that modern critical editions that take into consideration all manuscript evidence (including fragments and quotations) are still a rarity (early editions described in van Esbroeck 1998: 423). In this respect, Drescher's edition of 1–2 Kingdoms (Drescher 1970) constitutes a remarkable exception and a model for future treatment of Sahidic books of the Bible.

From the ninth century onwards, the volume of Bohairic manuscripts starts to become relevant. There are earlier fragments and this version may be connected to the Nitrian monasteries in the mid-sixth century, mainly the see of the Coptic Patriarchy at the Monastery of Macarius. The asymmetry between possible early dates for the Bohairic text and the late provenance of most witnesses is probably connected to the climatic conditions of the Delta, less favourable to the preservation of the materials when compared to Upper Egypt. Papyrus Bodmer III, from the fourth century, gives clear evidence of an early presence of the Bible in Bohairic. Nevertheless, the textual typology of the fragment of Gen, 1:1–4:2 it contains differs clearly from the later tradition of the Bohairic Old Testament, while presenting readings similar to the Sahidic text, a fact that indicates the complex situation and relationship between Coptic versions in their early stages (Nagel 1991: 1838a; Kasser 1958; Peters 1984). Despite the trans-regional diffusion of the earlier Sahidic version, the Bohairic text represents an independent translation from the Septuagint which spread widely across Egypt. It was in fact the most accessible to early scholarship, as it was the dialect and textual form that remained alive in Coptic liturgy (van Esbroeck 1998: 441). Nevertheless, the complete biblical text was not translated into Bohairic, and our access to most books is based on liturgical materials (Burmeister 1933; 1943; 1962; 1963–4; 1966). No single ancient manuscript contains a book in its entirety, with the exception of the Pentateuch, the Prophets, the Psalter, Job, and, of course, the New Testament (van Esbroeck 1998: 440–4; Peters 1983; 1985; 1986), and some books are unattested. Especially in the territory of liturgical books, research should give importance to the presence of bi- and trilingual works, where the earlier Greek–Coptic (Sahidic) forms were progressively substituted with Arabic–Coptic (Bohairic) bilinguals (Takla 2004). These examples are of interest both for the history of the Bohairic version and for the study of the situation of the other versions at the time the bilinguals were produced (e.g. Horner 1902), especially in the case of the Arabic Bible in Egypt and its prospective relationship with the Coptic text (Rubenson 1996). With the exception of the few books which enjoy the benefit of a complete critical edition and academic study, the best part of the Bohairic version still suffers from a lack of unified study of the materials.

This situation is even more noticeable in the smaller dialects of Coptic which have preserved materials from the Old Testament. The Fayyumic dialect has yielded for the most part fragments of biblical books (Quecke 1979; 1981) and a famous bilingual text with an almost full text of Canticles and Ecclesiastes plus fragments of Lamentations (Diebner and Kasser 1989). Middle Egyptian has yielded a quite early (fourth to fifth century) and almost complete translation of the Psalter (Gabra 1995). Akhmimic,

though very fragmentary (a fact aggravated by considerable difficulties in identifying dialectal features), attests translations of a wide array of books of the Old Testament (Lacau 1911; Till 1927; Böhlig 1958; Funk 1987). Subakhmimic, again a dialect difficult to identify (Funk 1980), seems to count among its biblical fragments some verses from Job ch. 30 (Kasser and Satzinger 1982).

Text(s) and Perspectives

Evidently, the textual interest of the Coptic translations lies in establishing their relationship to a Greek *Vorlage* as well as establishing their mutual relationship. As already noted above, Sahidic and Bohairic would be independent translations, whereas Akhmimic seems to be dependent on the Sahidic text, maybe as a ‘daughter’ or ‘interlinear’ version (Nagel 1991: 1837b). Other dialects are still lacking a sound typological analysis, a challenge due to the fragmentary nature of the materials.

Regarding the relationship between Coptic versions and their Greek *Vorlage*, some general remarks can be made, although a thorough analysis of the relationship between Coptic translations and the multiple types and recensions of the Septuagint in Greek remains to be done. First of all, caution is needed about two intra-Coptic aspects that are highly relevant for our ability to reconstruct and assess a Greek *Vorlage*. These aspects are the reliability of the Coptic used in biblical quotations, and the particular features which should not be reckoned as variants going back to the Septuagint text but rather as elements of translation technique. The former requires a thorough analysis of the wider context of the book, lectionary, amulet, or other support, as some readings can be attributed to adaptation to a text outside the citation, something aggravated by the complexity of the Coptic pericope system (Nagel 1991: 1838b–1839a). This line of work still remains to be done, for the most part, though recent studies (Perttillä 2008) examine the Old Testament, following a more established research line of translation technique studies applied to Coptic versions of the New Testament (Mink 1972). The latter issue, distinguishing Greek-based variants from translation technical characteristics, involves a thorough analysis and comparative study of both languages in order to determine which features of the Greek original can be represented in the Coptic language. This is essential, given the notorious differences between both languages in areas such as word order, verbal morphosyntax, and the usage of conjunctions and other types of phrase and clause connectors (Polotsky 1971; Funk 1984; Orlandi 1984). For instance, Greek *καί* is often omitted, especially at the beginning of a verse where the Greek reflects a Hebrew *wayyiqtol* form. Even in cases where the absence of *καί* is attested in Greek evidence, the Coptic versions should not be taken into consideration as witnesses to a given variant, as the agreement would be a coincidence between a Greek textual variant and a general feature of the Coptic language. Then, besides these grammatical features, Coptic translations in the different dialects and biblical books exhibit a certain tendency to free narrative expansions and glosses. The latter may clarify some unclear Greek terms via a relative or ‘that is’ clause introduced by a particle (e.g. Sah. 1 Kgdms 28:3). In other cases,

the Coptic text simply adds some extra details which have no correspondence whatsoever in the textual history of the Septuagint and its versions (e.g. Sah. 3 Kgdms 13:24). On the other hand, at times these expansions may not be merely developments of the Coptic textual tradition, but reflections of Greek variants and materials, which involve the creation of a double reading with an alternative rendering from different text types or from Hexaplaric sources. This phenomenon may have arisen from some Greek *Vorlage* or be a product of revision. Its study requires an active awareness of variants and alternative readings, not only in Greek but also in other secondary versions (for some examples see Piquer Otero 2008; 2018). Thus, at times the boundaries between translation technique and intra-Coptic practices grow thin and lead back to or overlap with the history of the Greek text itself as reflected in the Coptic dialects.

Much work in this area remains to be done, both regarding the systematic editing of the Coptic evidence of a given book in a particular dialect as a prior step to dealing with the reconstruction of a Greek *Vorlage* in accordance with the different text types of the Septuagint text. So far, fragments from the Twelve Prophets in Sahidic seem to exhibit Kaige features, a tendency shared with the text of 1–2 Kingdoms and the fragmentary evidence of 3–4 Kingdoms, where most evidence seems close to the text of Codex Vaticanus (B). On the other hand, some early fragments do exhibit notorious divergences from B, in agreement with a Lucianic (or pre-Lucianic) text type in particular variants (see Bellet 1965; Piquer Otero 2008; 2012). In other cases, Hexaplaric Hebraizing readings (i.e. towards the Hebrew text type which would be the basis of the Masoretic tradition) may derive from later corrections from Greek manuscripts, in a progressive convergence towards a majority text.

Hope for future developments in this line of research requires the production of systematic editions and studies on individual books or fragments of books. Even though hindered by the lack of a full edition or catalogue of biblical Coptic texts and by the lack of a decent number of witnesses in some books, some recent monographs show that ongoing and forthcoming research still holds potential for integration of the Coptic version in the history and edition of the Septuagint (Perttillä 2013).

ARABIC

Introduction

The central problem when studying the Arabic versions of the Septuagint is connected to their location within the whole ensemble of translations into so-called Christian Arabic (Blau 1966) or at least into the Arabic language used by Christian communities (Blau 1966: 20, 54; Vollandt 2013b: 35–6). This goes beyond the scope of translations from the Septuagint (be it a Greek text or a secondary version such as Coptic) and runs in parallel and in the same milieu as Jewish translations of the Bible into Arabic, such as

the monumental rendition into Arabic of the Pentateuch by Sa'adya Ga'on (Derenbourg, Derenbourg, Lambert, and Müller 1893–9). Under the general rubric of biblical text in Arabic, the translations from Syriac or Hebrew are clearly more numerous than texts translated from Greek originals. The mixed nature of evidence was carried over into the modern era, as the texts included in academic editions of the Western world at the time, namely the various polyglot Bibles, often produced mixed texts combining Sa'adya's Pentateuch with translations of other books by different Jewish authors or by Christian translators with Syriac (Peshitta or Syrohexapla) or, less often, Greek as their original sources. This situation is not aided by the present fragmentation of evidence in different catalogues, repertoires, and individual publications (Graf 1944; Tropeau 1972; 1974). There are also a number of manuscripts that have not been published or subjected to a typological textual study in order to identify their *Vorlage* (Wevers 1970). Also, the ongoing controversy over when Arabic started to be used as a scholarly-literary language among Arabic-speaking communities (non-Muslim or prior to the advent of Islam), as well as the considerable gap in time between such beginnings and the bulk of evidences and witnesses, has contributed to complicate and discourage research in this area. Thus, Arabic has rarely been considered a version to be included in text-critical and text-historical studies and editions of the Bible, something especially true in the case of the LXX (Vollandt 2013b: 35). It is not even possible to determine the approximate date of a full translation of the Bible into Arabic and the cultural milieu(x) in which it took place, though scholarship seems to be progressively in agreement that there was no full biblical text in Arabic until the advent of Islam: earlier Christian communities would have relied on partial renderings and notes for practical liturgical usage and in oral transmissions leading to ad hoc translations (Griffith 2013: 8–53).

Dates and Witnesses

In the particular sphere of earlier Christian versions in Arabic, our most valuable evidence is a small number of texts and fragments with Arabic text written in Greek letters. For indirect textual study, quotations of biblical Scripture in early Islamic or Christian Arabic writers, together with references to Christian translation activity, remain a solid source of data. The use of Greek letters to write Arabic offers additional support to this close relationship between Greek and Arabic in the first centuries of Arabic as a language in Christian communities in Syria (van Esbroeck 1998: 402–3). The documents in question were discovered in the Damascus 'Genizah' at the beginning of the twentieth century (Violet 1901; D'Ottone 2013). They contain a Graeco-Arabic bilingual in two columns with text of the book of Psalms. The fragments seem to indicate the possibility that there was a complete text of the Psalter circulating among Christians some time before the eighth century (van Esbroeck 1998: 403; Blau 2002: 68–71; Corriente 2007).

Other evidence of early translation activity consists of indirect references and citations (Schmidke 2013). Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Mas'ūdī (d. 956 CE) attributes a translation from large parts of the Septuagint to the Baghdadi Christian Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq (d. 873

CE), remarking that he continued the work of previous translators, who considered the Septuagint the best text for the Old Testament or at least the Pentateuch (De Goeje 1967: 112). Similar data are gleaned from Abū l-Faraj Muḥammad ibn Isḥāq ibn an-Nadīm (d. 995) in his biographical paragraph on the scholar Aḥmad ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Salām (second half of the eighth century), who states that he translated the whole Bible from ‘Hebrew, Greek, and Sabian’ (Dodge 1970: 42). Nothing has been preserved of these translations, but the data are interesting when compared with the considerable quotation activity of Muslim writers in apologetic works on Islam. Some of their biblical quotations (of both Old and New Testaments) indicate that a version of the text was probably available to them (Dunlop 1968; Khouri 1977; Thomas 1996; Griffith 2013: 107–8). The link between these Muslim citations and Christian translation activity on the Bible in monasteries and churches may be attested by the references in Abū Nu‘aym al-Iṣbahānī (948–1038) to the traditionist Mālik ibn Dīnār of Baṣrah and his search for books in Christian monasteries (Khouri 1977: 275–6). This would indicate that some biblical materials in the Arabic language were beginning to appear in Christian communities around the seventh to eighth centuries at the very least, as suggested by the Damascus Psalter fragments mentioned above (a natural choice, given the salient role of the Psalter in liturgy) and by other evidence from Christian authors, such as the eighth-century treatise *Fī taṭlīṭ ‘Allāh al-waḥīd* (Gibson 1899; Samir 1994).

The importance of the use of the Arabic language in Christian communities in Palestine and Syria (and hence the presence of biblical translations and materials containing biblical text) grew during the second half of the eighth century, playing a role in the Church of Jerusalem and becoming a distinctive feature of the Melkite community. This prevalence would be consummated in the ninth century in the Syrian territories up to Antioch and also among Nestorian and Jacobite communities (Griffith 2010: 60–8). It had a presence in the Patriarchate of Alexandria, even though Arabic would not displace Coptic in the Egyptian Church until the late tenth or early eleventh century (Samir 1991; Richter 2012). Within these dates, scholars have studied the history of the attested biblical materials and whether they were copies or based on earlier, now lost, translations. If the latter, this would move back by a few centuries the first biblical versions (from the Greek in most cases, given the data gleaned from the Damascus trove and the testimonies of Muslim historians; Griffith 2013: 120–1).

The production of Bible translations by the different Christian Arab communities in the Middle Ages was further complicated by the intermingling of versions between the different Christian denominations which shared Arabic as a language at the turn of the millennium. Among them, Melkites had a preference for using translations from the Greek, in contrast to the ‘Nestorian’ Church of the East, which used the Syriac Peshitta as a *Vorlage*. The situation among the Syrian Orthodox and Copts was more complex, as they tended to import versions from other communities, not limiting themselves to Christian translations, but using at times Judaeo-Arabic versions, notably the translation of the Torah from the Masoretic Hebrew by Sa‘adya Ga‘ōn (Rhode 1921; Vollandt 2013b: 27; Vollandt 2015a). This complicated situation has produced a scenario where codices containing different books may reflect varied provenances regarding

their *Vorlagen* (for a case study see Lindgren and Vollandt 2013). This situation continued well into the modern period, where the first attempts to produce volumes with complete Arabic Bibles, as opposed to connected individual books or groups of books, took place (Griffith 2013: 129, 204–6; Vollandt 2013b: 31–4). The process continued and affected the scholarly (and pastoral) approaches of the Western world to the Arabic text of the Bible, as the codices sought out and edited in the Renaissance (both Arabic alone and polyglot texts) had mixed Old Testaments, with some books attesting fairly early translations or influences from the Greek text of the LXX. These were perpetuated in editions such as the Paris and London Polyglots (Vollandt 2013b).

Text(s) and Perspectives

Given such a scenario, the idea of an ‘Arabic Bible’ (as also a ‘Septuagint in Arabic’) is clearly a misnomer, both from a historical and a textual point of view. A Septuagint scholar needs to keep in mind that, both in manuscript sources and in later editions, an individual book (or even a part of a book: Griffith 2013: 132), may be based on the Greek (or Coptic), while the next one is a translation from the Peshitta (and hence a Hebrew- and MT-based text type outside the LXX tradition). Also, a given text type may have experienced changes and additions from a different one in both directions: Masoretic readings could be introduced into a text with a Septuagint *Vorlage*, but agreements with the Greek text appear in translations based on the Peshitta and are to be analysed critically (Lindgren and Vollandt 2013: 50–1). Even though some typological studies of individual texts have been published, much work remains to be done in this direction. Scholars who face the vast number of witnesses have to take into account this ‘philological interest’ in Late Antiquity and among medieval translators and commentators, as also their awareness of different *Vorlagen* in the sphere of Arabic Christianity. This is attested both among Syriac authors such as Jacob of Edessa or Isho’dad of Merv (Salvesen 1997; 2002; Vollandt 2013b: 30) or among Muslim scholars such as Ibn Qutayba, al-Mas’ūdi, or al-Biqā’i (e.g. Saqr 1981: 16). The situation led to the production of remarkable bilingual texts or even ‘early polyglots’ (Brock 1982; Griffith 2013: 146–8; Vollandt 2013b: 30). Hence, a text-critical or text-historical study of the evidence has to recognize this reality of intercultural and intertextual relationships between versions and traditions. This is also essential for assessing variants and readings adequately. For instance, in the case of the LXX, elements reflecting MT in the text may come straight from a Hebrew (or Syriac) tradition rather than attesting an early philo-MT recensional reading within the history of the Septuagint text. A similar situation exists for Copto-Arabic bilingual texts (Livne-Kafri 2007; 2009) (Hexaplaric, Kaige, or other), and with Ethiopic recensions (see section below on Ethiopic). The same caveat holds true for assessing Arabic versions based on the Syrohexapla as a solid witness for the ancient Hexaplaric text. Even if a scholar attempts to focus on a single textual tradition (such as Arabic versions of the Septuagint), it is best to proceed from a comparative approach that includes all other textual traditions, in order to have a solid grasp of the textual and

translational history of a given book in Christian Arabic, given the degree of mutual influence in the Middle Ages. Recently such work has mostly been carried out on Arabic versions of the Pentateuch, both with studies of individual manuscripts and with comparative analyses of textual typology and translation technique (Vollandt 2015a). Although it builds on a remarkable earlier tradition of textual studies (Vaccari 1920; 1921), this research still has many open lines of enquiry and ‘unclassified’ manuscripts and fragments (as shown in Graf 1944: 85–195) which could be connected to the LXX (from Greek or Coptic) or the Syrohexaplaric text. Bearing in mind the state of fluidity and exchange between textual types and families in the Arabic-speaking Christian (and Jewish) world, it is possible that the future will see a development of the study of Arabic witnesses of the Septuagint within a paradigm of intercultural transmission of the text.

ETHIOPIC

Introduction and General State of Research

In contrast to other versions of the Septuagint in the Mediterranean and Near East (Arabic, Coptic, Old Latin), the Ethiopic tradition has preserved the text of the Old Testament in its entirety in the Ge‘ez language. Other languages of the Ethiopic group have no tradition of ancient versions of the Bible and therefore hold no interest for the history of the Septuagint (Ullendorff 1968: 62–72; van Esbroeck 1998: 463–4). Even if coverage is incomplete, some important collections of manuscripts are accessible (Beylot and Rodison 1995; Macomber 1975; 1976–93; 1979; Knibb 1999: 9). Here, the scholar does not have to deal with fragmentary evidence or access; nevertheless, Ethiopic biblical manuscripts pose serious problems of their own for using them in the study of the textual history of the Septuagint. These start with the nature and history of the manuscripts and involve the late date of most codices (sometimes demonstrated by influence from Amharic), which are only rarely earlier than the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries. Other issues are the existence of a continuous manuscript tradition into the early twentieth century alongside editions of the biblical text from the sixteenth century onwards, and the notorious difficulty of dating witnesses using palaeography, given the sustained practices and traditions of manuscript production in Ethiopia (van Esbroeck 1998: 452; Uhlig 1988). Dating and material considerations are further complicated by the still open debate on the origins of the Ethiopic translation itself, and the relationships between legendary accounts (besides that of Acts 8:26–31) of the Christianization of the Aksumite kingdom in the fourth century CE (Haas 2008) and later evidence from sixth-century inscriptions containing biblical citations (Knibb 1999: 46–54), not to mention the enormous temporal gap between epigraphic and manuscript evidence. These accounts give way to consideration of the influence in the Ge‘ez biblical text of the books of the Septuagint and other textual traditions with a

Syrian provenance. These reflect the Hellenistic east Mediterranean background of the process and its connection to Alexandria and Egypt via the history of Frumentius and Edessius (Rufinus, *Hist.* 10:9–10; Haas 2008: 108). In turn, the narratives of the Nine Saints or *Ṣadeqan* as introducers of monasticism in Ethiopia from Syria in the fifth to sixth centuries, related perhaps to the immigration of monophysite monks after the Council of Chalcedon (Knibb 2003: 565), have also been connected to biblical translation. This led to a key debate on the history and typology of the Ethiopic Old Testament and its dependence on either the Greek or the Syriac (or Syro-Arabic) versions. The situation is further complicated by the fact that text underwent several revisions in quite late periods according to a MT or MT-like version (from Arabic versions or Hebrew manuscripts). Given this interplay between the Ethiopic text and Arabic translations in the medieval period, the absence of critical editions and a proper history-typology of witnesses of the Arabic Bible makes matters worse (van Esbroeck 1998: 459; see the section above on Arabic). This implies that an ‘Old Ethiopic’ (Dillmann 1861: 3–6) text is difficult to retrieve and that these recensions hinder our chances of defining with certitude what an early (first millennium) textual form contained. Thus, it is not surprising that there is a degree of asymmetry in the production of critical editions and textual histories of the different books. This is one of the ongoing lines of research in the realm of the Ethiopic Bible.

Dates and Influences

This does not mean that critical approaches have not incorporated the study of the Ethiopic Old Testament in textual criticism of the Septuagint since the nineteenth century. August Dillmann produced fairly complete editions of the Octateuch, Samuel–Kings, and Deuterocanonical books (Dillmann 1853–94), including the codices to which he had access. He was the first scholar to propose an outline of textual history that acknowledged both the Septuagint as the original basis for the Ge‘ez Bible and also later influences from non-Greek (and hence Hebrew-based) sources (van Esbroeck 1998: 452–3). Following Dillmann, Ethiopic readings have featured in the main LXX editions, including detailed coverage in Brooke–McLean (Brooke, McLean, and Thackeray 1906–35). Dillmann’s research constitutes the basis for the use of the Ethiopian text as a secondary version of the Septuagint (van Esbroeck 1998: 454; Weninger 2003).

Today it is accepted that the Old Testament was translated into Ethiopic from a Greek LXX text and that this early translation underwent different revisions or recensions. This textual history may be summarized in three main periods:

- (1) The Old Ethiopic version covers the origins and early transmission of the translation of the Septuagint into Ethiopic. It seems that, as is usually the case in biblical translations within the Christian world, a full translation of the Bible

appeared after the New Testament and other books of prominent use in liturgy (Psalms, Prophets) were initially completed (Uhlig 2003b). It is likely that this first translation was produced in the Axum urban area, which presents a remarkable presence of Greek elements, as attested both by Greek inscriptions in coins and by the pseudo-trilingual (actually a Greek–Ge'ez bilingual) Ezana Stone (Schneider 1996; Uhlig 2001). As mentioned above, the only witnesses from this early period are biblical citations (mainly from Psalms) in royal inscriptions. Nevertheless, textual analysis indicates a remarkable continuity and uniformity between these citations and the Ethiopic text in later stages, that is, periods 2 and 3 below (Knibb 1999: 46–54). It proves that, despite the difficulties involved, the much later manuscript tradition is useful and important for textual criticism as a secondary version of the Greek text. Despite this uniformity, this Old Ethiopic text seems to have undergone diverse influences and revised readings from Coptic, Syriac, and Arabic sources (Zuurmond 2003).

- (2) A first revision from an Arabic text, named 'Vulgar Recension' or 'First Arabic Recension', took place in the fourteenth or fifteenth century (Uhlig 2003a; Knibb 2003). This Arabic basis for the revision seems to have, in turn, a *Vorlage* going back to the Syriac Peshitta (or heavily influenced by it). It is probable that this Arabic influence came from Egypt, where Arabic had progressively displaced Coptic as a liturgical and biblical language (Rubenson 1996). This Arabic influx is a salient factor in the cultural renaissance of Ethiopia in the fourteenth century and is attested by the legendary attribution of the translation of the Bible into Ethiopic by Abba Salama, according to the Ethiopian Synaxarion (21 Nāḥase), though it is more likely that he had a role in revising the ancient Ethiopic text. Given the differences between the Septuagint (both in its textual transmission and its Hebrew *Vorlage*) and the Peshitta (based on a Hebrew text closer to the MT tradition), the most relevant feature of this revision is the large number of doublets and conflate readings created when Arabic materials were included within the text of the Old Ethiopic version.
- (3) A second revision from Arabic texts in the late fifteenth or sixteenth–seventeenth centuries, the 'Second Arabic Recension' or 'Academic Recension' (Knibb 2003; Uhlig 2003a), tried to produce a 'better' text by eliminating most conflations and double readings of the previous revision, thus bringing the text closer to an Arabic text closer to MT (again with a Syriac or Hebrew *Vorlage*). This recension has been named at times the 'Hebrew recension', due to the presence of readings apparently arising from a Hebrew text used in the revision (Dillmann 1861: 5; Gehman 1931). It may be due to the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Arabic text in some books or to further revision towards the Hebrew MT (Uhlig 2003a). The resulting text, free of double readings and preserving the basis of the Old Ethiopic version despite the influence of MT via the Arabic version, is the type most present in the manuscript tradition of the Ethiopian Bible.

Text(s) and Perspectives

The Ethiopic text of the Old Testament is unique within the world of ancient versions not only regarding the history of the books, but also the composition of its canon. Together with the LXX canonical and Deuterocanonical books, the Ethiopic Bible has transmitted a series of books belonging to the sphere of apocalyptic and pseudepigraphical literature known through other evidence such as Greek and Latin fragments, quotations in Church fathers, and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Enoch (1 Enoch); Jubilees (*Kufale* or 'Little Genesis'); the Ascension of Isaiah; and Pseudo-Josephus (*Yosef Walda Koryon*). Evidence and canon lists in the Ethiopian Church are nevertheless late (Cowley 1974; Brandt 2003).

Regarding the relationship between the text and its *Vorlage*, the Ge'ez translation has been characterized as a considerably literal rendering of the original, including calques, transcriptions, and loanwords from the Greek (e.g. Num. 14:25; Esth. 1:17) besides the expected transcriptions of personal and local names (Weninger 2005). In other cases, translation is free or paraphrastic (e.g. the necromantic term in 1 Kgdms 28:3) with occasional instances of incorrect reading by the translator. These elements are further complicated by the difficulty of determining the precise Septuagint text type which was used as the *Vorlage* for the Ge'ez translation. Even though, as commented above, it is clear now that the basis for the Ethiopian version was a Greek text, different proposals have been formulated regarding the Hexaplaric, Lucianic, or Kaige nature of the *Vorlage*. Nowadays, even though a full history of the version has been held up by the absence of critical editions for some books, the textual evidence seems to indicate that each book has a different history which may involve a different text type for the Greek original (or the use of Greek codices of a revised-mixed nature). However, the basic approach, as formulated by Rahlfs and based on his study on Kingdoms and the Psalter, would align the Ge'ez version with a B text as attested by Codex Vaticanus and Greek codex 509 where extant (Rahlfs 1907 [1965²]: 95, 100–3, 160). The situation is far more complex if data from different books are compared (Knibb 1999: 19–22; 2000; 2008). Determining the textual typology of the text in relationship to its *Vorlage* is further complicated by the Arabic versions described in the previous section, as some readings in agreement with the Syro-Arabic materials (thus closer to MT versus an Old Greek text type) may look similar to MT-based readings in the history of the Greek text connected to a Kaige or Hexaplaric text type. Assessing the nature of Lucianic readings in the manuscripts is particularly delicate work, as they would require a detailed classification against Hexaplaric and non-Hexaplaric readings and of their agreement (or lack thereof) with a textual form leaning towards MT (Gehman 1931). Furthermore, the Ethiopic text, when possible, should be compared with the evidence yielded by other secondary versions of the Septuagint which cannot have a relationship with the Ge'ez text except in a shared *Vorlage* (mainly the Old Latin, also the Armenian or Georgian versions). Such readings, when they constitute a meaningful variant, could point in the direction of a shared Greek original.

All in all, present-day scholarship still faces the challenge of both producing solid critical editions of some books and fully detailed studies of the relationship of their Ethiopic text with the Greek *Vorlage*, which at times may have preserved readings of relevance for the reconstruction of a Greek edition.

SUGGESTED READING

For general overviews and sources for the three versions, see van Esbroeck 1998, Knibb 2003, Griffith 2013, and Nagel 1991. A good presentation of the problems and richness of the Arabic versions and their cultural context may be found in Vollandt 2017, as well as in Hjälml 2017. For the most recent developments in studies and edition of the Sahidic Coptic Old Testament, it is advised to consult Behmler and Feder 2017. A general survey on the Ethiopic Bible and its canon may be found in Mikre Sellasie 1993. For introductory articles on the three versions and their manuscript sources, see the detailed entries of Vollandt (2016b) on Arabic, Feder (2016) on Coptic, and Delamarter, Niccum, and Lee (2016) on Ethiopic, in the *Textual History of the Bible* series, Vol. 1.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Esbroeck, Michel van (1998). 'Les Versions orientales de la Bible: Une Orientation bibliographique', in Jože Krašovec, ed., *The Interpretation of the Bible: The International Symposium in Slovenia*. JSOTSupp 289. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, pp. 399–509.

Lange, Armin, and Emanuel Tov, eds. (2016). *The Textual History of the Bible*. Vol. 1A. Leiden: Brill.

Coptic

Behmler, Heike, and Frank Feder (2017). 'The Complete Digital Edition and Translation of the Coptic Sahidic Old Testament: A New Research Project at the Göttingen Academy of Sciences and Humanities'. *Early Christianity* 8: 97–107.

Bellet, Paulino (1965). 'Un fragmento de la versión sahidica de 3 Reyes IV:11–13, 15–19'. *StudiaPap* 3: 70–8.

Böhlig, Alexander (1958). *Der achmimische Proverbientext nach MS. Berol. Orient. Oct. 987, 1: Text und Rekonstruktion der sahidischen Vorlage*. Studien zur Erforschung des christlichen Ägyptens 3. Munich: R. Lerche.

Burmeister, Oswald H. E. (1933; 1943). 'Le Lectionnaire de la Semaine Sainte: Texte copte édité avec traduction française (de E. Porcher) d'après la manuscrit Add. 5997 du British Museum'. *Patrologia Orientalis* 24: 173–294; and *Patrologia Orientalis* 25: 179–470.

Burmeister, O. H. E. (1962). 'The Coptic-Greek-Arabic Holy Week Lectionary of Scetis'. *Bulletin de la Société archéologique copte* 16: 83–137.

Burmeister, O. H. E. (1963–4). 'The Bodleian Folio and Further Fragments of the Coptic-Arabic-Greek Holy Week Lectionary from Scetis'. *Bulletin de la Société archéologique copte* 17: 35–48.

Burmeister, O. H. E. (1966). 'Psalmenfragmente des Makarioskloster in der Sketis'. *Studia Orientalia Christiana: Collectanea* 11: 389–512.

- Diebner, Jörg Bernd, and Rodolphe Kasser (1989). *Die alttestamentlichen Texte des Papyrus bilinguis 1 der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, Canticum Canticorum (copt), Lamentationes Jeremiae (copt), Ecclesiastes (graece et copt)*. Cahiers d'Orientalisme 13. Geneva: P. Cramer.
- Drescher, James (1970). *The Coptic (Sahidic) Version of Kingdoms I, II (Samuel I, II)*. CSCO 313, 314. *Scriptores Coptici* 35, 36. Leuven: Peeters Press.
- Esbroeck, Michel van (1998). 'Les Versions orientales de la Bible: Une Orientation bibliographique', in J. Krašovec, ed., *The Interpretation of the Bible: The International Symposium in Slovenia*. JSOTSupp 289. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, pp. 399–509.
- Feder, Frank (2016). '1.4.2 Coptic Translations', in Armin Lange et al., eds., *Textual History of the Bible*. Vol. 1. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, pp. 331a–345b.
- Funk, W.-P. (1980). 'Eine frühkoptische Ausgleichsorthographie für Unter- und Mittelägypten?'. *Société d'égyptologie, Genève, Bulletin 4 (Mélanges W. Vycichl)*, pp. 33–8.
- Funk, W.-P. (1984). 'Bemerkungen zum Sprachvergleich Griechisch-Koptisch', in Peter Nagel, ed., *Graeco-Coptica*. Halle: Universität Halle, pp. 147–80.
- Funk, W.-P. (1987). 'Die Zeugen des koptischen Literaturdialektes 17'. *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 114: 117–33.
- Gabra, Gawdat (1995). *Der Psalter in oxyrhynchiten (mesokemischen/mittelägyptischen) Dialekt, mit Beiträgen von Nasry Iskander, Gerd Mink und John L. Sharp*. Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag.
- Horner, George W. (1902). *The Service for the Consecration of a Church and Altar According to the Coptic Rite*. London: Harrison & Sons.
- Kasser, Rodolphe (1958). *Papyrus Bodmer III, évangile de Jean et Genèse I–IV,2*. CSCO 177–8. *Scriptores Coptici*. Leuven: Peeters.
- Kasser, R. (1960). *Papyrus Bodmer VI, livre des Proverbes*. CSCO 194–5. Leuven: Peeters.
- Kasser, R. (1965). 'Les Dialectes coptes et les versions coptes bibliques'. *Biblica* 46: 287–310.
- Kasser, R. (1980). 'Petites rectifications à propos de l'histoire des versions coptes de la Bible'. *Biblica* 61: 557–60.
- Kasser, R. (1991). 'Dialects, Grouping and Major Groups of', in A. S. Atiya, ed., *The Coptic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 8. New York, NY: Macmillan, cols. A97a–A101a.
- Kasser, Rodolphe, and Helmut Satzinger (1982). 'L'Idiome du P. Mich. 5421 (trouvé à Karanis, nord-est du Fayoum)'. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 74: 15–32.
- Lacau, Pierre (1911). 'Textes coptes en dialectes akhmimiques et sahidiques'. *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 8: 43–81.
- Mink, Gerd (1972). 'Die koptischen Versionen des Neuen Testaments: Die sprachlicher Probleme bei ihrer Bewertung für die griechische Textgeschichte', in Kurt Aland, ed., *Die alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare*. Arbeiten zur Neutestamentlichen Textforschung 5. Berlin and New York, NY: de Gruyter, pp. 160–299.
- Nagel, Peter (1990). 'Editionen koptischer Bibeltexte seit Till 1960'. *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 35: 43–100.
- Nagel, Peter (1991). 'Old Testament, Coptic Translations of', in Aziz S. Atiya, ed., *The Coptic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 6. New York, NY: Macmillan, cols. 1836a–1940a.
- Orlandi, Tito (1984). 'Le traduzioni dal greco e lo sviluppo della letteratura copta', in P. Nagel, ed., *Graeco-Coptica*. Halle: Universität Halle, pp. 181–203.
- Perttillä, Elina (2008). 'How to Read the Greek Text behind the Sahidic Coptic', in A. Voitila and J. Jokiranta, eds., *Essays on Septuagint, Hebrew Bible and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of Raija Sollamo*. JSJSup 126. Leiden: Brill, pp. 367–78.

- Perttillä, Elina (2013). 'Sahidic 1 Samuel: A Daughter Version of the Septuagint'. PhD diss., University of Helsinki.
- Peters, Melvin K. H. (1984). 'The Textual Affiliations of Genesis 1:1–4:2 According to Papyrus Bodmer III', in A. Pietersma and C. Cox, eds., *De Septuaginta: Studies in Honour of J. W. Wevers*. Missisauga, Ont: Benben, pp. 233–46.
- Peters, Melvin K. H. (1983; 1985; 1986). *A Critical Edition of the Coptic (Bohairic) Pentateuch*, Vol. 1: *Genesis*; Vol. 2: *Exodus*; Vol. 5: *Deuteronomy*. SCS 1, 2, 5. Chico, CA: Scholars Press.
- Piquer Otero, Andrés (2008). 'An Old Greek Reading Attested in the Sahidic and Old Latin Fragments of 1Kgs 1:52: Text-Critical Analysis and Relationship with the Hebrew Text'. *Hénoch* 30: 80–93.
- Piquer Otero, A. (2012). 'Who Names the Namers? The Interpretation of Necromantic Terms in Jewish Translations of the Bible', in A. Piquer Otero and P. Torrijano Morales, eds., *Textual Criticism and Dead Sea Scrolls Studies in Honour of Julio Trebolle Barrera: Florilegium Complutense*. JSJSup 157. Leiden: Brill, pp. 241–76.
- Piquer Otero, A. (2018). 'The Secondary Versions of Kings: Variants and Renderings between *Vorlagen* and Ideology', in M. Meiser, M. Geiger, S. Kreuzer, and M. Sigismund, eds., *Die Septuaginta: Geschichte, Wirkung, Relevanz. 6. Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D), Wuppertal, 21.–24 Juli 2016*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 244–55.
- Polotsky, Hans J. (1971). 'Modes grecs en copte?', in H. Polotsky, ed., *Collected Papers*. Jerusalem: Magnes, pp. 208–25. First published in M. Malinine, ed., *Coptic Studies in Honor of W. E. Crum*, Boston, MA: The Byzantine Institute, 1950, pp. 73–90.
- Quecke, Hans (1979). 'Ein fajjumisches Fragment aus Ps. 90 (91) (P. Heid. Kopt. 184)', in M. Görg and E. Pusch, eds., *Festschrift Elmar Edel. Ägypten und Altest Testament 1*. Bamberg: M. Görg, pp. 332–7.
- Quecke, Hans (1981). 'Ein fajjumisches Psalmfragment (Ps. 16,4 ff.)', in D. W. Young, ed., *Studies Presented to Hans Jakob Polotsky*. Beacon Hill, MA: Pirtle & Polson, pp. 300–13.
- Rahlf's, Alfred (1907). *Septuaginta-Studien Heft 2: Der Text des Septuaginta-Psalters*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht (2nd edn. 1965).
- Rubenson, Samuel (1996). 'The Transition from Coptic to Arabic'. *Égypte Monde Arabe* 27–8: 77–92.
- Schüssler, Karlheinz (1995–). *Biblia Coptica: Die Koptischen Bibeltexte*. Bände 1–4. Die sahidische Alte und Neue Testament. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Steindorff, Georg (1950). 'Bermerkungen über die Anfänge der koptischen Sprache und Literatur', in M. Malinine, ed., *Coptic Studies in Honor of W. E. Crum*. Boston, MA: The Byzantine Institute, pp. 189–214.
- Takla, Hany N. (2004). 'Copto (Bohairic)-Arabic Manuscripts: Their Role in the Tradition of the Coptic Church', in M. Immerzeel and J. van der Vliet, eds., *Coptic Studies on the Threshold of a New Millennium: Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Coptic Studies*. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 639–46.
- Till, Walter (1927). *Die achmimische Version der zwölf kleinen Propheten (Codex Rainerius, Wien) herausgegeben mit Einleitung, Anmerkungen und Wörterverzeichnis*. Copenhagen: Glydendalske Boghandel-Nordisk.
- Till, Walter (1959–60). 'Coptic Biblical Texts after Vaschalde's Lists'. *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 42: 220–40.
- Torallas Tovar, Sofía (2007). *Biblica Coptica Montserratensia. P. Mons. Roca II*. Orientalia Montserratensia 2. Barcelona: Abadía de Monsterrat-CSIC.

- Vaschalde, Arthur (1919; 1920; 1921; 1922). 'Ce qui a été publié des versions coptes de la Bible.' *RB* 16, 28 (1919) 220–43, 513–31; 29 (1920), 91–106; 241–58; 30 (1921), 237–46; 31 (1922), 81–88, 234–58.
- Vaschalde, A. (1930). 'Ce qui a été publié des versions coptes de la Bible.' *Le Muséon* 43: 409–431.
- Vaschalde, A. (1933). 'Ce qui a été publié des versions coptes de la Bible.' *Le Muséon* 46: 299–306.

Arabic

- Blau, Joshua (1966). *A Grammar of Christian Arabic Based Mainly on South Palestinian Texts from the First Millennium*. Leuven: Peeters.
- Blau, Joshua (2002). *A Handbook of Early Middle Arabic*. Jerusalem: Max Schloessinger Memorial Foundation.
- Brock, Sebastian P. (1982). 'A Fourteenth Century Polyglot Psalter,' in G. E. Kadish and G. E. Freeman, eds., *Studies in Philology in Honour of Ronald James Williams: A Festschrift*. Toronto: SSEA, pp. 1–15.
- Corriente, Federico (2007). 'The Psalter Fragments from the Umayyad Mosque of Damascus: A Birth Certificate of Nabaṭī Arabic,' in J. P. Monferrer Sala, ed., *Eastern Crossroads: Essays on Medieval Christian Legacy*. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, pp. 303–20.
- D'Ottone, Ariana (2013). 'Manuscripts as Mirrors of a Multilingual and Multicultural Society: The Case of the Damascus Find,' in B. Crostini and S. Laporta, eds., *Convivencia in Byzantium? Cultural Exchanges in a Multi-Ethnic and Multi-Lingual Society*. Trier: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag, pp. 63–88.
- de Goeje, Michaël Jan, ed. (1967). Abū l-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Mas'ūdī. *Kitāb al-tanbih wa l-'iṣrāf*. Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum 8. Leiden: Brill.
- Derenbourg, Joseph, Hartwig Derenbourg, Mayer Lambert, and Joël Müller (1893–9). *Oeuvres complètes de R. Saadia Ben Iosef Al-Fayyūmī*. Paris: E. Leroux.
- Dodge, B., trans. (1970). *The Fihrist of al-Nadīm*. Vol. 1. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
- Dunlop, D. M. (1968). 'A Letter of Harūn ar-Rashīd to the Emperor Constantine VI,' in M. Black and G. Fohrer, eds., *In Memoriam Paul Kahle*. BZAW 103. Berlin: A. Töpelmann, pp. 106–15.
- Gibson, Margaret D. (1899). *An Arabic Version of the Acts of the Apostles and the Seven Catholic Epistles from an Eighth or Ninth Century MS in the Convent of St Catherine on Mount Sinai with a Treatise on the Triune Nature of God, with a Translation from the Same Codex*. Studia Sinaitica 7. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (repr. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias, 2003).
- Graf, Georg (1944). *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*. Vol. 1. Vatican City: Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana.
- Griffith, Sidney H. (2010). *The Church in the Shadow of the Mosque: Christians and Muslims in the World of Islam*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Griffith, Sidney H. (2013). *The Bible in Arabic: The Scripture of the 'People of the Book' in the Language of Islam*. Princeton, NJ and Oxford: Princeton University Press.
- Hjälms, Miriam, ed. (2017). *Senses of Scripture, Treasures of Tradition: The Bible in Arabic among Jews, Christians and Muslims*. Biblia Arabica 5. Leiden: Brill.
- Khouri, Raif Georges (1977). 'Quelques réflexions sur les citations de la Bible dans les premières générations islamiques du premier et du deuxième siècles de l'Hégire.' *Melanges H. Laoust. Bulletin d'Études Orientales* 29: 269–78.

- Lindgren, Miriam, and Ronny Vollandt (2013). 'An Early Copy of the Pentateuch and the Book of Daniel in Arabic (MS Sinai – Arabic 2): Preliminary Observations on Codicology, Text Types and Translation Technique.' *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 1: 43–68.
- Livne-Kafri, Ofer (2007). 'Some Notes Concerning the Arabic Version,' in A. Shisha-Halevy, *Topics in Coptic Syntax: Structural Studies in the Bohairic Dialect*. OLA 160. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 685–94.
- Livne-Kafri, Ofer (2009). 'Some Notes on the Vocabulary in a Coptic-Arabic Translation of the Pentateuch.' *Al-Karmil* 30: 17–27.
- Rhode, Joseph F. (1921). *The Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch in the Church of Egypt*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America.
- Richter, Tonio S. (2012). 'Greek, Coptic and the Language of the Hijra: The Rise and Decline of the Coptic Language in Medieval Egypt,' in H. M. Cotton and R. G. Hoyland, eds., *From Hellenism to Islam: Cultural and Linguistic Change in the Roman Near East*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 401–46.
- Salvesen, Alison G. (1997). 'Hexaplaric Readings in Isho'dad of Merv's Commentary on Genesis,' in J. Frishman and L. van Rompay, eds., *The Book of Genesis in Jewish and Oriental Christian Interpretation: A Collection of Essays*. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 229–52.
- Salvesen, Alison G. (2002). 'Jacob of Edessa's Knowledge of Hebrew,' in A. Rapoport-Albert and G. Greenberg, eds., *Biblical Hebrew, Biblical Texts: Essays in Memory of Michael Weitzmann*. Sheffield: Continuum, pp. 457–67.
- Samir, Samir Khalil (1991). 'Old Testament, Arabic Versions of the,' in A. S. Atiya, ed., *The Coptic Encyclopaedia*. Vol. 6. New York, NY: Macmillan, cols. 1827–36.
- Samir, Samir Khalil (1994). 'The Earliest Arab Apology for Christianity,' in S. Kh. Samir and J. S. Nielson, eds., *Christian Arabic Apologetics during the Abbasid Period (750–1258)*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 57–114.
- Saqr, Ahmad, ed. (1981). *Ibn Qutayba, Ta'wil muškil al-Qur'ān*. Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiyya.
- Schmidke, Sabine (2013). *Die Bibel in den Augen muslimischer Gelehrten*. Einstein Lectures in Islamic Studies 1. Berlin: Freie Universität.
- Thomas, David (1996). 'The Bible in Early Muslim Anti-Christian Polemic.' *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relationships* 7: 29–38.
- Tropeau, Gerard (1972; 1974). *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes I: Manuscrits chrétiens*. Vols. 1–2. Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale.
- Vaccari, Alberto (1920; 1921). 'Le versioni arabe dei profeti.' *Biblica* 1 (1920): 266; 2 (1921): 401–23.
- Violet, Bruno (1901). 'Ein zweisprachliches Psalmenfragment aus Damaskus.' *Orientalistische Literatur-Zeitung* 4: 384–403, 425–41, 475–88.
- Vollandt, R. (2013a). 'Che portono al ritorno qui una Bibbia Arabica integra: A History of the *Biblia Sacra Arabica*,' in S. Kh. Samir and J. P. Monferrer Sala, eds., *Graeco-Latina et Orientalia Studia in Honorem Angeli Urbani heptagenarii*. Series Syro-Arabica 2. Córdoba and Beirut: Oriens Academic CNERU-CEDRAC, pp. 401–18.
- Vollandt, Ronny (2013b). 'Some Historiographical Remarks on Medieval and Early-Modern Scholarship of Biblical Versions in Arabic: A Status Quo.' *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 1: 25–42.
- Vollandt, R. (2015a). *Arabic Versions of the Pentateuch: A Comparative Study of Jewish, Christian, and Muslim Sources*. Leiden: Brill.
- Vollandt, R. (2015b). 'הבראשית קופטים בימי הביניים? על מסירת התפסיר של רס"ג.' *Tarbiz* 83: 71–86.

- Vollandt, R. (2016a). 'An Unknown Medieval Coptic Hebraism? On a Momentous Junction of Jewish and Coptic Biblical Studies', in A. Grafton and G. Most, eds., *Canonical Texts and Scholarly Practices: A Global Comparative Approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 183–99.
- Vollandt, R. (2016b). '1.4.11 Arabic (Christian) Translations', in Armin Lange et al., eds., *Textual History of the Bible*. Vol. 1. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, pp. 408–16.
- Vollandt, Ronny (2017). 'The Conundrum of Scriptural Plurality: The Arabic Bible, Polyglots, and Medieval Predecessors of Biblical Criticism', in A. Piquer Otero and P. Torrijano Morales, eds., *The Text of the Hebrew Bible and Its Editions: Studies in Celebration of the Fifth Centennial of the Complutensian Polyglot*. Supplements to the Textual History of the Bible 1. Leiden: Brill, pp. 56–85.
- Wevers, John W. (1970). 'The Arabic Versions of Genesis and the Septuagint'. *BIOSCS* 3: 8–11.

Ethiopic

- Beylot, Robert and Maxime Rodison (1995). *Répertoire des bibliothèques et des catalogues des manuscrits éthiopiens*. Paris and Turnhout: Brepols.
- Brandt, Peter (2003). 'Bible Canon'. *EncAeth* 1. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, pp. 571–3.
- Brooke, A. E., N. McLean, and H. St. J. Thackeray (1906–35). *The Old Testament in Greek According to the Text of Codex Vaticanus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cowley, R. W. (1974). 'The Biblical Canon of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church Today'. *OS* 23: 318–23.
- Delamarter, S., C. Niccum, and R. Lee (2016). '1.4.3 Ethiopic Translation(s)', in Armin Lange et al., eds., *Textual History of the Bible*. Vol. 1. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill.
- Dillmann, Augustus (1853–94). *Biblia Veteris Testamenti Aethiopica in Quinque Tomos Distributa*. Leipzig: W. Vogel.
- Dillmann, Augustus (1861). *Veteris Testamenti Aethiopici Tomus Secundus*. Part 2. Leipzig: German Oriental Society.
- Gehman, Henry S. (1931). 'The Old Ethiopic Version of 1. Kings and Its Affinities'. *JBL* 50: 81–114.
- Haas, Christopher (2008). 'Mountain Constantines: The Christianization of Aksum and Iberia'. *JLA* 1: 101–26.
- Knibb, Michael A. (1999). *Translating the Bible: The Ethiopic Version of the Old Testament*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Knibb, M. A. (2000). 'The Ethiopic Translation of the Psalms', in A. Aejmelaeus and U. Quast, eds., *Der Septuaginta-Psalter und seine Töchterübersetzungen: Symposium in Göttingen 1997*. MSU 24. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, pp. 107–22.
- Knibb, M. A. (2003). 'Bible Vorlage: Syriac, Hebrew, Coptic, Arabic'. *EncAeth* 1. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, p. 565.
- Knibb, M. A. (2008). 'The Greek Vorlage of the Ethiopic Text of Ezekiel', in A. Voitila and J. Jokiranta, eds., *Scripture in Transition: Essays on Septuagint, Hebrew Bible and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of Raija Sollamo*. JSJSup 126. Leiden: Brill, pp. 414–21.
- Macomber, William F. (1975). *A Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Abeba and for the Monastic Microfilm Library, Collegeville*. Vol. 1. Collegeville, MN: St. John Abbey.
- Macomber, W. F. (1976–93). *Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Ethiopian Manuscript Microfilm Library, Addis Abeba and for the Hill Monastic Library*. Vols. 2–10. Collegeville, MN: St. John Abbey and University.

- Macomber, W. F. (1979). *Catalogue of Ethiopian Manuscripts from Microfilms in the Collection of Dr. Donald Davies*. Collegeville, MN: Hill Monastic Microfilm Library.
- Mikre Sellaise, Gebre-amanuel (1993). 'The Bible and Its Canon in the Ethiopian Orthodox Church'. *BT* 44.1: 111–23.
- Schneider, Roger (1996). 'L'Inscription "trilingue" et l'inscription en "pseudo-sabéen" d'Ezana'. *JES* 29.2: 103.
- Uhlig, Siegbert (1988). *Äthiopische Paläographie*. Stuttgart: F. Steiner.
- Uhlig, S. (2001). 'Eine trilinguale "Ezana-Inschrift"'. *Aethiopica* 4: 7–31.
- Uhlig, S. (2003a). 'Bible: Time and Context'. *EncAeth* 1. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, p. 563.
- Uhlig, S. (2003b). 'Biblical Text Criticism'. *EncAeth* 1. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, pp. 564–5.
- Ullendorff, Edward (1968). *Ethiopia and the Bible: The Schweich Lectures*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Weninger, Stefan (2003). 'Ge'ez Bible Editions'. *EncAeth* 1. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, pp. 569–71.
- Weninger, Stefan (2005). 'Der Wortschatz des klassischen Äthiopisch', in B. Burtea, J. Tropper, and H. Younansardaroud, eds., *Studia Semitica et Semitoamitica: Festschrift für Rainer Voigt anlässlich seines 60. Geburtstages an 17. Januar 2004*. AOAT 317. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, pp. 465–88.
- Zuurmond, Rochus (2003). 'Bible Vorlage: Greek'. *EncAeth* 1. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, pp. 564–5.

CHAPTER 46

MODERN TRANSLATIONS OF THE SEPTUAGINT

EBERHARD BONS

INTRODUCTION

THE translation of the Septuagint into modern languages is not really a new phenomenon. Indeed, since the nineteenth century several complete translations of the Greek Bible have been published, e.g. in English (Brenton 1851), French (Giguet, 4 vols., 1865–72), and Italian (Brunello 1960). In addition, several recent translations of single books of the Septuagint, e.g. the Psalms, are available. On the threshold of the third millennium, some new initiatives in editing translations of the Septuagint have been launched in European countries as well as in the United States: the French *La Bible d’Alexandrie* (BA), the English *New English Translation of the Septuagint* (NETS), the German *Septuaginta Deutsch* (LXX.D), the Spanish *La Biblia griega—Septuaginta*, and the Italian *La Bibbia dei Settanta*. At the present time of writing (2019) four of the translations are complete (NETS, LXX.D, La Biblia griega—Septuaginta, and La Bibbia dei Settanta). This chapter refers to the five translation projects mentioned. The first section addresses general features of these translations, the second section deals with methodological decisions underlying the translations, the third focuses on specific problems of translating the Septuagint. Finally, the fourth section touches upon notes and comments on Septuagint translations.

GENERAL FEATURES OF THE TRANSLATION PROJECTS

Even if all of the five publications provide readers with a modern translation of the Septuagint in a European language, the differences between the projects are immediately obvious to the reader.

La Bible d'Alexandrie

The French *La Bible d'Alexandrie* is a multi-volume work intended for a specialist public familiar not only with the Hebrew Bible and its versions but also with issues of text criticism, translation technique, textual history, and Jewish and Christian reception history. Devoted to one specific book of the Septuagint (for instance, one of the books of the Pentateuch) or to several smaller books (as in the case of the Twelve Prophets), each volume of the *Bible d'Alexandrie* offers a comprehensive introduction as well as a detailed bibliography. Among the issues dealt with in the introductions are: the underlying Hebrew text and its textual forms where available (namely the Masoretic Text and the Qumran fragments), the Greek text (Greek vocabulary and style, translation technique, differences with the Hebrew texts, pluses and minuses, specific features concerning historical and theological questions), reception in ancient Judaism and in the early Church. Moreover, the volumes are provided with two indexes: biblical and non-biblical quotations, and Greek words.

The main part of each volume provides an annotated French translation of the biblical text according to the Göttingen edition or, where this is not yet available, according to the edition by Rahlfs. However, the biblical text is not printed in the volumes so that there is sufficient room for very detailed explanations of the Greek text. In general it can be stated that these notes take into consideration question of grammar and style, similarities and parallels with other biblical and non-biblical texts, differences in relation to the Hebrew texts, translation technique, and history of reception in ancient Judaism (principally Philo and Josephus) and early Christianity (New Testament and especially the Greek-speaking Fathers, also Jerome). All in all, the volumes of *La Bible d'Alexandrie* offer a wealth of information that further research on the Septuagint and its reception cannot ignore.

New English Translation of the Septuagint

Like the French *La Bible d'Alexandrie*, the *New English Translation of the Septuagint* does not print the Greek text. However, even more striking than this similarity are the quantitative differences: the *New English Translation of the Septuagint* is a one-volume work which contains the translation of all of the Septuagint books included in Rahlfs's edition (except for the Odes). The intended audience should be 'biblically well-educated' (NETS, xiv). Each biblical book is provided with a short introduction giving basic information as to the translational profile of the Greek as well as to specific features of the English translation. Furthermore, the introductions address some of the main issues of contemporary Septuagint research, for instance the differences between the Hebrew and the Greek text and the plurality of Greek texts (e.g. in the books of Judges, Samuel, and Kings). However, questions of Jewish and Christian reception history are not taken into consideration.

The translation itself is here and there accompanied by very brief notes and explanations concerning the translation of the biblical text and text-critical variants. Yet these notes are not intended to provide comprehensive information as to the meaning(s) of the Greek text. Nevertheless, the undeniable advantage of NETS lies in the fact that it makes available a new English translation of the Greek biblical text which is based on the recent critical editions. This implies that in contrast to Brenton's translation, NETS provides, for example, two different versions of the books of Judges, as well as the so-called Antiochian text of 2–4 Kingdoms, the Alpha-Text of the book of Esther, the Barbarini text of Habakkuk ch. 3, the longer text of Sirach (Greek II), and the Old Greek text of Daniel. Finally, the Psalms of Solomon have been included. A list of errata is available on the website of NETS (<http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/nets/edition/errata-2014.pdf>).

Septuaginta Deutsch

The German-language project *Septuaginta Deutsch* consists of three volumes: the first provides a German translation of all the books included in Rahlfs's edition of the Septuagint. As a rule, the translation follows the Göttingen edition, where already available, otherwise Rahlfs's text. Moreover, as with NETS, in the case of books where more than one textual tradition has survived (e.g. Judges, 2–4 Kingdoms [Antiochian text], Esther, Habakkuk ch. 3, and see above regarding NETS) two translations are printed in parallel columns or one after another (see also Karrer 2008: 108–9). The first volume is complemented by chronological tables as well as by a synopsis of Hebrew and Greek names of months, feasts, measures, and weights. Furthermore, readers can find a table of biblical texts used as Scripture readings in Orthodox liturgy.

As for the footnotes of the German translation, some basic information is given. For instance, there are important text-critical variants (especially where the Göttingen edition diverges from Rahlfs), brief explanations of difficult expressions or verses, literary translations if the text is rendered more freely for stylistic reasons of the target language, and other possible translations. In addition, the footnotes of the Psalter report textual variants proper to Eastern Orthodox Psalters to meet the demands of Orthodox users of *Septuaginta Deutsch* (for further details see Karrer 2008: 114–16). The intended readership, however, goes far beyond Eastern Orthodox Christians. The translation aims to contribute to a better knowledge of the Greek text of the Bible among Roman Catholic and Protestant Christians and foster ecumenical dialogue. Interestingly, the foreword is signed by representatives of three churches (Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Orthodox) and of the Jewish community in Germany.

In contrast to the translation volume, the two volumes of the commentary ('Erläuterungen und Kommentare') are written for an audience acquainted with the methods and results of recent biblical studies. Each book of the Septuagint is presented in detail, firstly in an introduction dealing with translation technique, language, and specific features of the Septuagint text, then in extensive exegetical notes. These notes essentially fulfil three functions:

- Where the translation of the Septuagint text is not self-evident, an explanation of lexicographical, grammatical, syntactical, and stylistic phenomena is given.
- The notes seek to explain major divergences between the Septuagint and the Masoretic Text, taking into consideration the immediate context of a given verse, parallels in the same book, as well as the Septuagint evidence in general.
- Where the specific features of the Septuagint text engender further interpretation, namely in the New Testament and in Early Christian literature, this is referred to in the notes but not in a systematic or exhaustive manner (Karrer 2008: 117).

In conclusion, *Septuaginta Deutsch* offers the reader a large number of philological and exegetical observations on all of the Septuagint books. However, the notes do not represent a commentary (Karrer 2008: 110) and are not meant to be as exhaustive as the explanations of the French *La Bible d'Alexandrie*. Furthermore, as in many multi-author works, the notes differ in length and comprehensiveness.

La Biblia griega—Septuaginta

The Spanish *La Biblia griega—Septuaginta* is a four-volume translation of the Septuagint according to the critical editions if available, otherwise according to Rahlfs's edition. As in the aforementioned translations of the Septuagint the books of Judges and Esther, which exist in two versions, are translated twice, while in the case of 2–4 Kingdoms only the so-called Antiochian text is taken into consideration. Each biblical book is provided with an introduction addressing questions such as literary features of the Septuagint text, its main editions, and its reception. Furthermore, the introductions include remarks on the Spanish translation as well as relevant bibliographies. The translation itself is complemented by very brief footnotes, for instance, explanations of difficult terms, literal translations, and notes on the relationship between the Greek and the Hebrew Bible text in some very important cases. The volumes of *La Biblia griega—Septuaginta* have in common with NETS and the first volume of LXX.D that they do not require in-depth knowledge of biblical exegesis and Septuagint studies, except for the footnotes which often refer to problems of Hebrew and Greek philology.

La Bibbia dei Settanta

The Italian *La Bibbia dei Settanta* is a five-volume edition that includes the Greek text of the Septuagint along with an Italian translation on the opposite page. The critical text chosen by the editors is not the Göttingen edition but Rahlfs's text, albeit with slight modifications (e.g. in the book of Sirach, the longer Sirach text is printed in smaller letters). This editorial decision no doubt has the advantage that Rahlfs's text is very widespread and also available in electronic form. The first volume of the collection is preceded by a long synthesis that covers almost all areas of recent Septuagint research,

namely the origin of the Septuagint, its transmission in antiquity up until Jerome and Augustine in the early fifth century, its importance for biblical textual criticism, its language, its reception in early Christianity, and its significance for Christian readers today. Very useful is a list of Septuagint manuscripts from Qumran (vol. I: 58–61). The translation is accompanied by short footnotes containing explanations on various features of the Septuagint, for example divergences from the Hebrew Bible text including pluses and minuses, lexicological and grammatical difficulties of the Greek text, and parallels in other Septuagint texts. On the whole, the footnotes of *La Bibbia dei Settanta*, which are somewhat longer than those of NETS and *La Biblia griega—Septuaginta*, offer extensive information for biblical scholars and Classical scholars. However, the concise nature of the work means that numerous problems in the Greek text cannot be dealt with exhaustively (see Bons 2014).

MAIN FEATURES OF THE TRANSLATIONS

In the last decades translation projects of the Bible were accompanied by extensive theoretical reflections on the character of the translation. Whoever therefore launches a translation of the Septuagint cannot proceed at random, but a certain theoretical foundation is indispensable as regards both the translation process and the intended results.

La Bible d'Alexandrie

The starting point of *La Bible d'Alexandrie* was an approach characterized by the French term 'aval' ('downstream'): Rather than placing emphasis on the underlying Hebrew text and the manner in which it was rendered into Greek by the original translator(s)—which would be an 'amont' approach ('upstream')—the focus of *La Bible d'Alexandrie* is on the reception of the Greek Bible text. In fact, for *La Bible d'Alexandrie* the Septuagint is considered an autonomous text, as read and understood by Greek-speaking Jewish readers in the Hellenistic world, in other words readers who were not necessarily familiar with the Hebrew source text (see e.g. Harl 1994: 32; Dorival 2008: 71). This implies that the translator of the Septuagint has to reconstruct the meaning of the Greek text using all the grammatical and lexicographical data at our disposal, for instance the usage of a word in contemporary or later Jewish writings. However, two pitfalls have to be avoided: on the one hand, trivializing the meaning of a word which has a religious or theological connotation, and on the other hand, over-theologizing its meaning by taking into consideration later interpretations, especially those of Christian origin (see Harl 1996: 39). Admittedly, the Greek text might turn out to be obscure or even absurd here and there. However, these passages should be considered exceptional. Nonetheless, the translation principles of *La Bible d'Alexandrie* aim at rendering the Greek text without regard to its Hebrew equivalent (see Harl 1994: 37). This means that syntactical and

lexical Hebraisms are to be translated literally, on the assumption that Greek readers were able to understand them, for example the numerous circumlocutions of prepositional concepts like ἀπὸ προσώπου, ἐν μέσῳ, etc. Anyway, this principle of translation has its limits insofar as the text in the target language must at any rate be comprehensible (see Harl 1996: 47–53; Dorival 2008: 69).

New English Translation of the Septuagint

The *New English Translation of the Septuagint* is based on the presumption that the Septuagint—at least at its stage of production—can best be explained in terms of an interlinear translation (NETS xiv). This is not to say that the original manuscripts of the Septuagint resembled recent interlinear Bible translations containing the source text and a translation into a vernacular language. The term ‘interlinear’ is rather to be understood as a metaphor that means that the Septuagint ‘aimed at bringing the Greek reader to the Hebrew original rather than bringing the Hebrew original to the Greek reader’ (NETS xiv; see also Pietersma 2010). In other words, the degree of interpretation at the stage of translation is estimated to be very small. This position has provoked criticism because it is unable to explain numerous features of the Septuagint that do not fit into the pattern of the ‘interlinear paradigm’ (see e.g. Bons 2008; Joosten 2008). In fact, not only rather freely translated books (e.g. Isaiah, Proverbs) fall outside the model of a one-to-one-correspondence of a Hebrew term and its Greek rendering, but also rather literally translated books (such as the Psalter). Very often a Greek equivalent diverges considerably from its Hebrew model, e.g. in the field of divine titles. Thus, in Ps. 3:4 the Hebrew noun *māgēn* ‘shield’ is rendered ἀντιλήμπτωρ ‘protector’. Elsewhere, theological ideas considered inappropriate underwent a correction in the Septuagint (e.g. allusions to polytheistic ideas, such as in the Hebrew and Greek text of Ps. 8:6). Be this as it may, the ‘interlinear paradigm’ has prompted the translators of NETS to adopt an existing English translation, the New Revised Standard Version (NRSV), as a model that NETS should be based on. Consequently, if the text of the Septuagint matches the Hebrew Bible text the translation of the NRSV is to be retained, whereas in the case of divergences it has to be modified according to the Septuagint.

Septuaginta Deutsch

The German translation *Septuaginta Deutsch* follows the translation principles of *La Bible d’Alexandrie* more than those of NETS. The point of departure of the translation is always the Greek text, the syntax and wording of which are to be rendered in the target language as far as possible. In general, preference is given to translations which are correct from a philological point of view, rather than a fluently readable German. If for the

sake of good German a paraphrase is necessary, a more literal translation may be quoted in the footnotes. Furthermore, brackets indicate words or expressions that have no counterpart in the Greek text but are required by German grammar. If possible, it is intended to aim at consistent translation of recurring terms (e.g. in the Psalter). As for the underlying Hebrew text, the editors of *Septuaginta Deutsch* have chosen to use italics to indicate obvious differences between the Septuagint and the Masoretic Text. Additionally, the symbol + refers to pluses in the Masoretic Text. These two procedures, which might not be as uniform as they should be (see van der Meer 2009: 114), enable readers to recognize divergences at first glance. In order to find more detailed information on these divergences it is necessary to consult the two volumes of the commentary ('Erläuterungen und Kommentare').

La Biblia griega—Septuaginta

Having knowledge of the other ongoing projects of Septuaginta translations, the editors of the Spanish *La Biblia griega—Septuaginta* go their own way. Bearing in mind that the Septuagint became an autonomous version of the Bible for a non-Hebrew speaking public, the Spanish scholars have translated the Septuagint as a Greek text, in other words without taking into consideration its Hebrew source text (see vol. I: 29). To be sure, the translators are aware of the impact of Hebrew language on the Septuagint text. Nevertheless, they claim that the Septuagint has to be understood against its Jewish Hellenistic background, rather than against its Hebrew source text or reception history. Consequently the Septuagint is to be rendered in a fluent Spanish without depriving it of its sacred and archaic character (vol. I: 28). As for the underlying Hebrew text, the editors refrain from indicating divergences by means of italics or other typographical signs (see above, section 'Septuaginta Deutsch'). Given that the Septuagint introduces various categories of new elements into the biblical text, the editors argue that it would be not satisfactory to highlight them in the Spanish text by a series of signs or printing types (vol. I: 28).

La Bibbia dei Settanta

The Italian project *La Bibbia dei Settanta* is addressed to a non-specialist public, i.e. to readers unfamiliar with studies on the text of the Bible and unable to understand the Greek Septuagint text, yet interested in discovering a biblical text different from the usual translations (vol. I: 63–5). As for the linguistic character of the Italian translation itself, the translators take the side of their Spanish and German colleagues who seek to render the Greek as it stands, i.e. with its Hellenistic and Hebraizing features. Differences from the Hebrew text are not marked in the Italian translation but are referred to in the footnotes, albeit not exhaustively.

SPECIFIC PROBLEMS IN TRANSLATING THE SEPTUAGINT

Introductory Remarks

It is a truism that translation requires both the understanding of the source text and the ability to render it in the target language in an adequate manner. As for the translation of the Septuagint, some specific difficulties arise that are due to the following two main factors. Firstly, the Septuagint is the Greek version of a Hebrew or Aramaic source text (unless a book was written in Greek from the outset, as in the case of the Wisdom of Solomon and 4 Maccabees). Therefore every modern translation of the Septuagint is necessarily a translation of a translation. No doubt the Hebrew or Aramaic text rendered in Greek can be recognized indirectly in each translation of the Septuagint. At times, there is even the danger of translating the Hebrew text rather than the Greek even though the Septuagint differs slightly, since the modern translators are familiar with the Hebrew text (e.g. in the NETS translation of Ps. 7:6b where the divine title 'O Lord' is missing; see also van der Meer 2008: 117).

Be this as it may, the question arises as to what extent today's translations should take into consideration two issues. On the one hand the Septuagint is based on a Semitic source text. On the other, the Greek translation exhibits numerous differences from its source text. Hence the following questions are to be addressed: are divergences between the Hebrew Bible text and the Septuagint indicated in the modern translations? In the case of Hebrew and Greek equivalents whose meanings do not overlap, is it the Hebrew or the Greek meaning that is rendered? How should one translate the numerous 'Hebraisms' the Septuagint has rendered rather literally, that is, expressions and phrases difficult to understand from the point of view of non-biblical Greek insofar as they are influenced by the underlying Semitic source text?

Secondly, irrespective of its Semitic background the Septuagint is written in the Greek language of the Hellenistic age. Therefore, the translation of the Septuagint into a modern language should build upon a basic interpretation of the Greek text. Without claiming exhaustivity, two particular questions arise: to what degree does a modern translation of the Septuagint take seriously the fact that the majority of the Septuagint books originate from Ptolemaic Egypt? How should one translate the large number of difficult, obscure, or even enigmatic formulations?

It goes without saying that the abovementioned problems are often closely interlinked. A difficult Hebrew text might engender a difficult Greek translation that has little in common with its source text. On the other hand, a literal translation of the Hebrew text might result in a Greek text difficult to understand. In the following paragraphs I have chosen some examples to illustrate the difficulties mentioned.

Translating Hebraisms

In rendering their Hebrew or Aramaic source text into Greek, the translators have taken over a series of linguistic peculiarities on the level of terminology and syntax. It is obvious that such a translation technique leads to numerous ‘Hebraisms’ in the Septuagint. Some of them do not create particular problems for today’s readers, such as phrases like ‘the children of Israel’ instead of ‘the Israelites’. Perhaps more difficult are expressions like ‘to speak in one’s heart’ (= to speak silently), as in 1 Kgdms 1:13. Yet the phrase is comprehensible because the reader can guess its meaning from the immediate context.

A major problem is the translation of certain elements of Hebrew anthropological terminology. Translating the Hebrew text literally sometimes leads to clumsy formulations. For instance Elisha assures the Aramean officer Naaman of his recovery once he has bathed seven times in the river Jordan (4 Kgdms 5:10): ‘and your flesh will return to you, and you shall be cleansed’ (NETS 323). Without any doubt the ‘returning of flesh’ means that Naaman will be healed. In this case none of the recent translations gives any explanation. However, in another phrase the modern translator may feel the need to avoid a literal translation. In Isa. 58:3, 5 the Israelites claim to have practised two rites: fasting and ‘humbling one’s soul’, which means ‘humbling oneself’, for in some Hebrew terms the direct object ‘one’s soul’ (noun *nepes̄* with enclitic possessive pronoun) has the function of the reflexive pronoun ‘oneself’. Whereas NETS translates the first occurrence by ‘humbled our souls’ the second is rendered by ‘to humble himself’ (NETS 869). This means that the translator has taken seriously the fact that the Greek word ‘soul’ (*ψυχή*) depends on a Hebrew noun (*nepes̄*) which needs not be translated in this manner.

In other biblical quotations a putative literal translation could alter the meaning of the source text. Two examples may illustrate the problem:

- i) In order to say ‘to continue to do’, ‘to do once again’, the Hebrew language uses as a kind of auxiliary the verbal root *yāsap* (in the Hiphil), ‘to add’, followed by an infinitive. The translators usually render such a phrase quite literally by the Greek verb *προστίθεναι*, ‘to add’, followed by an infinitive. For example, in Gen. 4:2 Eve is said to have given birth to her second child, Abel: *καὶ προσέθηκεν τεκεῖν τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἀβελ*. Someone translating the Septuagint today has to decide which path to take. Should he or she render the Greek text as it stands, even if this choice leads to a clumsy translation in a modern language? Or is it the Hebrew meaning underlying the Septuagint that should be rendered? NETS follows the first option, albeit avoiding a verb like ‘to add’: ‘And she proceeded to bear his brother Habel’ (NETS p. 8). The other recent translations of the Septuagint employ an adverb, e.g. ‘Elle enfanta en plus son frère Abel’ (La Bible d’Alexandrie, vol. I: 55), ‘Y además parió a

Abel, su hermano' (La Biblia griega—Septuaginta, vol. I: 55), which means 'And next she gave birth to Abel, his brother'. Needless to say it is for the sake of comprehensibility that the latter translations do not keep to the wording of the Greek text.

- ii) In many occurrences the Hebrew noun *šālôm* is rendered by *εἰρήνη*, both words referring to a situation of peace between two peoples, as in Judg. 4:17. However, when employed as a standard equivalent of *šālôm*, the noun *εἰρήνη* appears in some strange formulations. For instance, when meeting Uriah after having committed adultery with Bathsheba, David asks him several questions (2 Kgdms 11:7) and 'inquires...after the peace of the war' (NETS p. 283). The text as it stands is puzzling, both in its Greek and in its English version. NETS has chosen to translate the Greek text without any explanation, such as a footnote concerning the Hebrew background of the expression 'the peace of war'. The Spanish La Biblia griega—Septuaginta goes in the opposite direction by translating the Hebrew meaning of the clause, 'si va bien la guerra' (vol. II: 276), which simply means 'how the war is going'.

It would be easy to quote numerous examples of more or less felicitous Greek renderings of typical Hebrew expressions. Anyway, it should be clear that the question at stake is the following: how is a Greek word or phrase to be translated? Does the translator render its Greek meaning at the risk of creating a translation difficult to understand? Or does he or she take into consideration its underlying Hebrew meaning at the risk of translating the Hebrew text, not the Greek? In many cases it is impossible to find a way out of this dilemma. Nevertheless, whatever path the translator takes, it would be useful to the reader to explain the problem at least briefly in a footnote, in particular in cases where the translation is far from easy to understand.

Translating the Greek Language of Ptolemaic Egypt

The Septuagint originates from a Hellenistic Egyptian milieu of the Ptolemaic era (except for some late books) which had developed a specific Greek vocabulary, for instance in the fields of administration, the judiciary, trade, craft, agriculture, and the military. One of the first researchers to have brought this phenomenon to the attention of scholars was Adolf Deissmann, whose ground-breaking work appeared at the very beginning of the twentieth century (Deissmann 1901). Subsequent biblical and papyrological research has built upon Deissmann's research. In particular, it has been shown that the language of the Septuagint was influenced to a large extent by its linguistic environment. Therefore, modern translators would be well advised to take into consideration the results of recent scholarship in this field in order to understand the Septuagint text better. It goes without saying that the traces of Ptolemaic Greek in the

Septuagint have to be identified. The following two examples may demonstrate the usefulness of this approach:

- a) In documents of Ptolemaic Egypt the verb ἀθετέω sometimes has the specific sense of ‘to make void’, ‘to declare invalid’, for instance a declaration, a document, or a contract (see Spicq 1991: 59–60). This idea appears in several Septuagint quotations, e.g. in Ps. 14[15]:4 where the verb ὀμνύω ‘to swear’ is used in parallel with the negative verb ἀθετέω: ὁ ὀμνύων . . . καὶ οὐκ ἀθετῶν. Obviously this latter verb refers—at least in the given context—to the annulment of a previously given oath. It is interesting to note that the recent translations of the Septuagint do not render this idea in the same manner. The Italian La Bibbia dei Settanta reads ‘che giura . . . e non viene meno’ (vol. III: 57), which means ‘who swears . . . and does not fulfil’. The aspect of an annulment of the given oath clearly appears in NETS: ‘who swears . . . and does not renege’ (553). Even more explicit is Septuaginta Deutsch, where for the sake of clarity one word is added in brackets: ‘der . . . schwört und (den Eid) nicht aufhebt’, which means ‘who swears and does not annul (the oath)’ (763).
- b) In the prophecy of salvation that concludes the book of Amos, the Lord announces the fertility of the country. In this context, the hills are said to be *σύμφυτοι* (Amos 9:13). The recent translations of the Septuagint render this adjective by ‘thickly grown’ (NETS 795) and ‘dicht bewachsen’ (Septuaginta Deutsch 1184). which amounts to the same thing. Of course, this idea is not far-fetched and is certainly supported by the etymology of the adjective (*σύμ-φυτος* ‘grown together’). However, in Ptolemaic Egypt the adjective is used as a technical term referring to a fully cultivated piece of land (see Spicq 1991: 1459). Seen in this way, the adjective would emphasize an idea entirely compatible with the context: the desolate country mentioned in Amos 9:11–12 will be replaced by a fertile country fully cultivated by its future inhabitants. Therefore, the Spanish translation ‘las colinas estarán arboladas’ (‘the hills will be forested’; see La Biblia griega—Septuaginta, vol. IV: 53) seems to fit the meaning of the Greek adjective.

Translating Difficult Expressions

Each translator of the Septuagint has to tackle difficult, obscure, or enigmatic formulations that make a straightforward interpretation impossible. There are at least three possible scenarios. In the first case, quite often the problems can be attributed to rare words whose exact meaning remains uncertain. In other instances a Greek term may have a rare meaning that is not evident at first glance. Finally, in some further cases it is possible

to translate the Greek wording, but in order to understand the text better it is necessary to know its literary or social background.

The following three examples chosen from different biblical books can illustrate how one can handle these problems.

- i) Isa. 3:18–23 gives a long list of luxurious women's clothes and jewellery. In this context Isa. 3:22 mentions two kinds of garments: τὰ ἐπιβλήματα τὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ τὰ διαφανῆ λακωνικά. NETS translates as follows: 'the housecoats and the transparent Laconian fabrics' (828). Except for the phrase κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν, literally 'concerning the house', the other words are very rare. What do they mean exactly? Do they really refer to women's clothes or to household textiles? Is Laconia (a region of the Peloponnese whose capital was Sparta) known for the production of transparent fabrics? Until now scholarship has not provided a satisfying answer to these questions, in particular for lack of relevant parallels in Greek literature and in the papyri of the Hellenistic period (for detailed information see Passoni Dell'Acqua 2008: 132–3). Anyway, in such cases it would be helpful to give the reader more information about the possible meaning(s) of the Greek text. Furthermore, it should be noted that the Masoretic Text is very different.
- ii) The first part of Ps. 127(128):2 has been translated by Brenton as follows: 'Thou shalt eat the labours of thy hands', i.e. you shall eat the result of the work you have produced with your own hands. Contrary to what one might expect, NETS translates the same Greek text differently: 'The labors of your crops you shall eat' (612), which seems to match the Greek wording: τοὺς πόρους τῶν καρπῶν σου φάγεσαι. However, the question arises whether the reverse order of the two nouns would be more logical: 'The crops of your labors you shall eat'. Of course, it is possible to think of certain rhetorical devices that could explain the Greek text as it stands, such as a special form of metonymy that reverses the cause–effect relationship (see Lausberg 1998: §568.3). In the notes of the Italian La Bibbia dei Settanta (vol. III: 569 n. 875) such an explanation is taken into consideration. However, a simpler solution consists in translating the noun καρπός not as 'fruit, crop'. In fact, the noun καρπός is homonymic and has another meaning, 'wrist', which would lead to the literal translation 'The labors of your wrists you will eat', in other words: 'you will eat what you have produced with your own hands'. This explanation is not new at all. It harks back to the Greek-speaking commentators of Late Antiquity (see e.g. Theodoret of Cyrillus, *Interpretatio in Psalmos*, PG 80, col. 1896) who sought to understand the puzzling verse.
- iii) In Hos. 4:16 the Septuagint replaces the comparison 'like a stubborn heifer, Israel is stubborn' (NRSV) by another one: ὡς δάμαλις παροιστρῶσα παροίστησεν Ἰσραηλ, 'like a frenzied heifer, Israel went into frenzy' (NETS 783). This translation is without any doubt correct. However, the question remains why the Septuagint opts for a slightly different comparison. The answer lies in the rare verb παροιστρᾶω, a hapax legomenon of the Septuagint derived from the noun οἰστρος, 'horsefly'. Thus, the simple verb οἰστράω means transitively 'to sting', the implied subject

being the horsefly, or intransitively ‘to be stung (by a horsefly) and go into a frenzy’ or more metaphorically ‘to go mad’. One of the most famous Greek texts dealing with a heifer maddened by a gadfly is the myth of Io, mistress of Zeus. Changed into a white cow, Io was stung by a horsefly sent by Hera, Zeus’s wife, and therefore went mad. As for LXX Hos. 4:16, the translator proposes a simile which perfectly fits the context, although the emphasis is shifted from stubbornness to madness. Nevertheless, both attitudes have in common that the heifer is not under the control of its master. In conclusion, this example shows that the translation of rare words of the Septuagint may require detailed studies of their literary and/or social background. These studies, however, are still in their infancy.

NOTES AND COMMENTS ON THE TRANSLATION OF THE SEPTUAGINT

There is no doubt that translation of the Septuagint has progressed greatly in the last three decades. This does not mean, however, that research on the Septuagint has come to its end. On the contrary, scholarly debate has shown that studies of the Septuagint are located at the crossroads of several fields of research: biblical studies, Classical philology, papyrology, Jewish studies, New Testament, and early Christian literature. Viewed from this perspective, the Septuagint requires further investigation. What we can expect from these studies is that they may shed new light on its social and literary milieu, on its specific vocabulary, on its numerous difficult passages, and on its new theological emphases.

As for the recent translations of the Septuagint into modern languages, they certainly fulfil the requirement of bringing to the reader a version of the Bible quite unknown in Western culture. However, the translation as such is to be complemented by notes giving the reader some basic information. As has been shown above, all of the recent translations of the Septuagint provide their reading public with short footnotes dealing with translation problems, variants, or short explanations of difficult terms. The only exception is the French *La Bible d’Alexandrie*, the comments of which are by far the most extensive. This is not only due to the fact that the most important divergences between the Hebrew and the Greek Bible text are dealt with in detail. The volumes of *La Bible d’Alexandrie* are also notable for systematically taking into consideration the early Christian interpretation of the Septuagint. The emphasis placed on Christian *Wirkungsgeschichte* is to a certain degree influenced by the approach ‘aval’ (‘downstream’, see section ‘Main Features of the Translations’). However, this does not mean that the Septuagint is explained in the light of early Christian writers (see Dorival 2008: 71). It should be recalled that the Greek Fathers possessed a linguistic competence and a literary background which modern research can hardly achieve. Furthermore, they were less influenced by the underlying Hebrew text than we are because they had no access to the Hebrew Bible, except for a translator like Jerome. Therefore it is worth consulting the ancient commentaries systematically, at least

for the explanation of numerous difficult expressions. Compared with the volumes of *La Bible d'Alexandrie*, the German Septuaginta Deutsch occupies a certain midway position by providing detailed notes in the two supplementary volumes *Erläuterungen und Kommentare*, but the quotations of Greek Fathers are far less frequent. Nevertheless, whoever seeks in-depth explanations of the Septuagint text cannot ignore these French and German publications.

To conclude, readers can find reliable information in the notes and comments of the recently published translations of the Septuagint, namely information about philological and exegetical issues. Whoever wants to study thoroughly a passage or a biblical book in Greek is recommended to consult not only one of the modern translations but all of them. However, there is still the need of exhaustive commentaries on the Septuagint that study the Greek biblical text from different points of view: its Hebrew and Aramaic background, its Hellenistic milieu, and its reception in Jewish and Christian theology.

SUGGESTED READING

More detailed discussions of the principles of translation can be found in Harl (1994; 1996); Karrer (2008); Pietersma (2010); and see also the reviews of van der Meer (2008; 2009).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Earlier Translations of the Septuagint

- Brenton, Lancelot Charles Lee (1851). *The Septuagint with Apocrypha: Greek and English*. London: Samuel Bagster & Sons.
- Brunello, Aristide (1960). *La Bibbia seconda la versione greca dei Settanta*. 2 vols. Rome: Istituto diffusione edizioni culturali.
- Giguët, Pierre (1865–72). *La sainte Bible: Traduction de l'Ancien Testament d'après les Septante*. 4 vols. Paris: Librairie Poussielgues.

Recent Translations of the Septuagint

- La Bibbia dei Settanta = Paolo Sacchi and Luca Mazzinghi, eds. (2012–), *La Bibbia dei Settanta*. Brescia: Morcelliana.
- La Bible d'Alexandrie (1986–). Paris: Éditions du Cerf.
- La Biblia griega—Septuaginta = Natalio Fernández Marcos and María Victoria Spottorno Díaz-Caro, eds., 4 vols. (2008–15), *La Biblia griega—Septuaginta*. Salamanca: Ediciones Sígueme.
- King, Nicholas, S.J. (2008–13). *The Old Testament: A New Cutting-Edge Translation of the Septuagint*, 4 vols. Buxhall, Stowmarket: Kevin Mayhew.
- NETS = Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright, eds. (2007), *A New English Translation of the Septuagint and the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included under That Title*. New York, NY and Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Septuagint Commentary Series (2004–), eds. Stanley E. Porter, Richard Hess, and John Jarick. Leiden: Brill.
- Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D) = Martin Karrer and Wolfgang Kraus, eds. (2009), *Septuaginta Deutsch: Das griechische Alte Testament in deutscher Übersetzung*. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft. (Revised 2nd edn. 2010.)

Other Publications

- Bons, Eberhard (2008). 'Der Septuaginta-Psalter: Übersetzung, Interpretation, Korrektur', in Martin Karrer and Wolfgang Kraus, eds., *Die Septuaginta: Texte, Kontexte, Lebenswelten*. WUNT II/219. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 450–70.
- Bons, Eberhard (2014). 'Una nuova traduzione italiana dei Settanta'. *Henoch* 36: 139–44.
- Deissmann, Adolf (1901). *Bible Studies: Contributions Chiefly from Papyri and Inscriptions to the History of the Language, the Literature, and the Religion of Hellenistic Judaism and Primitive Christianity*. Edinburgh: T&T Clark.
- Dorival, Gilles (2008). "'La Bible d'Alexandrie", Which Changes?', in Hans Ausloos, Johan Cook, Florentino García Martínez, et al., eds., *Translating a Translation: The LXX and Its Modern Translations in the Context of Early Judaism*. BETL 213. Louvain: Peeters, pp. 65–78.
- Harl, Marguerite (1994). 'Traduire la Septante en français: Pourquoi et comment', in Marguerite Harl, *La Langue de Japhet: Quinze études sur la Septante et le grec des chrétiens*. Paris: Cerf, pp. 32–42.
- Harl, Marguerite (1996). 'Problèmes de traduction du Pentateuque de la Septante dans une langue moderne'. *Annali di Scienze religiose* 1: 33–56.
- Joosten, Jan (2008). 'Reflections on the "Interlinear Paradigm" in Septuagintal Studies', in Anssi Voitila and Jutta Jokiranta, eds., *Scripture in Transition: Essays on Septuagint, Hebrew Bible, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of Raija Sollamo*. JSJSup 126. Leiden: Brill, pp. 163–78.
- Karrer, Martin (2008). 'Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D): Characteristics of the German Translation Project', in Hans Ausloos, Johan Cook, Florentino García Martínez, et al., eds., *Translating a Translation: The LXX and Its Modern Translations in the Context of Early Judaism*. BETL 213. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 106–18.
- Lausberg, Heinrich (1998). *Handbook of Literary Rhetoric: A Foundation for Literary Study*. Trans. Matthew T. Bliss, Annemiek Jansen, and David E. Orton. Leiden: Brill.
- Müller, Reinhard (2015). 'Das griechische Alte Testament in deutscher Übersetzung'. *Verkündigung und Forschung* 60: 62–68.
- Passoni Dell'Acqua, Anna (2008). 'Colori e trasparenze nella haute couture dell'Egitto greco-romano'. *Semitica et Classica* 1: 113–38.
- Pietersma, Albert (2010). 'Beyond Literalism: Interlinearity Revisited', in R. J. V. Hiebert, ed., *'Translation is Required': The Septuagint in Retrospect and Prospect*. SCS 56. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, pp. 3–21.
- Spicq, Ceslas (1991). *Lexique théologique du Nouveau Testament*. Fribourg and Paris: Éditions Universitaires de Fribourg/Cerf.
- van der Meer, Michaël N. (2008). Review of Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright III, eds., *A New English Translation of the Septuagint and the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included under That Title* (NETS). BIOSCS 41: 114–21.
- van der Meer, Michaël N. (2009). Review of Martin Karrer and Wolfgang Kraus, eds., *Septuaginta Deutsch*. BIOSCS 42: 111–19.

PART VII

.....
CONVERSATIONS
.....

CHAPTER 47

TEXTUAL CRITICISM

BÉNÉDICTE LEMMELIJN

FACTS CHANGING OUR UNDERSTANDING: TEXTUAL CRITICISM WITHIN THE CURRENT TEXTUAL SITUATION

All Good Things Come in Threes: The Textual Situation and Scholarly Interpretation before the Dead Sea Discoveries

FOR a long time the Masoretic Text served as the principal Hebrew textual witness for the Old Testament (Tov 2012b: 155–60; Lemmelijn 2009: 1–28; Debel 2012: 205–13). This text has been preserved mainly in the so-called Leningrad Codex (nowadays sometimes referred to as the St Petersburg Codex, or Codex Petropolitanus) from the eleventh century CE, and the incomplete but slightly older Aleppo Codex from the tenth century. Next to this Masoretic Text, another Hebrew text was available in the Samaritan Pentateuch (extant manuscripts from the ninth up to the thirteenth century; henceforth SamP), but as the name itself suggests, this offered only the text of the Pentateuch. This meant a total lack of *ancient* Hebrew textual witnesses. Indeed, all of these manuscripts are up to twelve centuries younger than the generally accepted dating of the latest biblical compositions (around the third century BCE).

Therefore, in order to have a better grasp of the textual situation at that particular time, scholars had recourse to the study of ancient translations (Tov 2012b: 17–19). Thus a third textual witness used to study the biblical text was the Septuagint. This ancient Greek translation offered not only a complete text (as in the main codices Vaticanus, Sinaiticus, and Alexandrinus, fourth–fifth century CE), but also one much older than that one found in the Hebrew witnesses. Indeed, since the earliest books of the Septuagint corpus, the Pentateuch, were translated originally in the third century BCE, the version was more than a thousand years older than the Hebrew witnesses in MT and

SamP. Scholars also paid some attention to the Septuagint's 'daughter' translations such as the Ethiopian, Armenian, Coptic, and the Vetus Latina. Next to the primary interest in the Septuagint, the Vulgate as well as the Peshitta and the Targumim started to play a role in the study of the biblical texts. However, scholars later started to realize that these latter versions were of more interest for biblical exegesis than for textual criticism.

Given this textual situation, scholars based themselves on the main textual witnesses of the Masoretic Text, the Septuagint, and the Samaritan Pentateuch. They grouped the extant textual witnesses and their (secondary) translations within one of the three main 'text types' (sometimes termed 'groups', 'textual families', or 'textual recensions') of one of the three main witnesses just mentioned (Tov 2012b: 155–9; cf. also Cross 1995; 1998; Albright 1955; Skehan 1965; Talmon 1970; Milik 1957; Davila 1993). Within this tripartite manuscript evidence, textual critics tried to establish the 'original' reading, both with respect to the manuscripts/texts as such (external), and regarding individual variants within a single textual witness (internal) (Lemmelijn 2009: 15–18). By so doing they attempted to reconstruct the textual development of the Hebrew Bible.

Within this quest, two opposing positions were proposed (Tov 2012b: 156). On the one hand, Paul de Lagarde claimed that there had been a single original archetypal Hebrew text at the very beginning of textual transmission, and parallel to that, a single Greek text that would have been the proto-Septuagint, comparable to what nowadays is often called the 'Old Greek'. Both texts would have been preceded by a common ancestor, which would have been the 'Urtext' of all biblical texts (de Lagarde 1863). On the other hand, Paul Kahle did not accept the idea of this unified Urtext. He claimed that a multiplicity of texts underlay both the Hebrew and the Greek text at their respective origins (Kahle 1915). For the Hebrew, different so-called *Vulgärtex*t would have circulated to supply people with textual material, whereas the Greek texts would have been translated according to the needs of several communities. Kahle's theory thus denied anything like the existence of a single proto-LXX.

Nevertheless, although the opposing views of Kahle and de Lagarde offered respectively either a multiplicity of texts or one original text at the beginning of the textual tradition, the hypothesis behind the text-critical search for the original was—often implicitly but undeniably increasingly—the acceptance of a so-called 'Urtext' or at least the earliest stage that one could reach in reconstructing that original text (Tov 2012a; Tov 2012b: 161–9; Lemmelijn 2009: 1–2, 25–7; 1997: 69–80; Debel 2011b). The 'best' text or variant would thus be the one that was closest to that putative 'original' text.

From Three to Many: The Textual Evidence of the Dead Sea Scroll Changes the Textual Panorama

Even today the value of MT, SamP, and LXX is not doubted, and they are to some extent still the main sources for our research into the development of the biblical texts and their transmission. However, the discoveries in the Dead Sea region have completely changed the scholarly panorama on these biblical texts (Tov 2012b: 157–60; White Crawford 2012a; 2012b). Indeed, after the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, it has become

increasingly clear that the tripartite division mentioned above did not at all reflect the factual reality of a far wider variation within a multiplicity of individual ‘texts’ (Tov 1982), with their own peculiarities not necessarily shared by other texts, and certainly not revealing any specific ‘pattern’ on the basis of which they could be grouped into one of the three mentioned ‘recensions.’ This variety of multifaceted textual material drove scholars to study the texts for themselves. It led them to the conclusion that plurality, pluriformity, and fluidity are demonstrated by the textual material of the Second Temple Period (cf. Debel 2010; 2011a). The textual witnesses of the Dead Sea discoveries do not support the notion of three main recensions to which all the rest could be attributed. Rather, they reflect a multiplicity of different, individual texts (Tov 2012b: 158–9). Indeed, some do reflect MT, SamP, or LXX, but the existence of a rather large group of ‘non-aligned texts’ equally testifies to a large number of individual texts (Tov 2012b: 107–10, 159–60).

This very variety also led to doubts concerning the so-called Urtext. Perhaps a multiplicity of texts at the beginning would be a better alternative. Moreover, and with regard to the task and aim of textual criticism, what should become the focus is not the reconstruction of the original, but rather the relationship between the factually and even coincidentally preserved extant textual witnesses (Tov 2012b: 159). In this respect, textual criticism aims at, firstly, collecting and describing all differences, called ‘variants,’ in the extant textual material of a certain pericope, and by so doing, defining their relevance with regard to the text (for instance, distinguishing ‘grammatical’ variants from ‘text-relevant’ variants, cf. Lemmelijn 2009: 13–20, 150–1). Thereafter, its ultimate aim is to evaluate them with respect to one another, in order to explain which reading may have originated from the other, and by doing so, to choose which ‘variant’ is to be ‘preferred.’ In cases where no ‘preferability’ can be stated, one speaks instead of ‘synonymous’ variants (Lemmelijn 2009: 20–2). However, in this process of defining ‘preferability,’ the perspective of reconstructing or finding the ‘original’ reading should give way to a relative framework in which extant variants can be evaluated with respect to one another. At the same time, one should not make claims about any ‘Urtext,’ since the latter can be left to the domain of textual ‘pre-history’ (Lemmelijn 2009: 22–7; 1997). Focusing on the actual, extant textual witnesses in all their multiplicity and pluriformity invites textual criticism today to study primarily the relationship between the extant texts and ultimately to understand the fluidity of a dynamic tradition that stood at their origin (e.g. Ulrich 1999; Tov 2009).

Changing the Aim Is Changing the Way: Methodological Implications

Following on from this shift in our perception of the variety of and within biblical texts, brought about by the Dead Sea discoveries, it is self-evident that this perception did not only change the aim or task of textual criticism but equally the methodology to achieve it. In particular, it altered the understanding of the relationship of textual criticism and literary criticism (Lemmelijn 2012: 203–7).

Indeed, next to the multiplicity and pluriformity of the textual material, the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls generated the insight that the textual differences with which scholars were confronted were not all of the kind of (minor) changes due to the transmission process, but did actually involve serious redactional, interpretational, and even exegetical activity. This fact led scholars to an increasing consciousness of the fact that the ‘borders’ between the domains of ‘textual criticism’ and ‘literary criticism’ were not at all as sharp as had been believed before. Indeed, up till then, scholars used to describe ‘textual criticism’ as the domain in which the transmission of the text was studied. This phase of transmission would only have followed after the text had been finalized in the phase of literary production/composition, which, in its turn, was the subject of the domain of ‘literary criticism’.

However, the actual textual reality challenged that view (Trebolle Barrera 1998: 370, 390; 2005: 413). Indeed, a clear distinction between these two processes of literary composition and textual transmission simply cannot be satisfactorily made (Lemmelijn 2009: 3–7 and *passim*; 2012: 204–5). First, these two stages in the creation of texts do in fact overlap. Indeed, it is likely that the textual transmission of certain biblical texts was already underway prior to the literary completion of the composition in question, if at all such a completion was ever reached consciously or intentionally. Second, it is clear that, when textual and literary criticism ‘cooperate’ in the study of the text, literary irregularities and problems are often discovered precisely at those places and instances where, text-critically speaking, textual variants are observed (Lemmelijn 2001: 429–39; 2009: 197–207; Trebolle Barrera 2008: 437–63). Moreover, this fact does not only raise questions concerning the aforementioned distinction between the two domains of textual and literary criticism as such. It also seriously challenges the generally rather speculative claim regarding an alleged difference in method between authors or redactors on the one hand, and scribes or copyists on the other (e.g. also Schenker 2012: 275–98).

With this in mind, it again becomes clear that the presupposition behind the search for an Urtext, once considered the ultimate goal of textual criticism, is no longer valid. Even more uncritical is the implicit acceptance of such a principle by scholars who, in the context of their literary, structural, diachronic, or synchronic study of a specific pericope, simply point at the MT as if it were ‘the original’ text. Indeed, talking about the canon of *the* Old Testament and *a fortiori* talking about a normative ‘standard text’ of the Old Testament—sometimes for confessional reasons—cannot be unequivocally maintained in the present framework of a growing consciousness of multiple and manifold textual evidence.

Taking this observation as a starting point, a number of methodological conclusions should be drawn, which are often not applied in practice (Lemmelijn 2012: 205–7, see also Brooke 2005: 26–42).

- 1) If there is no Urtext, we can no longer speak of ‘the original’ reading even in the case of individual variants. Rather, at best, and within a relative framework of the (accidentally preserved) extant witnesses, we can only speak of the ‘more original’ variant (Lemmelijn 2009: 22–7; 1997: 69–80).

- 2) By extension, this means that aiming to reconstruct 'eclectic' texts as if they could represent some text approaching the 'original' is no longer advisable as such. One should be very careful and at least be seriously aware of the problems related to such a reconstruction. All the more so, such an option would not be the correct one in the case of the study of specific textual pericopes by individual scholars with the aim of establishing a critical text for further literary study (Lemmelijn 2009: 215). Theoretically speaking, one could indeed argue that, taken to the extreme, such a text-critical evaluation of the variants of a specific text would lead, of necessity, to a 'new', eclectic text containing all of the 'preferable' variants from the various textual witnesses. And indeed, such a critical reconstruction on the basis of scientific principles could offer real benefit (Hendel 2000a: 197–217; 2000b: 8–11, esp. 11; 2007: 97–8; Treballe Barrera 1998: 387). In effect, however, one would then be basing oneself on a text that does not actually exist, a text based only on a hypothetical reconstruction of a number of fortuitously surviving manuscripts. Moreover, it would be a text 'reconstructed' from an evaluation of the variants that would not have been free from a certain degree of subjectivity. Therefore, the only valid alternative seems to be to opt for one, single, well-defined, albeit imperfect textual witness that is at least objectively extant. Of course in doing so one would nevertheless still be obliged to take the available material as one's point of departure, and to bear in mind the text-critical observations associated with that material.
- 3) If indeed text-critical variants, and especially the 'text-relevant' ones (Lemmelijn 2009: 150–1), occur at places of literary and theological importance, then these different readings in separate manuscripts can no longer simply be classified as errors and deviations from their 'original', or 'Vorlage', and thus start to function as valuable witnesses of a specific textual tradition.
- 4) Finally, and following from the previous point, if variant textual readings do in fact reflect literary and/or theological concerns in the extant textual manuscripts (and not just mistakes), then the allegedly unambiguous difference between the methods of authors/redactors on the one hand and scribes/copyists, and by extension even translators (Debel 2010), on the other is no longer easy to discern or to define, if indeed it exists at all (Lemmelijn 2012: 203–22). After all, if several communities each used their own distinctive and concrete religious texts and transmitted them in a creative and recontextualizing way (cf. the ideas of 'stability' and 'adaptability', e.g. in Sanders 1984: 22; 1991: 209; or Ulrich 1994: 84; 1997: 335–6), what then would be the difference between the 'Fortschreibung' or interpretative redaction of authors and redactors in preceding, 'literary' stages on the one hand; and on the other hand, the adaptations, reinterpretations, and minor or major changes of scribes and copyists in stages of 'transmission', providing concrete texts for the concrete needs and (self)-understanding of their respective communities? (Similarly Ulrich 1996: 90; 2000: 129–30).

Questions Leading to Further Questions

To conclude, and in line with the more recent view described above on the relation between textual and literary criticism, should we not ultimately accept the possibility that the work of scribes also comprised the further updating, recontextualization, and evolution—in short, actual literary composition—of the text through their own redactional activity? If this can be affirmed, it is clear that the previously held position of a strict division between the domains of textual and literary criticism, *mutatis mutandis* between creation and production of the text or, in other words still, between the work of copyists/scribes and that of authors/redactors, simply cannot be maintained.

Yet all this also introduces a further question. If redaction, progressive theological reflection, and ‘Fortschreibung’ were integral to the process of copying, should then the idea of searching for the ‘preferred’ variant in the evaluation of text-critical variants also be modified? Indeed, generally speaking and as indicated above, the preferred variant is considered to be the one which is the ‘more original’ even in a relative framework (cf. section ‘Changing the Aim Is Changing the Way’) or the one that explains the development of the others. Now, if one affirms the fact that the (re-)production of the text also contained further reflection and evolution at the level of the theological content, should the ‘preferred’ variant then still be the ‘more original’? Would this not create a paradox between the ‘preferred’ reading from a text-critical perspective and the ‘preferred’ variant from a literary perspective? In other words, would or could the ‘preferred’ variant not be the ‘more developed’ one, from a literary and theological perspective?

All of these aspects (and the consequences they may entail) do not at all pretend to be a proven thesis or even a sound hypothesis. Even the questions raised are left open (Lemmelijn 2012: 221–2). However, they present a modest but honest invitation for scholars to reflect on statements that too often are taken for granted. As such, they constitute an appeal for the serious (re-)consideration of the data we find in the many-sided multiplicity of our extant biblical texts. After all, textual data are the only certain point of departure, and hence far superior to a simple acceptance of previously proposed scholarly (re)constructions, be they on the literary, the redactional, or the textual level.

STUDYING AND INTERPRETING THE SEPTUAGINT IN CURRENT TEXTUAL CRITICISM

When we try to grasp the meaning and relevance that the Septuagint has had within this changing textual panorama, we immediately observe a change of attitude parallel to the understanding of the development of the biblical text in general.

Over the Centuries: Admirers and Critics

Generally speaking, but in terms of the value as a textual witness (and thus without reference to so-called scriptural ‘authority’ or ‘canonicity’), we observe that, over the last centuries, the Septuagint has always had admirers and critics (Tov 1997: 33–4). On the one hand, there has been a tendency to depreciate the Septuagint by ascribing practically all of its variant readings to either clumsiness or exaggerated freedom in translation or paraphrase, thereby neglecting or rejecting the idea that the *Vorlage* of the LXX could also have deviated from the MT (cf. for example the survey in König 1893: 116). On the other hand, the opposite tendency has been equally apparent. Some scholars judged the MT rather negatively, and elevated the value of the LXX which they therefore relied on heavily (e.g. the survey of Lebram 1975: 21–63 as well as the ‘quote’ of F. Hitzig in Kneucker 1880: 19 n. 1). Of course, and happily, a number of scholars have taken a balanced, middle way, by paying attention to possible underlying Hebrew variants as well as to the translator’s activities.

The LXX as ‘Handmaid’ to the Hebrew within the Tripartite Textual Model

As outlined above (section ‘All Good Things Come in Threes’), the Septuagint has played an important role within the conceptualization of the textual development of a tripartite textual model, focusing on three ‘recensions’, MT, SamP, and LXX. However, within that model, the main goal was to reach the original text. The Hebrew witnesses being much younger than the Septuagint, recourse to the latter was taken with the aim of getting back to a form of the Hebrew text closer to its origins. Therefore, the Septuagint was hardly studied for its own value: it ‘served’ the study of the Hebrew text. In this respect, the Hebrew text always had primary importance. The Septuagint was a ‘mere’ translation, consulted mainly because of its age. Therefore, the study of the Septuagint took place in the framework of the text-critical study of the Hebrew pericope one was to interpret. And precisely within that context, the variant readings of the Septuagint were often used to ‘correct’ the Hebrew text, in cases where the latter was difficult to interpret. Or else, it was again ‘used’ to adapt the text and fit it into a presupposed literary and exegetical hypothesis.

Moreover, if not ‘useful’ in this sense, the majority of both minor variants and major pluses were attributed to the translators, without any serious investigation of the respective translation techniques in the distinctive books of the Septuagint. And here we reach a major aspect of the relevance of the Septuagint in the context of textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible. Indeed, the Septuagint reveals quite a large number of significant variants. However, in order to be able to understand the textual development of the Hebrew text, as it was intended in the framework described above, and especially with regard to a text-critical evaluation of variants, it has to be ascertained whether the Greek

variants do stem from a different Hebrew *Vorlage* or whether they are the result of the translator's activities (Lemmelijn 2009: 18–20, 96–125). Without reiterating all that has been said in this respect (see Chapter 11 in this volume, on translation technique), it is of the highest importance to study the translation technique of specific books, both separately and in comparison to others, in order to be able to reach a sound and accurate characterization of the LXX translation technique. Only against the background of this characterization is one able to state, with at least a degree of probability, whether specific variants do conform to the translator's attitude and could therefore stem from his activity, or whether they do not fit at all with his overall style and thus may rather originate in a different *Vorlage*.

Within the growing consciousness of the need for a more accurate characterization of translation technique, the Septuagint has gradually begun to be studied for its own sake. It is, however, in the wake of the Dead Sea discoveries which changed the text-critical outlook both in its aim and methods, as described above (section 'From Three to Many'), that the interpretation of the value of the Septuagint has also radically changed.

From Septuagint Suggestion to Qumran Fact: The Reinterpretation of LXX Variants after the Publication of the Dead Sea Scrolls

Since the discoveries in the Judean desert changed the landscape of scholarly insight into the textual development of the Hebrew Bible, and especially turned the simplistic tripartite division of manuscript evidence into an increasing consciousness of a wide variety, pluriformity, and plurality of individual texts, the aim and methods of textual criticism have also changed. Concomitantly, the Septuagint became a textual witness in its own right. The issues at stake are not correction, conjecture, or adaptation, but rather the evaluation of the LXX text as a valuable witness to this very multiplicity of textual evidence. Indeed, the study of the Septuagint has received much attention in recent decades. On the one hand, it is studied as a Greek text in its own right. Its language, its stylistic characteristics, its theology, and its individual interpretation of the biblical text are analysed. On the other, serious attention is paid to the study of its translation character, and thus to developing several methodologies for studying the text quantitatively and qualitatively, in terms both of grammar and of content-related aspects (Ausloos and Lemmelijn 2010). The results make a significant contribution to the text-critical evaluation of LXX variants in the context of textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible.

In the wake of this altered method of study and interpretation, the variants in the Septuagint are therefore no longer uncritically interpreted as all stemming from the translator. The possibility of a different *Vorlage* is principally accepted as a legitimate alternative explanation. And in this respect, one specific aspect is of major relevance. In fact, the Septuagint had already manifested characteristics that effectively indicated textual pluriformity. Several differences in the LXX text were of considerable

importance. Nevertheless, it seems as if the scholarly world has only come to realize their significance when it was confronted by the material of the Dead Sea Scrolls, in which quite a number of the major Septuagintal variants were confirmed in a Hebrew version (Tov 1997: 34–5; Debel and Lemmelijn 2011: 187). Whereas before these observations, all differences had simply been ascribed to the ‘free’ attitude of the Septuagint translators, the extant Hebrew texts of Qumran demonstrated that the very same variants existed in Hebrew quite contemporaneously with the origin and development of the Septuagint. This correspondence between ancient Hebrew textual witnesses and the Greek translation of the Septuagint also increased esteem for the Septuagint. Moreover, subsequent research led to a growing realization that the Septuagint provided lessons in both textual and literary criticism. This is because Greek variants do not only differ as physical text but also reveal distinct phases in the literary development of the text. This very observation confirms what has been stated above, namely that the borders between textual and literary criticism do really become less defined following this new way of understanding and interpreting the textual facts.

In order to make the above a little more concrete, this final section will focus on one outstanding illustration in which it will be demonstrated how the differing text of the Septuagint, formerly uncritically interpreted as due to the ‘freedom’ of the translator, has been confirmed in extant Hebrew Qumran texts, and how it is now interpreted as reflecting a different *Vorlage* revealing distinct phases in the literary development of the biblical text. The example ‘par excellence’ is found in the different versions of the book of Jeremiah (for a survey, cf. Tov 2012b: 286–94; see, among others, Bogaert 1981; 1994; 2003; Fischer 2008; Stipp 1994; 1997; 2008; Stulman 1984; 1985). For a long time, the major differences in the LXX text of Jeremiah—i.e. its much shorter length and different order of chapters compared with MT—had been attributed to a translator who was very free in handling his *Vorlage*, which would have resembled MT. However, a few admittedly small fragments from Qumran, nowadays named 4QJer^b and 4QJer^d, offer an extant Hebrew text that differs seriously from MT and looks similar to LXX Jeremiah in the respective verses and passages. As a consequence, the question whether the translator was responsible for the differences from MT or whether he used a different *Vorlage* seems settled: LXX Jeremiah was probably translated from a Hebrew text that resembled 4QJer^b and 4QJer^d, and which was probably also the basis of the reworking that ultimately resulted in MT Jeremiah. In this way, LXX very concretely testifies to a pluriform textual reality, in which differing editions of the same book have circulated and have been constantly reworked. To this very fact testifies equally the reality that, even if LXX Jeremiah on the one hand and 4QJer^b and 4QJer^d on the other resemble each other, they simultaneously reveal minor differences, especially with respect to 4QJer^d. The question, however, is of course how these came about, but also which Greek text we use (Debel 2012: 230–1). Maybe the translator did not follow his *Vorlage* exactly. Or maybe he worked on the basis of a slightly different *Vorlage* in comparison to 4QJer^d. Or maybe the real ‘Old Greek’ looked a little different from the reconstructed Old Greek in the Göttingen edition by Ziegler. In any case, discussing these questions is no longer a matter of merely defining which text is ‘original’ or even ‘more original’ in purely text-critical

terms. Text-critically unravelling textual development, witnessed in extant textual material revealing a pluriform textual tradition, leads the scholar into the domain of the literary development of the text. In this way, indeed, textual and literary criticism overlap and interact, thus leading into an interdisciplinary approach to the one reality of the multifaceted nature of a vivid text.

SUGGESTED READING

The third, revised edition of Emanuel Tov's handbook on textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible (2012b) reflects the developments in this field, and provides many examples from the Septuagint. Schenker (2012) looks at the junction between textual and literary criticism of the Bible. The wide-ranging collection of essays edited by Aejmelaeus, Longacre, and Mirotadze (2020) explores the role of scribes, translators, and editors in the transmission of Septuagint and related literature.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aejmelaeus, A., D. Longacre, and N. Mirotadze, eds. (2020). *From Scribal Error to Rewriting: How Ancient Texts Could and Could Not Be Changed*. DSI 4. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Albright, William F. (1955). 'New Light on Early Recensions of the Hebrew Bible'. *BASOR* 140: 27–33.
- Ausloos, Hans, and Bénédicte Lemmelijn (2010). 'Content Related Criteria in Characterising the LXX Translation Technique', in W. Kraus, M. Karrer, and M. Meiser, eds., *Die Septuaginta: Texte, Theologien, Einflüsse*. WUNT 252. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 357–76.
- Bogaert, Pierre-Maurice (1981). 'De Baruch à Jérémie: Les Deux Rédactions conservées du livre de Jérémie', in P.-M. Bogaert, ed., *Le Livre de Jérémie*. BETL 54. Leuven: Peeters Press, pp. 168–73.
- Bogaert, Pierre-Maurice (1994). 'Le Livre de Jérémie en perspective: Les Deux Rédactions antiques selon les travaux en cours'. *RB* 101: 363–406.
- Bogaert, Pierre-Maurice (2003). 'La Vetus Latina de Jérémie: Texte très court, témoin de la plus ancienne Septante et d'une forme plus ancienne de l'hébreu (Jer 39 et 52)', in A. Schenker, ed., *The Earliest Text of the Hebrew Bible: The Relationship between the Masoretic Text and the Hebrew Base of the Septuagint Reconsidered*. SBL SCS 52. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, pp. 51–82.
- Brooke, George J. (2005). 'The Qumran Scrolls and the Demise of the Distinction between Higher and Lower Criticism', in J. G. Campbell, W. J. Lyons, and L. K. Pietersen, eds., *New Directions in Qumran Studies: Proceedings of the Bristol Colloquium on the Dead Sea Scrolls, 8–10 September 2003*. Library of Second Temple Studies 52. London: T&T Clark, pp. 26–42.
- Cross, Frank M. (1995). *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies*, 3rd edn. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- Cross, Frank M. (1998). *From Epic to Canon: History and Literature in Ancient Israel*. Baltimore, MD and London: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Davila, James R. (1993). 'Text-Type and Terminology: Genesis and Exodus as Test Cases'. *RQ* 16: 3–37.

- Debel, Hans (2010). 'Greek "Variant Literary Editions" to the Hebrew Bible?'. *JSJ* 41: 161–90.
- Debel, Hans (2011a). 'The Pluriformity of Pluriformity: A Reassessment of the Hermeneutical Framework for the Text-Critical Analysis of the Hebrew Bible'. PhD diss., KU Leuven.
- Debel, Hans (2011b). 'Rewritten Bible, Variant Literary Editions and Original Text(s): Exploring the Implications of a Pluriform Outlook on the Scriptural Tradition', in H. von Weissenberg, J. Pakkala, and M. Martilla, eds., *Changes in Scripture: Rewriting and Interpreting Authoritative Traditions in the Second Temple Period*. BZAW 419. Berlin and New York, NY: de Gruyter, pp. 265–91.
- Debel, Hans (2012). *Eeuwenoude teksten in een nieuw licht: De Dode Zeerollen, Qumran en de Bijbel*. Antwerp and Apeldoorn: Garant.
- Debel, Hans, and Bénédicte Lemmelijn (2011). 'De Rollen van de Dode Zee en de tekst(en) van het Oude Testament', in H. Debel, ed., *De rollen van de Dode Zee: Vliebergh-Sencieleergang Sectie Bijbel 2010*. Leuven: Acco/VBS, pp. 163–210.
- Fischer, Georg (2008). 'Die Diskussion um den Jeremiatext', in M. Karrer, W. Kraus, and M. Meiser, eds., *Die Septuaginta: Texte, Kontexte, Lebenswelten*. WUNT 219. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 612–29.
- Hendel, Ronald (2000a). 'Qumran and a New Edition of the Hebrew Bible', in J. H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Hebrew Bible and Qumran*. The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls 1. Richland Hills, TX: Bibal, pp. 197–217.
- Hendel, Ronald (2000b). 'The Text of the Torah after Qumran: Prospects and Retrospects', in L. H. Schiffman, E. Tov, and J. C. Vanderkam, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years after Their Discovery. Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, pp. 8–11.
- Hendel, Ronald (2007). 'Plural Texts and Literary Criticism: For Instance, 1 Samuel 17'. *Textus* 23: 97–114.
- Kahle, Paul (1915). *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Pentateuchtextes*. TSK 88: 399–439.
- Kneucker, Johann J. (1880). *F. Hitzig's Vorlesungen über biblische Theologie... des Alten Testaments*. Karlsruhe: H. Reuther.
- König, Eduard (1893). *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*. Bonn: Weber.
- Lagarde, Paul de (1863). *Anmerkungen zur griechischen Übersetzung der Proverbien*. Leipzig: Brockhaus.
- Lebram, Jürgen C. H. (1975). 'Eine Streit um die Hebräische Bibel und die Septuaginta', in Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer and G. H. M. Posthumus Meyjes, eds., *Leiden University in the Seventeenth Century: An Exchange of Learning*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 21–63.
- Lemmelijn, Bénédicte (1997). 'What Are We Looking for in Doing Text-Critical Research?'. *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 23.2: 69–80.
- Lemmelijn, Bénédicte (2001). 'The So-Called "Major Expansions" in SamP, 4QpaleoExod^m and 4QExod^d Exod 7:14–11:10: On the Edge between Textual Criticism and Literary Criticism', in Bernard A. Taylor, ed., *X Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies—Oslo 1998*. SBLSCS Series 51. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, pp. 429–39.
- Lemmelijn, Bénédicte (2009). *A Plague of Texts? A Text-Critical Study of the So-Called 'Plagues Narrative' in Exodus 7:14–11:10*. Oudtestamentische Studiën/Old Testament Studies 56. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill.
- Lemmelijn, Bénédicte (2012). 'Influence of a So-Called P-Redaction in the "Major Expansions" of Exod 7–11? Finding Oneself at the Crossroads of Textual and Literary Criticism', in A. Piquer Otero and P. Torrijano Morales, eds., *Textual Criticism and Dead Sea Scrolls Studies*

- in *Honour of Julio Trebolle Barrera: Florilegium Complutense*. JSJSup 157. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, pp. 203–22.
- Lemmelijn, Bénédicte (2016). ‘Text-Critically Studying the Biblical Manuscript Evidence: An “Empirical” Entry to the Literary Composition of the Text’, in R. F. Person, Jr. and R. Rezetko, eds., *Empirical Models Challenging Biblical Criticism*. SBL Ancient Israel and Its Literature. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, pp. 129–64.
- Milik, Józef T. (1957). *Dix ans de découvertes dans le désert de Juda*. Paris: Cerf.
- Sanders, James A. (1984). *Canon and Community: A Guide to Canonical Criticism*. Guides to Biblical Scholarship, Old Testament Series. Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press.
- Sanders, James A. (1991). ‘Stability and Fluidity in Text and Canon’, in G. J. Norton and S. Pisano, eds., *Tradition of the Text: Studies Offered to Dominique Barthélemy in Celebration of His 70th Birthday*. OBO 109. Freiburg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 203–17.
- Schenker, Adrian (2012). ‘What Do Scribes, and What Do Editors Do? The Hebrew Text of the Masorettes, the Old Greek Bible and the Alexandrian Philological *Ekdoseis* of the 4th and 3rd Centuries b.c., Illustrated by the Example of 2 Kings 1’, in H. Ausloos, B. Lemmelijn, and J. Trebolle Barrera, eds., *After Qumran: Old and Modern Editions of the Biblical Texts—The Historical Books*. BETL 246. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 275–93.
- Skehan, Patrick W. (1965). ‘The Biblical Scrolls from Qumran and the Text of the Old Testament’. *BA* 28: 87–100 [repr. in F. M. Cross and Sh. Talmon, eds., *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text*, Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1975, pp. 264–77].
- Stipp, Hermann-Josef (1994). *Das Masoretische und alexandrinische Sondergut des Jeremiabuches, Textgeschichtlicher Rang, Eigenarten, Triebkräfte*. OBO 136. Freiburg and Göttingen: University Press and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Stipp, Hermann-Josef (1997). ‘Linguistic Peculiarities in the Masoretic Edition of the Book of Jeremiah: An Updated Index’. *JNSL* 23: 181–202.
- Stipp, Hermann-Josef (2008). ‘Zur aktuellen Diskussion um das Verhältnis der Textformen des Jeremiabuches’, in M. Karrer, W. Kraus, and M. Meiser, eds., *Die Septuaginta: Texte, Kontexte, Lebenswelten*. WUNT 219. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 630–53.
- Stulman, Louis (1984). ‘Some Theological and Lexical Differences between the Old Greek and the MT of the Jeremiah Prose Discourse’. *Hebrew Studies* 25: 18–23.
- Stulman, Louis (1985). *The Other Text of Jeremiah: A Reconstruction of the Hebrew Text Underlying the Greek Version of the Prose Sections of Jeremiah with English Translation*. Lanham, MD and London: University Press of America.
- Talmon, Shemaryahu (1970). ‘The Old Testament Text’, in P. R. Ackroyd and C. F. Evans, eds., *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, Vol. 1: *From the Beginnings to Jerome*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 159–99.
- Tov, Emanuel (1982). ‘A Modern Textual Outlook Based on the Qumran Scrolls’. *HUCA* 53: 11–27.
- Tov, Emanuel (1997). *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research*. 2nd edn. Jerusalem Biblical Studies 8. Jerusalem: Simor.
- Tov, Emanuel (2009). ‘The Many Forms of Hebrew Scripture: Reflections in Light of the LXX and 4QReworked Pentateuch’, in A. Lange, M. Weigold, and J. Zsengellér, eds., *From Qumran to Aleppo: A Discussion with Emanuel Tov about the Textual History of Jewish Scriptures in Honor of his 65th Birthday*. FRLANT 230. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 11–28.

- Tov, Emanuel (2012a). 'Post-Modern Textual Criticism?', in T. M. Law and A. Salvesen, eds., *Greek Scripture and the Rabbis*. CBET 66. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 1–18.
- Tov, Emanuel (2012b). *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*. 3rd edn. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press.
- Trebolle Barrera, Julio (1998). *The Jewish Bible and the Christian Bible: An Introduction to the History of the Bible*. Leiden, New York, NY, and Cologne: Brill.
- Trebolle Barrera, Julio (2005). 'The Text-Critical Value of the Old Latin and Antiochean Greek Texts in the Books of Judges and Joshua', in F. García Martínez and M. Vervenne, eds., *Interpreting Translation: Studies on the LXX and Ezekiel in Honour of Johan Lust*. BETL 192. Leuven: University Press and Peeters, pp. 401–13.
- Trebolle Barrera, Julio (2008). 'A Combined Textual and Literary Criticism Analysis: Editorial Traces in Joshua and Judges', in H. Ausloos, B. Lemmelijn, and Marc Vervenne, eds., *Florilegium Lovaniense: Studies in Septuagint and Textual Criticism in Honour of Florentino García Martínez*. BETL 224. Leuven, Paris, and Dudley, MA: Peeters Press, pp. 437–63.
- Ulrich, Eugene (1994). 'The Bible in the Making: The Scriptures at Qumran', in E. Ulrich and J. C. Vanderkam, eds., *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity 10. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, pp. 77–93.
- Ulrich, Eugene (1996). 'Multiple Literary Editions: Reflections toward a Theory of the History of the Biblical Text', in D. W. Parry and S. D. Ricks, eds., *Current Research and Technological Developments on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Conference on the Texts from the Judean Desert, Jerusalem, 30 April 1995*. STDJ 20. Leiden, New York, NY, and Cologne: Brill, pp. 78–105.
- Ulrich, Eugene (1997). 'The Community of Israel and the Composition of the Scriptures', in C. A. Evans and Sh. Talmon, eds., *The Quest for Context and Meaning: Studies in Biblical Intertextuality*. FS J. A. Sanders. Biblical Interpretation Series 28. Leiden, New York, NY, and Cologne: Brill, pp. 327–42.
- Ulrich, Eugene (1999). *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans.
- Ulrich, Eugene (2000). 'The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hebrew Scriptural Texts', in J. H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Hebrew Bible and Qumran*. The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls 1. Richland Hills, TX: Bibal, pp. 105–33.
- White Crawford, Sidnie (2012a). 'Scribal Traditions in the Pentateuch and the History of the Early Second Temple Period', in M. Nissinen, ed., *Congress Volume Helsinki 2010*. VTSup 148. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, pp. 167–84.
- White Crawford, Sidnie (2012b). 'Understanding the Textual History of the Hebrew Bible: A New Proposal', in A. Lange, K. de Troyer, et al., eds., *The Hebrew Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. FRLANT 239. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, pp. 60–9.

CHAPTER 48

NEW TESTAMENT

J. ROSS WAGNER

THE INTERPRETATION OF ISRAEL'S SCRIPTURES

LECTURING in Cambridge in 1907, the eminent philologist Adolf Deissmann observed, 'Every reader of the Septuagint who knows his Greek Testament will after a few days' study come to see with astonishment what hundreds of threads there are uniting the Old and the New' (Deissmann 1908: 13). The New Testament writings betray the influence of the Septuagint in a multitude of ways (see Chapter 36 in this volume). The present 'conversation' examines more closely the significance of the Septuagint for New Testament studies in two vital areas of research: the interpretation of Israel's Scriptures by the earliest Christians, and the language of the New Testament.

The New Testament offers ample evidence for the pluriformity of Greek scriptural texts in the first century CE. The writings traditionally included in the Septuagint corpus—the critically reconstructed 'original' form of which is here termed LXX (Pentateuch) or OG (other Old Greek translations in the corpus)—accrued numerous variants in transmission, both unintentional and intentional. Of the latter, some appear to have been intended to 'improve' the character of the translation qua Greek text. Others, however, bring the Greek version closer in particular details to a Hebrew (often proto-Masoretic) exemplar. There are also sporadic signs in the New Testament of Greek translations whose genealogical relationship to the LXX/OG tradition remains uncertain. The evidence suggests that Greek texts often remained connected to the Hebrew Scriptures in transmission and interpretation, even where the translations were themselves treated as authoritative (Hanhart 2002).

Consequently, investigation of scriptural citations and allusions in the New Testament must consider not simply the original LXX/OG form of the texts but also the evidence for variants in their transmission history. For this task, the extensive apparatuses in the Göttingen and larger Cambridge editions provide indispensable—though not exhaustive—resources.

One must further examine the remnants of the later Greek translations, chiefly Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, some of whose readings have been shown to predate the New Testament (the second apparatus in the Göttingen edition contains much of the extant remains of these translations; see further Chapters 30, 31, 32 in this volume). Valuable evidence for forms of the Greek text circulating in the first century also comes from quotations by early Jews and Christians writing in Greek (Steyn 2012; Skarsaune 1987), including inscriptions and papyri (Breytenbach 2014). Finally, one must assess whether a New Testament writer might have translated directly from a Hebrew or Aramaic text, or preserved a Greek rendering no longer found in any other witness. Here, the full range of evidence for the textual variety of the Hebrew Scriptures comes into play (e.g., Qumran scrolls, Masoretic variants, targums, Old Latin, Vulgate and Peshitta; Wagner 2002: 16–17).

Such an investigation is complicated yet further by the prospect that, rather than quoting directly from a manuscript, the New Testament author has relied on memory, recalled an oral tradition, drawn on a collection of written excerpts, and/or adapted the form of his scriptural *Vorlage* to suit his own purposes. Analysing a New Testament writer's reception and transformation of the scriptural text thus requires us simultaneously to reconstruct his *Vorlage* and to identify his interpretative interests, whether or not these are reflected in the text form of the citation. This is an art as much as a science, best learned by patient apprenticeship to masters of the craft (exemplary studies include Koch 1986; Stanley 1992; Wilk 1998; Menken 2004; Lincicum 2010).

The following examples show something of the exegetical payoff of such a methodical and painstaking approach. Together they illustrate a range of different ways in which the LXX/OG texts prove significant for understanding the appropriation of Scripture by New Testament writers.

- 1) In Romans 15:3, Paul introduces a quotation of OG Ps. 68:10b with the formula 'as it is written.' Apart from the omission of the initial conjunction (as frequently in Paul: Stanley 1992: 179), the quotation matches the wording of OG exactly. At the same time, OG shows no significant differences from MT. What is decisive for Paul's interpretation here is not the OG form of the citation per se, but the apostle's Christological hermeneutic. Without explanation or argument, he takes the speaker of these words to be none other than Jesus, the messiah, and he expects his audience to follow along (Hays 2005: 101–18).
- 2) Because Romans 10:13 carries no citation formula, some would classify it as an allusion rather than a citation. Regardless, apart from the substitution of *γάρ* for the initial *καὶ ἔσται*, Paul reproduces the wording of OG Joel 3:5a verbatim. OG offers here a straightforward rendering of a Hebrew text like MT. Nevertheless, the Greek text's (customary) representation of the divine name by *κύριος* proves crucial for Paul's argument in Romans 9:30–10:13, where *κύριος Ἰησοῦς* is progressively identified in the closest possible way with the one God of Jews and Gentiles alike (Rowe 2000). A further correspondence with OG Joel 3:5, left unexpressed, proves suggestive for the light it may shed on Paul's train of thought in Romans ch. 10. Where MT (supported by all other ancient witnesses to the

Hebrew text) mentions ‘survivors’, OG Joel 3:5b refers to ‘heralds of good news’ (εὐαγγελιζόμενοι) whom the Lord has ‘summoned’ (προσκέκληται). Taking up a key word from Joel 3:5a (ἐπικαλεῖν), Paul speaks in Rom. 10:14–15 of the need for messengers to be sent out to proclaim Christ, and he confirms his point by quoting Isa. 52:7. His own transformation of the singular ‘herald of good news’ in his *Vorlage* (εὐαγγελιζόμενον: see 3 below) into plural ‘heralds’ might be taken as an instance of the figure of ‘metalepsis’ (or ‘intertextual echo’: Hays 1989); this unstated correspondence with OG Joel 3:5 resonates deeply with what Paul himself says in plain language (cf. a strikingly similar echo of Joel 3:5b in Acts 2:39).

- 3) In contrast to the preceding examples, ‘as it is written’ in Rom. 10:15b introduces a citation of Isa. 52:7 that differs from the OG version in important respects. Some of these variants are well attested in the manuscript tradition of OG Isaiah (Ziegler 1983: 318, main text and apparatus I). Since the influence of Rom. 10:15 on the transmission of the OG text is unlikely in this particular case, it appears that Paul drew on a Greek text that had been revised to conform more closely to a Hebrew form of Isa. 52:7 (Stanley 1992: 134–41). But Paul has also made significant modifications to his *Vorlage*. By omitting the phrase ‘on the mountains’, he broadens the prophecy from its focus on Zion to embrace the full geographical scope of the early Christian mission (cf. Rom. 10:18, ‘to the ends of the inhabited world’, citing OG Ps. 18:5). Likewise, with the plural εὐαγγελιζόμενων (attested by no other witness to Isa. 52:7), he draws a tighter connection between the heralds of Isaiah and the multiple preachers of the gospel (τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, Rom. 10:16a) mentioned in 10:8, 14–15a, and 10:16b (‘our message’, citing OG Isa. 53:1).
- 4) The conflated quotation of Isa. 8:14 and Isa. 28:16 in Rom. 9:33, introduced by a singular citation formula (‘as it is written’), presents a different kind of puzzle. The two phrases drawn from Isa. 8:14 correspond more exactly to the Hebrew text of MT/1QIsa^a than to OG and agree closely with the Greek rendering attributed to Symmachus (Ziegler 1983, apparatus II). The first four words from Isa. 28:16 also stand closer to MT/1QIsa^a; the remainder of the citation, however, reproduces OG Isaiah almost exactly, including two features attested in no other ancient witness: the additional phrase ‘in it/him’ (ἐπ’ αὐτῷ) and the rendering of the final verb as ‘be ashamed’ (other witnesses read, ‘hurry’ or ‘be terrified’: Wagner 2002: 129). What is more, these two Isaian texts, with nearly the same peculiar wording, appear unconfused in 1 Peter 2:6, 8. If direct dependence of 1 Peter on Romans seems unlikely, the correspondence may be traceable to a traditional collection of scriptural excerpts linked by the key word ‘stone’ or, alternatively, to both authors’ use of OG manuscripts reflecting the same revisions towards the Hebrew. In any case, the conflation of texts can confidently be traced to Paul (Wagner 2008a: 81–6). As Paul’s re-citation of Isa. 28:16b in Rom. 10:11 suggests, this oracle plays a key role in the argument of Rom. 9:33–10:13. The OG version not only provides the important term πιστεῦειν (supplied elsewhere by Paul: Rom. 10:4, 9, 10; cf. πίστις, Rom. 9:30, 32; 10:6, 8), it also furnishes the apostle with the pivotal phrase ἐπ’ αὐτῷ. The identity of the ‘stone’ who is the

- object of trust remains ambiguous through most of the section. But in his renewed appeal to Isa. 28:16b at the climax of the argument (Rom. 10:11, ‘the Scripture says’), Paul subtly refashions the quotation (adding *πᾶς* and omitting *καί*) into a form that closely parallels Joel 3:5a, cited in Rom. 10:13. Taken together, these two scriptural witnesses identify the object of trust in Isa. 28:16 (*ἐπ’ αὐτῷ*) with the *κύριος* proclaimed in Joel 3:5 to be the saviour of all who call upon him.
- 5) As in Rom. 9:33–10:13, the distinctive wording of the OG version plays a decisive role in Hebrews 10:1–10 as well. The author introduces a citation of OG Ps. 39:7–9 as the words of Jesus: ‘Therefore, coming into the world he says...’ (Heb. 10:5). Where the Hebrew text of Ps. 39:7 (supported by the ancient versions) has ‘ears you bored for me’, the text of Heb. 10:5 reads ‘a body you prepared for me’. The variant ‘body’ (*σῶμα*) may stem from the author of Hebrews. There are good reasons, however, including the appearance of *σῶμα* in Papyrus Bodmer XXIV (dated second to fourth century CE), for believing that ‘body’ was the reading not only of the author’s *Vorlage* but also of OG itself (Karrer 2010). In any case, the language of the Greek text proves indispensable to the author’s Christological interpretation of the psalm. By omitting the final verb from the last clause of his excerpt (Ps. 39:9), the author transforms its syntax so that the speaker now declares, ‘I have come... to do your will, O God’ (Heb. 10:7/OG Ps. 39:8–9). The author concludes, ‘By [God’s] *will* we are sanctified through the offering of the *body* of Jesus Christ once for all’ (Heb. 10:10). ‘Sanctification’, in turn, entails the bodily self-offering of the community of Christ-followers, as with divine assistance they too strive ‘to do [God’s] will’ (Heb. 10:36; 13:21, recalling OG Ps. 39:7). Psalm 39 thus serves as far more than a proof text in Hebrews: in truth the language and thought of the OG version have become integral to the author’s own constructive theology and homiletic paraenesis.

Investigating the sources of scriptural citations and allusions in the New Testament sheds precious light on the transmission history of the LXX/OG texts, to be sure. But as these examples show, such research also holds considerable promise for the discipline of New Testament studies itself, opening a valuable window onto the earliest Christian appropriation and transformation of the scriptural heritage of Israel.

THE LANGUAGE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

While the importance of the Septuagint for New Testament lexicography in general has been exaggerated, these texts have had an undeniable influence on the technical religious vocabulary of the New Testament (see Hatch 1889, corrected by Abbott 1891; Kennedy 1895; Lee 1983; Silva 1994). The ongoing cooperative effort to produce a *Historical and Theological Lexicon of the Septuagint* (<http://www.cioplus.eu/htlseptuagint/>) adopts a theoretically and methodologically sophisticated approach (Joosten 2011).

The significance of this endeavour for New Testament studies is clearly displayed in preliminary publications from the project (Joosten and Tomson 2007; Joosten and Bons 2011; Bons et al. 2014; Joosten et al. 2015).

Since the late nineteenth century, intensive research on papyri and inscriptions, coupled with advances in linguistic science, has established that the writings of the Septuagint and the New Testament are composed, not in a ghettoized Jewish-Greek dialect, but in the standard Koine employed throughout the Hellenistic world (Horsley 1989; Porter 1991; Lee 2018). ‘Semitisms’ in New Testament writings are often best viewed as a matter of linguistic ‘register’ or ‘social dialect’, that is, a linguistic code employed in circumscribed situations by members of a particular social network (cf. Hogeterp and Denaux 2018). Tessa Rajak describes the Hellenistic Judaism within which the New Testament writings took shape as ‘a long line of Jewish life lived in Greek, embodied in a long line of written self-expression in Greek’ (Rajak 2009: 217); the unity of this tradition consists ‘not in its singleness, but primarily in its consistent engagement with an authoritative literary corpus, the Greek versions of the Hebrew Bible’ (Rajak 2009: 222). It is not surprising, then, that the ‘translationese’ of the Septuagint—a fundamentally idiomatic Koine marked by persistent interference from Hebrew, particularly in vocabulary and in the unusual frequency of certain native Greek syntactical constructions (Evans 2001; Walser 2001)—developed into a distinctive linguistic code that could be taken up or laid aside according to a speaker’s purposes (Rabin 1968; Boyd-Taylor 2011: 367–92). Adopting this style of language became, for Greek-speaking Jews, an important means of asserting and maintaining their particular social and cultural identity (Rajak 2009).

Among New Testament writers, Luke is justly recognized for his ability to control ‘a wide range of linguistic registers, which he matches adroitly to the different topics, genres and dramatic settings of his narrative’ (Alexander 2005: 245; cf. Cadbury 1920; Watt 1997). His facility with the language of the Septuagint (Wifstrand 2005) is on full display in the narratives and hymns of Luke chs. 1–2. Likewise, at the beginning of Acts, Luke gives his account of the selection of Judas’s replacement (Acts 1:15–26) a ‘rich biblical texture’ not only by quoting Scripture, but by appropriating ‘Septuagintal phraseology’ and by drawing on characteristic literary motifs of biblical and parabiblical texts (Holladay 2011: 253). Such ‘Septuagintalisms’ lend ‘a certain solemn and hieratic tone to Luke’s diction, dignifying it and raising it above everyday life’ (Wifstrand 2005: 30; cf. Tabachovitz 1956). But as Loveday Alexander insists, ‘To see [Luke’s biblicalizing Greek] purely as a literary phenomenon is to misunderstand how such linguistic codes work: linguistic choices always have social implications’ (Alexander 2005: 252). By adopting a ‘Septuagintal’ style, Luke situates his two-volume work firmly within the larger cultural matrix of Hellenistic Judaism, linking his narratives of Jesus and the early Church to the ancient scriptural story of God’s enduring faithfulness to Israel. In this way (and in many others), this early Christian author both reinforces and expands his audience’s self-understanding as the people of God.

A brief survey such as this can only offer glimpses of the riches that patient, careful attention to the Septuagint corpus holds for New Testament studies. Deissmann’s dictum, pronounced over a century ago, still rings true: ‘A single hour lovingly

devoted to the text of the Septuagint will further our knowledge of the Pauline Epistles [indeed, of the entire New Testament] more than a whole day spent over a commentary' (Deissmann 1908: 12).

SUGGESTED READING

Chapters 8 and 9 ('The Septuagint behind the New Testament' and 'The Septuagint in the New Testament') in Michael Law's *When God Spoke Greek: The Septuagint and the Making of the Christian Bible* (2013) are an accessible introduction to the main issues regarding the Septuagint's influence on New Testament writers and the earliest Christianity, including terminology and textual plurality.

For Septuagint lexicography and its pertinence to New Testament vocabulary, see Lee's history of NT lexicography (2003), the studies in the volume *Voces Biblicae* edited by Joosten and Tomson (2007), and Lee's recent monograph on the Greek of the Pentateuch (2018). The ongoing project *Historical and Theological Lexicon of the Septuagint*, under Eberhard Bons and Jan Joosten, is producing a multi-volume dictionary to be published by Mohr Siebeck. Many of the entries will be of relevance to New Testament studies.

The volume *Die Theologie der Septuaginta* edited by Ausloos and Lemmelijn (2020) in the LXX.H (Handbuch zur Septuagint/Handbook of the Septuagint) series is of interest regarding the influence of both theological ideas and lexical items in the LXX on the New Testament.

On scriptural citations in the New Testament, see additionally David Lincicum (Chapter 36 in the present volume). On textual plurality in the first century, see Wagner 2008b.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abbott, T. K. (1891). *Essays Chiefly on the Original Texts of the Old and New Testaments*. London: Longmans, Green.
- Alexander, L. (2005). *Acts in Its Ancient Literary Context*. LNTS 298. New York, NY: T&T Clark International.
- Ausloos, Hans, and Bénédicte Lemmelijn, eds. (2020). *Die Theologie der Septuaginta/The Theology of the Septuagint*. Handbuch zur Septuaginta/Handbook of the Septuagint LXX.H. Band 5. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus.
- Bons, E., R. Brucker, and J. Joosten, eds. (2014). *The Reception of Septuagint Words in Hellenistic-Jewish and Christian Literature*. WUNT 2.367. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Boyd-Taylor, C. (2011). *Reading between the Lines: The Interlinear Paradigm for Septuagint Studies*. Biblical Tools and Studies 8. Leuven: Peeters.
- Breytenbach, C. (2014). 'The Early Christians and Their Greek Bible: Quotations from the Psalms and Isaiah in Inscriptions from Asia Minor', in W. Kraus, S. Kreuzer, eds., with M. Meiser and M. Sigismund, *Die Septuaginta: Text, Wirkung, Rezeption*. WUNT 325. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 759–74.
- Cadbury, H. J. (1920). *The Styles and Literary Method of Luke*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Deissmann, G. A. (1908). *The Philology of the Greek Bible: Its Present and Future*. Trans. Lionel R. M. Strachan. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

- Evans, T. V. (2001). *Verbal Syntax in the Greek Pentateuch: Natural Greek Usage and Hebrew Interference*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hanhart, R. (2002). 'Introduction: Problems in the History of the LXX Text from Its Beginnings to Origen', in M. Hengel, ed., *The Septuagint as Christian Scripture: Its Prehistory and the Problem of Its Canon*. Old Testament Studies. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, pp. 1–17.
- Hatch, E. (1889). *Essays in Biblical Greek*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Hays, R. B. (1989). *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Hays, R. B. (2005). *The Conversion of the Imagination: Paul as Interpreter of Israel's Scripture*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans.
- Hogeterp, A., and A. Denaux (2018). *Semitisms in Luke's Greek*. WUNT 401. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Holladay, C. R. (2011). 'Luke's Use of the LXX in Acts', in T. S. Cauley and H. Lichtenberger, eds., *Die Septuaginta und das frühe Christentum*. WUNT 277. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 233–53.
- Horsley, G. H. R. (1989). 'The Fiction of "Jewish Greek"', in Horsley, ed., *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*. Vol. 5: *Linguistic Essays*. North Ryde, N.S.W.: Ancient History Documentary Research Centre, Macquarie University, pp. 5–40.
- Joosten, J. (2011). 'The Vocabulary of the Septuagint and Its Historical Context', in J. Joosten and E. Bons, eds., *Septuagint Vocabulary: Pre-History, Usage, Reception*. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, pp. 1–11.
- Joosten, J., and E. Bons, eds. (2011). *Septuagint Vocabulary: Pre-History, Usage, Reception*. SBLSCS 58. Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature.
- Joosten, J., R. Hunziker-Rodewald, and E. Bons, eds. (2015). *Biblical Lexicology: Hebrew and Greek. Semantics, Exegesis, Translation*. BZAW 443. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- Joosten, J., and P. J. Tomson (2007). *Voces Biblicae: Septuagint Greek and Its Significance for the New Testament*. CBET 49. Leuven: Peeters.
- Karrer, M. (2010). 'LXX Psalm 39:7–10 in Hebrews 10:5–7', in D. J. Human and G. J. Steyn, eds., *Psalms and Hebrews: Studies in Reception*. New York, NY: T&T Clark, pp. 126–46.
- Kennedy, H. A. A. (1895). *Sources of New Testament Greek, or The Influence of the Septuagint on the Vocabulary of the New Testament*. Edinburgh: T&T Clark.
- Koch, D.-A. (1986). *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums: Untersuchungen zur Verwendung und zum Verständnis der Schrift bei Paulus*. BHT 69. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Law, T. Michael (2013). *When God Spoke Greek*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Lee, John A. L. (1983). *A Lexical Study of the Septuagint Version of the Pentateuch*. SBLCS 14. Chico, CA: Scholars Press.
- Lee, John A. L. (2003). *A History of New Testament Lexicography*. New York, NY, Bern, and Berlin: Peter Lang.
- Lee, John A. L. (2018). *The Greek of the Pentateuch: Grinfield Lectures on the Septuagint 2011–2012*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lincicum, D. (2010). *Paul and the Early Jewish Encounter with Deuteronomy*. WUNT 2.284. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Menken, M. J. J. (2004). *Matthew's Bible: The Old Testament Text of the Evangelist*. BETL 173. Leuven: Peeters.
- Porter, S. E. (1991). *The Language of the New Testament: Classic Essays*. JSNTSup 60. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- Rabin, Ch. (1968). 'The Translation Process and the Character of the Septuagint'. *Textus* 6: 1–26.

- Rajak, T. (2009). *Translation and Survival: The Greek Bible of the Ancient Jewish Diaspora*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rowe, C. K. (2000). 'Romans 10:13: What Is the Name of the Lord?'. *HBT* 22: 135–73.
- Silva, M. (1994). *Biblical Words and Their Meaning: An Introduction to Lexical Semantics*. Rev. and expanded edn. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan.
- Skarsaune, O. (1987). *The Proof from Prophecy: A Study in Justin Martyr's Proof-Text Tradition: Text-Type, Provenance, Theological Profile*. NovTSup 56. Leiden: Brill.
- Stanley, C. D. (1992). *Paul and the Language of Scripture: Citation Technique in the Pauline Epistles and Contemporary Literature*. SNTSMS 74. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Steyn, G. J. (2012). 'Can We Reconstruct an Early Text Form of the LXX from the Quotations of Philo of Alexandria and the New Testament? Torah Quotations Overlapping in Philo and Galatians as a Test Case', in S. Kreuzer, M. Meiser, and M. Sigismund, eds., *Die Septuaginta: Entstehung, Sprache, Geschichte*. WUNT 286. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 444–64.
- Tabachovitz, D. (1956). *Die Septuaginta und das Neue Testament: Stilstudien*. Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen 80:4. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup.
- Wagner, J. R. (2002). *Heralds of the Good News: Isaiah and Paul in Concert in the Letter to the Romans*. NovTSup 101. Leiden: Brill.
- Wagner, J. R. (2008a). 'Faithfulness and Fear, Stumbling and Salvation: Receptions of LXX Isaiah 8:11–18 in the New Testament', in J. R. Wagner, C. K. Rowe, and A. K. Grieb, eds., *The Word Leaps the Gap: Essays on Scripture and Theology in Honor of Richard B. Hays*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, pp. 76–106.
- Wagner, J. R. (2008b). 'The Septuagint and the "Search for the Christian Bible"', in M. Bockmuehl and A. Torrance, eds., *Scripture's Doctrine and Theology's Bible*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, pp. 17–28.
- Walser, G. (2001). *The Greek of the Ancient Synagogue: An Investigation on the Greek of the Septuagint, Pseudepigrapha and the New Testament*. Studia Graeca et Latina Lundensia 8. Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksell.
- Watt, J. M. (1997). *Code-Switching in Luke and Acts*. Berkeley Insights in Linguistics and Semiotics 31. New York, NY: Peter Lang.
- Wifstrand, A. (2005). 'Luke and the Septuagint', in L. Rydbeck and S. E. Porter, eds., *Epochs and Styles: Selected Writings on the New Testament, Greek Language and Greek Culture in the Post-Classical Era*. Trans. Denis Searby. WUNT 179. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, pp. 28–45.
- Wilk, F. (1998). *Die Bedeutung des Jesajabuches für Paulus*. FRLANT 179. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Ziegler, J. (1983). *Isaias*. VTG 14. 3rd edn. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

CHAPTER 49

CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY

JOHN BARTON

INTRODUCTION

IN Protestant circles in both the Church and the academic world it is taken for granted that ‘the Old Testament’ means the Hebrew Bible. True, the books are differently arranged in the Christian as against the Jewish version; but the books are the same, and if there is any appeal to the ‘original’ text as against a translation in a modern language, it will always be to the Hebrew. Septuagintal readings may be brought in to support conjectural emendations to the Hebrew, but it would not occur to anyone to treat the LXX as the primary text. In Catholicism the picture is in theory complicated by the fact that the Vulgate has traditionally been regarded as the canonical text, with its wider canon, very similar to that of the LXX. But in practice modern Catholics—and certainly Catholic scholars—do not treat the Vulgate as the original Old Testament, but appeal to the Hebrew (for those books where it is extant) in much the same way as Protestants. Modern Catholic translations such as the Jerusalem Bible and New Jerusalem Bible take the Hebrew as their starting point for the books of the Jewish canon, and thus effectively treat the Hebrew text as the canonical one. In the Orthodox churches the position is different: here the LXX is definitely the canonical text of the Old Testament. This could in principle lead to clashes between Orthodox and Western Christian scholars, indeed irreconcilable clashes, but the lack of any strong tradition of historical biblical scholarship in Orthodoxy means that this has not really occurred. Of course the Orthodox are aware that the LXX is a translation, and in that sense not the original. But the Orthodox churches traditionally regard it as an authoritative translation, which better preserves the Christian meaning of the Old Testament, whereas in the West it is seen rather as an early witness to the Hebrew text, not as ‘the Bible’ in its own right. The books in it that either are not extant, or never existed, in Hebrew have no lower status for the Orthodox than the Hebrew books. In Catholicism, indeed, they are also authoritative, despite the term ‘deuterocanonical’ that is sometimes applied to them—they form a second ‘tier’ of

the canon, but are canonical none the less. Whereas for most Protestants they are not canonical at all, so that there is an exact correspondence between the Christian and the Jewish books of the Old Testament.

Against this background it would be surprising to find any Western writer, Protestant or Catholic, defending the LXX as the ‘true’ Old Testament of the Church, rather than merely as an important source for study alongside the Hebrew, and sometimes capable of correcting it. No one in the West is likely to adopt the Greek Orthodox Old Testament as the authoritative text. Yet the issues are much less simple than they might seem. For a number of reasons the LXX does have certain claims on Christian theology, and it is only if we focus on historical issues and blank out theological ones that the current complete hegemony of the Hebrew text in the West can be fully justified. I will discuss these issues under the two rubrics of Text and Canon, before making some concluding remarks about the more fundamental theological issues that are involved in deciding on the identity of ‘the Bible’.

TEXT

It is well established that the Greek translators were generally aiming at a faithful translation of the Hebrew, so that we cannot really speak of a distinct ‘theology of the LXX’ (though note the idea of a ‘Septuagintal piety’ [Bertram 1961]); but it does sometimes reflect ideas current in a Judaism later than that of most of the Hebrew Bible itself.

Joachim Schaper (1995) has shown that the Greek translators often introduced more eschatological ideas into the text. For example, at Ps. 1:5 we read in the Hebrew that the ungodly ‘will not stand in the judgement’, which probably means that they will not be able to stand up in court and be adjudged to be in the right—a wholly this-worldly concern. In the Greek we find *ἀναστήσονται* for ‘stand’, which may have the implication ‘be resurrected’: the ungodly will not be raised to life at the (last) judgement. This implies a doctrine of resurrection later than that in the original Psalm (Schaper 1995: 47–8). The same phenomenon can be observed in Psalm 15 LXX (MT Psalm 16), where in vv. 9–10 the Hebrew speaks of God saving the suppliant from untimely death: ‘you do not give me up to Sheol, or let your faithful one see the Pit’. In the Greek we find instead that God will save him from Hades, into which he has already fallen, just as is implied in the way the Psalm is read in Acts 2:31 where it is applied to the resurrection of Jesus (Schaper 1995: 48–50; however, Schaper’s position has been criticized for failing to delineate more precisely the difference between the translator’s intentions in rendering the Hebrew and the later reception of the text of Psalms by later readers—see Cox 2001; Bons 2006: esp. 223 n. 28).

Greek Sirach is also markedly more eschatological than the Hebrew original: at Sir. 7:17 the Hebrew has ‘the expectation of mortals is worms’, pointing to a common fate in the grave, whereas the Greek reads ‘the punishment of the ungodly is fire and worms’, no doubt a reference to a post-mortem fate. Similarly, there is an increase of ‘messianic’

references. It is well known that the Hebrew Bible reflects messianism only very sparsely, and even where it occurs it normally takes the form of predictions about a coming king of an earthly even if exalted kind. But in the Greek we find the idea of the messiah's name pre-existing (Ps. 71:17 LXX), and even of the messiah as a quasi-angelic being who existed before his birth on earth (Ps. 109:3 LXX: Schaper 1995: 93, 140). Whether or not there may have been Christian influence on those renderings, they certainly fit happily together with Christian ideas of the pre-existence of Christ (cf. Schaper 2006).

Such examples argue that for Christian purposes the LXX is more useful than the Hebrew. One could reason that Christian writers who stress the inspiration of the LXX were arguing correctly, given their starting point: God had revealed more about his coming messiah in the Greek Bible than in the Hebrew on which it rested. Michael Law points out that the LXX use of *χρίστος* and *πνεῦμα* were often gifts to the imagination of Christian writers, who took them in a Christological and Trinitarian senses much harder to extract from the Hebrew. Thus at Lam. 4:20 'the breath of our nostrils, the Lord's anointed' clearly refers to the Judaeen king, probably Jehoiachin, taken away into exile. But in the LXX it is *χρίστος κυρίου* who was 'taken', which Christian writers naturally interpreted as a reference to the arrest and passion of Jesus (Law 2013: 134). (Ross Wagner [2008] similarly argues that there is more about the Torah in Greek Isaiah than in the Hebrew original.)

Thus the LXX coheres better with the New Testament than does the Hebrew Bible, being closer to it in time and accordingly also in its theological slants. A classic case, of course, is the prophecy in Isa. 7:9, where the Hebrew has simply '*almâ* 'young girl' but the LXX *παρθένος*, 'virgin'. Had Matthew not known the Old Testament in Greek, it is argued, the idea of the virgin birth would never have arisen (Vermes 2012: 186–7). The argument seems to me extremely faulty, since this text was not commonly regarded as a prediction of the birth of the messiah in any case, so can only have been identified and used as such by someone who already believed that Jesus had been born of a virgin. But the text from Isaiah would not have been used at all if it had not had the word *παρθένος* in it, so that it is true that it is the LXX that is being treated as authoritative, rather than the original Hebrew. It was Christians who detached the verse from its probable original reference to a child of the then reigning king (Ahaz?) and made it Christological in character, and they were able to do this because of a linguistic feature of the Greek *as against* the Hebrew. Law seems to me to sum up the point to be made here most adequately:

Christian tradition has read the verse as a prediction of the 'virgin birth' of a Messiah, even though the translator's choice of *parthenos* was just one of several acceptable translation equivalences for the Hebrew '*almah*'. Whatever the Septuagint translator intended, there can be no doubt that Matthew wished to emphasize a miraculous birth of Jesus. Indeed, it is worth pondering how Matthew would have introduced the prophecy of the virgin birth had it not been for the Septuagint. It is possible, indeed quite likely, that Matthew had already known a tradition of the virgin birth of Jesus, but the Gospel writer's argument that this man is the promised Messiah could not have been made without a citation from the Jewish scriptures. It would

have been one thing for Matthew to say, ‘This Jesus was born of a virgin according to an oral tradition’, but for him to have had a text from the Jewish scriptures, provided by the Septuagint, meant that he could ground the tradition of the virgin birth in a real prophetic utterance.

(Law 2013: 96–7)

Thus in this case at least the LXX is being treated as authoritative Scripture. And in general it was the Greek Bible that was ‘the Scriptures’ for the authors of the New Testament. Paul knew and could use the Hebrew, but most other writers seem to have known the Bible in mainly or only its Greek guise, and could not have checked the Hebrew even if they had wanted to.

A modern critical scholar might argue that the discord between (Hebrew) Old and (Greek) New Testaments is profitable, and in any case historically accurate: they are the documents of two different though related religions. But from the point of view of Christian theology we might think that the combined Old Testament and New Testament of the Greek Bible are a better ‘fit’, and so more appropriate for Christian use. Of course this could become part of a ‘supersessionist’ claim, thoroughly appropriating the Old Testament for Christian use and wresting it away from Judaism, as we see happening already in Justin Martyr’s *Dialogue with Trypho*, with its argument that the LXX preserves original readings that the Jews have falsified. Justin argued this way about Isa. 7:9 (*Dial.* 84:3; cf. Vermes 2012: 186–7). (Justin also maintained that in Psalm 96 [95 LXX] the Jews had altered a line that says God reigns ‘from the tree’, a prophetic reference to the cross, whereas in fact those words do not occur in any Hebrew manuscript.) But supersessionism is not a necessary consequence of treating the LXX as Christian Scripture; it could be argued that it is a version of the Hebrew that simply better brings out the Christian meaning that the whole Bible has if read through Christian eyes, without denying that there are other legitimate ways of reading it—of which the Jewish mode would be the main one. In a world of reception history, it might be claimed that the LXX represents an acceptable Christian ‘reading’ of these ancient texts.

This is not to speak as though the LXX were to be seen as an independent authority. Everyone in antiquity acknowledged that it was a translation of the Hebrew, and even Augustine, who defended its canonicity against Jerome’s insistence on the Hebrew as primary, was fully aware that it was a translation and that the Hebrew original was to be honoured—even though he could not read it himself. There are manuscripts and citations of manuscripts in the Fathers that recognize the Hebrew origins of the text by writing the divine name in Hebrew characters: hence the occasional patristic belief that God’s name in Hebrew was PIPPI, obviously from an attempt to transcribe the Hebrew *YHWH* (יהוה) into Greek characters (*IIIIII*). There was sometimes a desire to bring the Greek closer to the Hebrew, a move fuelled by the work of Origen in collating the various Greek translations with the Hebrew in the Hexapla, and by occasional Christian use of the Three. But like the *Letter of Aristeas* and Philo, many Christian writers believed that the LXX was a divinely inspired translation (Wagner 2008: 21, and Barton 1998: ch. 3): even Jerome seems to have held this, at the very same time as he was insisting on

going back to the *hebraica veritas*. The prestige of the LXX for early Christians is undeniable; it was after all from the Greek, not the Hebrew, that other Christian translations of the Old Testament (apart from the Syriac Peshitta) were made.

CANON

The LXX differs from the Hebrew Bible not only on innumerable detailed points in the translation, but in its whole compass: it is longer by many books than the Hebrew. It was once normal to explain this by saying that the LXX represented the biblical ‘canon’ of the Jewish community in Alexandria, the Hebrew Bible that of the community in Palestine—so that both were equally Jewish canons. Christians (being mostly Greek-speaking) opted for the longer Alexandrian version. But the work of A. C. Sundberg Jr (1964; 1968) rendered this hypothesis implausible. His conclusion was that Jews and Christians made different selections from a ‘wide religious literature without definite bounds’, so that the Hebrew Bible is in origin, as it has continued to be, the Bible of Jews, and the LXX the Bible of Christians. If this could be made good, it would constitute a strong argument for the Christian Church to affirm the LXX as its Old Testament, and for Protestants to fall into line with Orthodox and Catholic Christians (Sundberg 1966), since it would imply that the LXX was a Christian canon from the start, not simply a Jewish one that Christians had, perhaps without thought, adopted. Jerome, Sundberg argued, had the worst of the argument in his disagreement with Augustine, because he assumed that what was Jewish practice in his own time should be normative for the Church. Admittedly this was not a new position: Melito in the second century had argued similarly, and had discovered that in his day the Jewish canon already excluded the additional Greek books, which he maintained should therefore not appear in Christian Bibles (Law 2013: 123). But Christians had already and deliberately (so Sundberg argued) chosen to accept the Greek books, which in the first century CE did not yet form a closed canon. When they came to do so, as a result of conciliar decisions in the fourth century, this was not a novelty, but a reaffirmation of long-standing practice.

Against this it may be argued that the New Testament already shows that more or less the present Jewish canon was in practice normative for its writers, who quote exceedingly little from the Greek books, even though they often cite Old Testament texts in their LXX version. As Lim has recently argued, there was indeed no fixed ‘official’ canon as early as this—on that point Sundberg was correct. But if we think in terms of the *effective* canon, the books that actually functioned as sources for citation and use, then something like the Pharisaic canon, that is, the present Hebrew Bible as attested by Josephus in *Contra Apionem*, was in practice already in force (Lim 2013). The patristic use of (and insistence on) the wider Greek canon would thus be a deviation from the practice of the New Testament writers, even though (and this is of course important) they had as yet no *theory* of canonicity. I am not sure myself that this does full justice to the situation in the

New Testament, where one Greek book in particular, the Wisdom of Solomon, appears to have played an important part in Paul's theology: Wisd. 14:23ff. seems to underlie the argument in Romans ch. 1 about the progressive effects of idolatry. But it is true that the book is not cited with any citation formula such as *ὡς γέγραπται*, 'as it is written', nor quoted verbatim as are other Old Testament books, so that one could perhaps argue that it was an influence, rather than a direct source.

Building on the idea that the New Testament writers at least primarily used the books of what would later be the Hebrew canon, Brevard Childs (1992) argued that this was the canonical form of the Old Testament that Christians should use, implying that the Reformers were correct in their rejection of the 'Apocrypha' (what Catholics call the 'deuterocanonical' books) as part of the Bible. The longer canon was important for many of the Fathers, but it should not be the basis for modern Christian biblical theology. There is here *inter alia* an implication about Jewish-Christian dialogue: Christians and Jews should agree on the Scriptures they share. But chiefly it is an argument that rests on the historical perception that the Hebrew books were the ones important for the first generation of Christians. Put in this way, the argument is quite a strong one. It does not, however, fully recognize the difference in how the Bible was read by Jews and Christians from early times, and the impact this may have on which books should be counted canonical—nor, indeed, does it take account of the fact that for Christians there is another section to the Bible, the New Testament, which necessarily alters how the Old Testament is read.

The difference may be summarized in the important presentation by R. Kendall Soulen (1996). He argues for a wide divergence between the reading of the Old Testament in the New and its natural sense. The New Testament, especially in the letters of Paul and the Gospel according to John, presents the biblical story as a drama of the divine rescue of perishing humanity. Since Adam's fall, the human race has lain under a curse; from that curse, God has sent Christ to save us, and to build a community (the Church) of those who accept his offer of salvation and undertake to live by his guidance. The Old Testament is then read so as to accord with this interpretation of human history, highlighting its narrative of the 'Fall' in Genesis ch. 3 and its prophecies of the coming Messiah. Christianity is thus primarily a religion of salvation, and in accepting the Old Testament as part of its Scriptures it interprets these texts as narrating the early parts of that story, describing the plight from which humanity needs saving, and predicting the means by which salvation will come about.

But the Old Testament read without this interpretative framework suggests a different story, a story of guidance rather than of rescue. It is a story of how God selected a distinctive people out of all the human races he had made, and sought to guide that people through a complex and difficult history. It says nothing about any universal human disaster (Genesis ch. 3 is not about the 'fall of man', but is simply a story explaining why men and women are not immortal), but instead speaks of God's involvement with his chosen people, Israel—later, the Jews. This involvement includes frequent tragedy, above all that of the Exile, but every time there is trouble there is also the possibility of restoration. Human life, for all its faults and failures, is essentially good, and there is no need of 'sal-

vation' in the sense of some universal, final, or otherworldly divine intervention—no heaven and hell, since the possibility of life beyond death is barely hinted at, and is quite marginal.

The Christian story is thus a story of universal human loss and divine rescue, and this is epitomized not only in the contents of the Greek Old Testament, where the Wisdom of Solomon and Sirach both speak of the 'fall' in the garden of Eden as later Christians were to do (Wisd. 2:23–4; Sir. 25:24; cf. also 4 Ezra 3:21, 7:116–18), but also in its arrangement. The historical books are deemed to include both Pentateuch and Former Prophets, deeply divided in the Jewish canon as quite different documents, and the Latter Prophets come at the end of the canon, where they lead into and foreshadow the New Testament's story of divine rescue. This is a quite different way of seeing the Bible from the characteristic Jewish emphasis on Torah as the centre. It is a more eschatological and dramatic picture. One might say that even if the Greek books were excluded, the LXX would still tell a different story from the Hebrew Bible because of its order (typical order, that is—manuscripts differ, though none follows the Hebrew ordering). But the Greek books certainly add to this picture, highlighting divine involvement in history. Consider, for example, the additions to Esther, which (in their various versions) speak much more explicitly of divine intervention than does the Hebrew book. The LXX also includes ideas that are not, or not overtly, present in the Hebrew books, such as creation out of nothing (2 Macc. 7:28) and prayer for the dead (2 Macc. 12:39–45), and these are ideas that have been important in major strands of Christian thought.

What the Greek books also convey, to some extent at least, is the different religious atmosphere of Hellenized Judaism (and we have learned from Martin Hengel [1974] that all Judaism was partly Hellenized) during the late Second Temple period. Here we may look at the arguments of Hartmut Gese (1974; 1977a, b). Gese argues that for Christians the Old and New Testaments form a single closed corpus of religious tradition, since the Christians who produced the New Testament also decided on the contents of the Old. The Hebrew canon is a later entity, formed when Jewish authorities *removed* the Greek ('apocryphal') books from Scripture (an idea probably shared by few scholars). Sundberg was essentially right that the LXX canon is a Christian canon; Christians affirmed the Hellenistic version of the Scriptures and had no interest in accepting only books extant in Hebrew, since they were overwhelmingly Greek speakers anyway. Accepting the Hebrew canon means creating a gap between the Old Testament and the New, whereas with the Greek canon there is a smooth continuity from one to the other: the 'apocryphal' books symbolize and represent the fact that tradition continued from ancient Judaism into the Christian movement. If we may draw on Soulen's arguments to elucidate Gese, it could be said that according to Gese the two-Testament Bible, with the Greek canon of the Old Testament, fits the Christian way of telling the story of salvation much better than if we replace the LXX canon with the shorter Hebrew one. In any case, the Hebrew Bible plus the New Testament constitute a Bible that never existed before the Reformation: the ancient Christian Bible, whatever Jerome might have preferred, was always the Greek Scriptures of both Testaments, and this necessarily included the 'Apocrypha'.

Gese's arguments support the LXX canon as a symbol of continuation, but also change, in Jewish religious tradition in what used to be called the 'intertestamental' period, a change that in some ways prepared the ground for Christianity—for example, in a heightened eschatology and a greater emphasis on human sin and the need for salvation from it. To do Gese's points justice we should really need to include some of the Pseudepigrapha too: as James Barr argued (1999: 362–77), the Apocrypha may point to the continuity of tradition between the Testaments but does not represent all the literature that existed in that period, much of which never became canonical for anyone, yet which is equally part of the continuity of tradition. But Gese does show up the lacuna between Old and New Testaments if these are considered as the only 'Scriptures'. With the Greek books included, the transition from one to the other is far smoother. This may argue that the LXX canon does more justice to the logic of the New Testament, and that this is the (unconscious?) reason why early Christian writers adopted it from among the possibilities available in their day. (Another reason was of course that all the Old Testament books were, from the point of view of Greek-speaking Christians from the second century onwards, extant in Greek, and they simply did not discriminate among them as the New Testament writers apparently did: they were probably for the most part unaware that Jews had a different canon. One should not underestimate inertia as a force in canon formation.)

If we are looking for a 'pan-biblical' theology, in other words a unified theology of both Testaments, as Childs was, then Gese is probably correct in thinking that the LXX canon makes this a much easier task to accomplish. Whether his ideas work on the historical level is less clear. As Barr argues, from a historical perspective on early Christian thought the disjunction between the Testaments is probably as important as the continuity:

[T]he coming of Christ into the world is not just a step upward in an already existing process of revelation; nor is it a new or final interpretation of a revelation previously given; nor is it an intellectual solution in which all the pieces of a puzzle suddenly come together into one pattern. It may be some of these things incidentally and in part, but in principle it differs in that with the coming of Christ there is a new substance of revelation, something that was not there before, even if intimations and premonitions of it are to be seen all through earlier times. The New Testament events are not just a completion of the Old, or a completion of a preceding continuum of tradition, or a fulfilment or final interpretation of these, but a new substance of divine presence that had not been (fully?) there before, and one which does fulfil the Old Testament but is not fully explained by being taken as such a fulfilment.

(Barr 1999: 373)

As Barr points out, Christians differ in how strongly they stress the element of newness as against the continuity with the Old Testament which all continue to affirm. But, as Barr goes on to argue, the relationship is at best an uneven one: there are elements in the Old Testament that scarcely appear in the New (creation, covenant) and ideas in the New Testament that are only weakly attested in the Hebrew Bible (eschat-

ology, messianism). Accepting the Greek canon of the Old Testament makes the unevenness slightly less marked, for the reasons we have seen, but there is still a gap and, if Barr is right about the essential newness of the substance of what is affirmed in the New Testament, it is a gap that is bound to remain whatever one's conclusions about the canon.

Nevertheless an approach such as Gese's suggests that it is worth thinking again about the status of the deuterocanonical books of the Old Testament, and carrying out the 're-examination' of the Protestant canon that Sundberg was arguing for in the 1960s.

SOME ISSUES

I here discuss several issues that arise from trying to locate the question of the LXX in Christian theology.

- (1) If the LXX is treated as canonical—as it is in Eastern Orthodoxy and by implication in Catholicism—*what* precisely is canonical? In general, even in the case of the Hebrew Bible, it is impossible to define a canonical text, despite the emphasis in Judaism on exact copying. We may say that the Masoretic Text is authoritative, but even that is something of a moving target: it cannot be identified with *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*! The evidence of Qumran is that in ancient times there were variant texts of some books, and it is not clear why, for Christians, the medieval MT is more authoritative than, say, the Qumran Isaiah scrolls.

But the question becomes much greater if we 'canonize' the LXX, for there is no tradition at all of a stable text such as there is for the Hebrew, even allowing for variation among manuscripts and printed editions. It is much more like the situation with the New Testament, where there simply is no one canonical text. The variations can be quite considerable; one thinks of the various versions of Esther. In the case of Sirach, is it the Greek text (in one of its forms) that is to be seen as canonical, or is the Hebrew text, now that substantial parts of it are again extant, authoritative where we have it? As we have seen, this can make a substantial difference: Greek Sirach believes in life after death, Hebrew Sirach does not. Again, if we treat the LXX as the Old Testament canon, does that mean that the shorter version of the book of Jeremiah in the Greek is more authoritative than the longer Hebrew text? Does calling a book canonical have any implications about its individual words and sentences, which may vary from one manuscript to another, or only about its overall *Gestalt*, as one might call it? Does the exact wording of the text matter so very much, or is it the overall gist that is important? On the whole questions like these are not asked in studies of the canon, but they should be.

- (2) Arising out of this, what does it mean to say that certain books are canonical anyway? In Judaism Sid Leiman's definition is useful: 'A canonical book is a book accepted by Jews as authoritative for religious practice and/or doctrine, and whose authority is binding upon the Jewish people for all generations' (1976: 14). Is this valid also for Christianity? In some streams of Christian thought it may seem so: Reformed theology, for example, does generally work with an idea of Old Testament Scripture as binding and authoritative. Things look rather different, however, in Catholicism, where Scripture is only one source of authoritative teaching, and it makes less practical difference which books exactly are reckoned canonical. In some Lutheran theology, it has become common to think of a 'canon within the canon,' where some books are definitely preferred to others—Leviticus, say, is definitely downplayed, Romans exalted. In that context it is not clear that acceptance of the Apocrypha as 'canonical' would make much practical difference to the religion as actually practised. It is only in some more biblicistic versions of Christianity that it would really rock the foundations if the Greek books were allowed in; for the majority of Christians the exact extent of the canon is of rather small concern. Just as the specific contents of each given book vary slightly from one manuscript to another, without that having a major effect on most Christians' perception of scriptural meaning, so the extent of the biblical canon is not necessarily of much moment: what matters is that there is an Old Testament, and that it contains certain central items, which for the churches today are essentially what they were for the New Testament writers: the Pentateuch, Psalms, Isaiah, some other Prophetic books. Whether the Wisdom of Solomon or Sirach are included, and whether Daniel encompasses Bel and the Dragon, matters little on a day-to-day basis, however many important issues such questions raise within more advanced theology.
- (3) Within Christian scholarly discourse the books that have to be studied are not so much the 'canonical' books (whichever exactly these are held to be), but the books (documents) that witness to the emergence of the faith of Israel and then the faith of the Church. In this some canonical books are of comparatively minor significance (Nahum, for example), while some non-canonical ones are of major importance (1 Enoch). If one pursues Gese's quest for the continuity of tradition between ancient Israel and the Church, the question of whether certain books are canonical or not is logically not very important, even though he treats it as such. The same would be true for the continuity of Judaism with the faith of ancient Israel (which he denies, but most scholars today would want to affirm): here one would need to look at the Dead Sea scrolls and at proto-rabbinic literature. The scholarly task inevitably sits lightly to questions of canon, except in so far as canonicity made the books canonized more central to Judaism and Christianity than they might otherwise have been; this does not necessarily mean they have to be important for modern belief and practice.

The transition from scholarly discussion of the origins of the canon to a ‘canonical’ approach in *theology* is not a smooth one, and it seems to involve a category shift. As has often been pointed out, canonical theology implies treating the biblical canon not as a list of discrete books but as, in effect, a single ‘work’, within which it makes sense to look for continuous themes. When canonical theology is also pan-biblical, it entails finding such themes across the Testaments, and both Childs and Gese in their different ways attempt this. For Childs the themes are on the whole the central theological *topoi* of Reformed theology, whereas for Gese they are the sorts of traditio-historical themes familiar from the work of Gerhard von Rad—above all salvation history and the presence of God. For such a task, as we have seen, the LXX canon and indeed details of its text are probably more useful than the Hebrew canon: in this Gese would seem to have the advantage of Childs. But the question remains whether the Bible really is a ‘work’. Gese perhaps points us in the opposite direction, by stressing that the continuities lie at the level of religious *traditions* rather than of *texts* as such. There is considerable continuity (but also significant discontinuity) between the traditions of Israel as reflected in both the Hebrew Bible and in the ‘Apocrypha’, and those encapsulated in the New Testament; but describing this is not the same thing as writing a ‘biblical theology’. It belongs to historical study of the Bible and its context, not to constructive theology.

- (4) Would it be possible to write a Theology of the Septuagint—not as part of a ‘canonical’ reading, but descriptively and on historical foundations, in the manner of most of the great Theologies of the Old Testament of the twentieth century? Such a work would overlap to a great extent with most such Theologies, though differing in certain respects—for example, on eschatological issues; and it would lend itself less to conceptualization in terms of salvation history and covenant, and would have to make more room for wisdom teaching. It would be an interesting and worthwhile experiment. Whether a Catholic or Orthodox theologian might attempt this remains to be seen, though it could just as well be undertaken by a Protestant or indeed a scholar of no Christian allegiance if they were interested. It would be important to blank out one’s awareness of the distinctives of the Hebrew Bible, and seek to see the contours of the Greek Old Testament for themselves. One aspect that might need recognition, as we saw above, is the distinctive order of the books in most versions of the Greek Bible, with all the narrative works grouped together without any attention to whether or not they are ‘Torah’, and the prophets (meaning only what the Hebrew Bible calls the Latter Prophets) coming last, *after* the didactic books. Another important matter would be the even greater number of narrative works, including the so-called ‘Jewish novels’ such as Tobit, Susanna, and Judith. Yet another would be the greater degree of ‘theologization’ in the wisdom books and in the originally more ‘secular’ Esther. Overall, the LXX Old Testament tells a story closer to the Christian one than does the Hebrew Bible, something more like the story of disaster and rescue that Soulen identifies as the Christian reading of the Old Testament. I doubt, however, whether the specifics of the text on a smaller scale

very often reflect a different theology from the Hebrew Bible, except on the kinds of point mentioned by Schaper (eschatology and messianism, for example); in general the translation is simply that—a translation, which does not attempt deliberately to change the source text. Nevertheless, it would be very interesting to ask about the theology of the LXX, seen as a work of the last few centuries BCE rather than, as is usually done in Theologies of the Old Testament, asking about underlying theological concepts going back into remote antiquity.

- (5) Might it be possible to affirm the canonicity of both the Hebrew Bible and the LXX? Since they differ significantly both in content and in extent, this might seem to be impossible. But if we think of the Bible as a symbol and a monument, the exact edges of which do not need to be precisely defined, then it could be thinkable that it does not very much matter which of the two canons one accepts (see Schenker 2001: 178–86). It would be, on a macro scale, rather like the micro level difference between *Kethib* and *Qere*, where rabbinic commentators can draw theological and practical implications from both; or, indeed, like the Old Testament and the New, which differ significantly in emphasis yet are perceived by most Christians as ultimately part of the same revelation. Christians of different ecclesial allegiances much more often think of the Bible as something that unites them all than as a source of discord, even though in theory they do not at all share the same biblical canon. The difference in canon might be seen, indeed probably is in practice seen, as a matter approaching indifference in much ecumenical discussion. Part of the plurality of permissible theologies within the churches might be a plurality of biblical canons. It is already so at the level of daily Christian thinking: Catholics probably think more about the Gospels and the legal texts of the Old Testament, while at least some Protestants think more about the Pauline Letters and the Prophets; but this is never a deal-breaker in ecumenical relations. The variation in the Old Testament canon might be seen in a similar light, as a matter of emphasis rather than of head-on disagreement. When all the churches affirm that they are committed to ‘the Bible’, this should not then be taken to mean precisely this or that instantiation of Scripture, but Scriptures with an agreed core and a certain penumbra. Very little would be affected in practice by an agreement to differ amicably over the Old Testament canon. And indeed that is probably more or less the actual position in mainstream churches.

SUGGESTED READING

The influence of the LXX on Christian theology is discussed more fully by Soulen (1996) and Law (2013). For the significance of the LXX books for the Christian canon, see further in Lim (2013), and also Barton (2019: 437–41). The idea of a theology or theologies within books and sections of the Septuagint is surveyed in the volume edited by Ausloos and Lemmelijn (2020).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ausloos, Hans, and Bénédicte Lemmelijn, eds. (2020). *Die Theologie der Septuaginta/The Theology of the Septuagint*. Handbuch zur Septuaginta/Handbook of the Septuagint LXX.H. Band 5. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus.
- Barr, James (1999). *The Concept of Biblical Theology: An Old Testament Perspective*. London: SCM Press.
- Barton, John (1998). *The Spirit and the Letter: Studies in the Biblical Canon*. London: SPCK, 1997; American edition *Holy Writings, Sacred Text*. Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press.
- Barton, John (2019). *A History of the Bible: The Book and its Faiths*. London: Allen Lane.
- Bertram, G. (1961). 'Septuaginta-Frömmigkeit'. *RGG* 5: 1707–9.
- Bons, Eberhard (2006). 'Le Psautier de la LXX est-il influencé par des idées eschatologiques et messianiques? Le cas des Psaumes 22LXX et 7LXX', in M. A. Knibb, ed., *The Septuagint and Messianism*. BETL 195. Leuven: Leuven University Press and Peeters, pp. 217–38.
- Childs, Brevard C. (1992). *Biblical Theology of the Old and New Testaments: Theological Reflections on the Christian Bible*. London: SCM Press.
- Cox, Claude E. (2001). 'Schaper's *Eschatology* meets Kraus's *Theology of the Psalms*', in R. J. V. Hiebert, C. E. Cox, and P. J. Gentry, eds., *The Old Greek Psalter: Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma*. JSOTSup 332. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, pp. 289–311.
- Gese, Hartmut (1974). *Vom Sinai zum Zion*. Munich: Chr. Kaiser.
- Gese, Hartmut (1977a). *Zur biblischen Theologie*, Munich: Chr. Kaiser. English trans. as *Essays in Biblical Theology*. Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg, 1981.
- Gese, Hartmut (1977b). 'Tradition and Biblical Theology', in D. A. Knight, ed., *Tradition and Theology in the Old Testament*. Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, pp. 301–26.
- Hengel, Martin (1974). *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period*. London: SCM.
- Law, T. Michael (2013). *When God Spoke Greek: The Septuagint and the Making of the Christian Bible*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Leiman, S. Z. (1976). *The Canonization of Hebrew Scripture: The Talmudic and Midrashic Evidence*. Hamden, CT: Archon Books.
- Lim, Timothy (2013). *The Formation of the Jewish Canon*. New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press.
- Schaper, Joachim (1995). *Eschatology in the Greek Bible*. WUNT 2:76. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- Schaper, Joachim (2006). 'Messianism in the Septuagint of Isaiah and Messianic Intertextuality in the Greek Bible', in M. A. Knibb, ed., *The Septuagint and Messianism*. BETL 195. Leuven: Peeters, pp. 371–80.
- Schenker, Adrian (2001). 'L'Écriture Sainte subsiste en plusieurs formes canoniques simultanées', in *L'interpretazione della Bibbia nelle chiese: Atti del Simposio promosso dalla Congregazione per la Dottrina della Fede*. Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, pp. 178–86; German trans. 'Die Heilige Schrift subsistiert gleichzeitig in mehreren kanonischen Formen', in A. Schenker, *Studien zu Propheten und Religionsgeschichte*. SBA 36. Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2003, pp. 192–200.
- Soulen, R. K. (1996). *The God of Israel and Christian Theology*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press.
- Sundberg Jr., Albert C. (1964). *The Old Testament of the Early Church*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

- Sundberg Jr., Albert C. (1966). 'The Protestant Old Testament Canon: Should It Be Re-Examined?' *CBQ* 28: 194–203.
- Sundberg Jr., Albert C. (1968). 'The "Old Testament": A Christian Canon.' *CBQ* 30: 143–55.
- Vermes, Geza (2012). *Christian Beginnings: From Nazareth to Nicaea, ad 30–325*. London: Allen Lane.
- Wagner, J. Ross (2008). 'The Septuagint and the "Search for the Christian Bible"', in M. Bockmuehl and A. J. Torrance, eds., *Scripture's Doctrine and Theology's Bible*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic Press, pp. 17–28.

CHAPTER 50

ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPTS OF THE SEPTUAGINT

MAJA KOMINKO

INTRODUCTION

WHEN was the Septuagint first illustrated? Although it is sometimes argued that the first illustrations were made in pre-Christian centres of Hellenized Jews in the eastern Mediterranean, no evidence substantiates such a hypothesis. Around 300 CE, in a gradual process, codex form replaced books in the form of a scroll. Because flat pages provided more convenient support for images, this shift may have given additional stimulus for the development of illustrative cycles. Nevertheless, its impact on Septuagint illustration remains hypothetical, since the earliest preserved biblical miniatures are tentatively dated to the fifth century. The number of illustrated codices of the Septuagint produced before the fifteenth century is significant and they are remarkable for their diversity. Still, some general comments can be made: the Septuagint was usually produced in smaller units, such as the Octateuchs or the Psalter (the Psalms and the Canticles). A complete Bible was a rarity. The numbers of extant manuscripts suggest that the demand for Psalters far exceeded all other books. Because the function of biblical codices varied, the character of their illustrations varied too, and it seems appropriate to discuss them within each type of biblical edition.

The number of illustrated Late Antique manuscripts that have been lost is a matter of debate. Scholars such as Kurt Weitzmann, who believed that Late Antiquity was a period of extraordinary creativity during which archetypes of the later biblical cycles were produced, have often focused on reconstruction of these hypothetical lost manuscripts

from later codices. Employing methods akin to textual criticism, they assumed that just as the scribe copied the text, so the painter reproduced his model line for line, with mounting inaccuracies and reductions over centuries. A similar approach was criticized for concentrating on manuscripts that might have existed, rather than on those that are preserved. Moreover, opponents of this theory, for example John Lowden, argue that there is very little evidence for extensive illustrated manuscript production in Late Antiquity and that it was not until the Middle Byzantine period that illustrated codices were made in large numbers.

GENESIS

The two earliest extant illustrated manuscripts of the Septuagint, tentatively dated to the fifth century, are both single-volume editions of Genesis. The Cotton Genesis (London, British Library, MS Cotton Otho B.VI) was severely damaged in a fire in 1731. Only 129 charred folios are now preserved, out of an estimated original 221 folios with some 360 pictures. Such density of illustrations resulted from the literal character of the cycle where almost every action reported in Genesis was depicted separately, closely following the biblical narration even where the text repeated itself. Miniatures of varying size are scattered throughout the codex. While very literal, their iconography includes elements of exegetical interpretation. A good example is the visual characterization of the Creator as Christ to establish his pre-existence to creation.

The second manuscript, the Vienna Genesis (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod.theol.gr.31), also fragmentarily preserved, now consists of only twenty-four single leaves with parts of passages from Gen. 3:4–50:4. It is written in silver ink on purple-dyed parchment, one of very few such sumptuous codices preserved. The pages are divided in half, with the text in the upper part, and miniatures below. Unlike the Cotton Genesis, the codex does not contain the Septuagint text proper, but rather a paraphrase. Words, sentences, and entire chapters are left out, but not in an even manner, and large parts of the Septuagint are reproduced without omissions. The combination of abbreviated text and extensive images led to the hypothesis that the Vienna Genesis might have been intended as a 'schoolbook' for an imperial prince or princess. A similar didactic role is nevertheless undermined by the character of illustrations which draw upon a wide variety of sources and often are not easy to decipher. It is sufficient to mention the miniature, where the scene of the attempted seduction of Joseph by Potiphar's wife is followed by representations of women, children, and a figure that may be an astrologer or a personification of fate (Figure 50.1). The biblical narrative does not explain their presence and the significance of the composition remains debated.

These two codices represent the only surviving Byzantine manuscripts of Genesis alone, with or without illustrations, and may reflect the importance that Genesis had in



FIGURE 50.1 Joseph and Potiphar's wife, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, cod. theol. gr. 31, fol. 12r

Late Antiquity, suggested by the large number of Greek authors who focused on exegesis of this book. However, we cannot exclude the possibility that their preservation is a mere accident of survival. Certainly, other books are illustrated in surviving Syriac and Latin Late Antique Bibles.

ILLUSTRATED BIBLES

It is from the tenth century that we have the only surviving complete illustrated Greek Bible (Rome, Vatican Library, cod.Reg.gr.1), named the Leo Bible after the imperial treasurer who commissioned it. Leo is identified in a metrical preface, and represented in a miniature, offering his Bible to the Virgin. The extant codex, the first volume of a two-volume Bible, contains eighteen full-page images which, framed by specially composed poems, serve as frontispieces to the biblical books of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Judges, 1 Samuel, 1–2 Kings, Judith, Maccabees, Job and Psalms. The arrangement of illustrations in form of frontispieces is already attested in Late Antique Syriac and Latin Bibles, but no evidence suggests that the Leo Bible had been based on an earlier exemplar. Conversely, many of its miniatures find close analogies in contemporary manuscripts. A good example is the frontispiece to Exodus. Displayed in three registers it shows Moses at the burning bush, Moses talking to Pharaoh, the exodus of the Israelites, and the drowning of the Egyptians. The last two scenes find a close parallel in a splendid Psalter, now in Paris, produced few decades later and discussed below. These two manuscripts share several other images. Moses receiving the Law on a rocky peak of Mount Sinai illustrates Deuteronomy in the Leo Bible and the Canticle of Moses in the Paris Psalter (Figure 50.2). The miniatures prefacing the books of Kings and Psalms in the Leo Bible find counterparts in the illustrative cycle of the history of David at the beginning of the Psalter. The appearance of these compositions in different biblical contexts suggests that illustrative cycles were often created from pre-existing compositions reused and adjusted to a new context. Some of these representations certainly do go back to Late Antiquity, when they are attested in other media, such as sarcophagi. They belonged to artistic vocabulary developed over centuries, but this is not to say that the manuscripts which contain them necessarily go back to Late Antique archetypes.

On the other hand, some of them may. A particularly interesting case is another contemporary Constantinopolitan production, the so-called Niketas Bible. It consists of three manuscripts: the Major Prophets in Florence, the Minor Prophets in Turin, and the Wisdom Books in Copenhagen. The similarities in the script, layout, and decoration suggest that they were produced in the same workshop, as parts of the same project, possibly a multi-volume illustrated Bible. A poem in the Florence codex names the patron, a courtier Niketas. Puzzling evidence comes from the Turin manuscript, where a note states that the codex was produced in 535 CE, in the orbit of Justinian's court. Although it has been argued that this note is a colophon copied by the scribe from its exemplar, a sixth-century illustrated Bible, this is inconclusive. A rival hypothesis suggests that it could have been added by a later owner, uncritically recording the belief in the book's antiquity. The three manuscripts all contain full-page miniatures, which serve as frontispieces. Although most are lost, the Florence manuscript preserves a frontispiece to

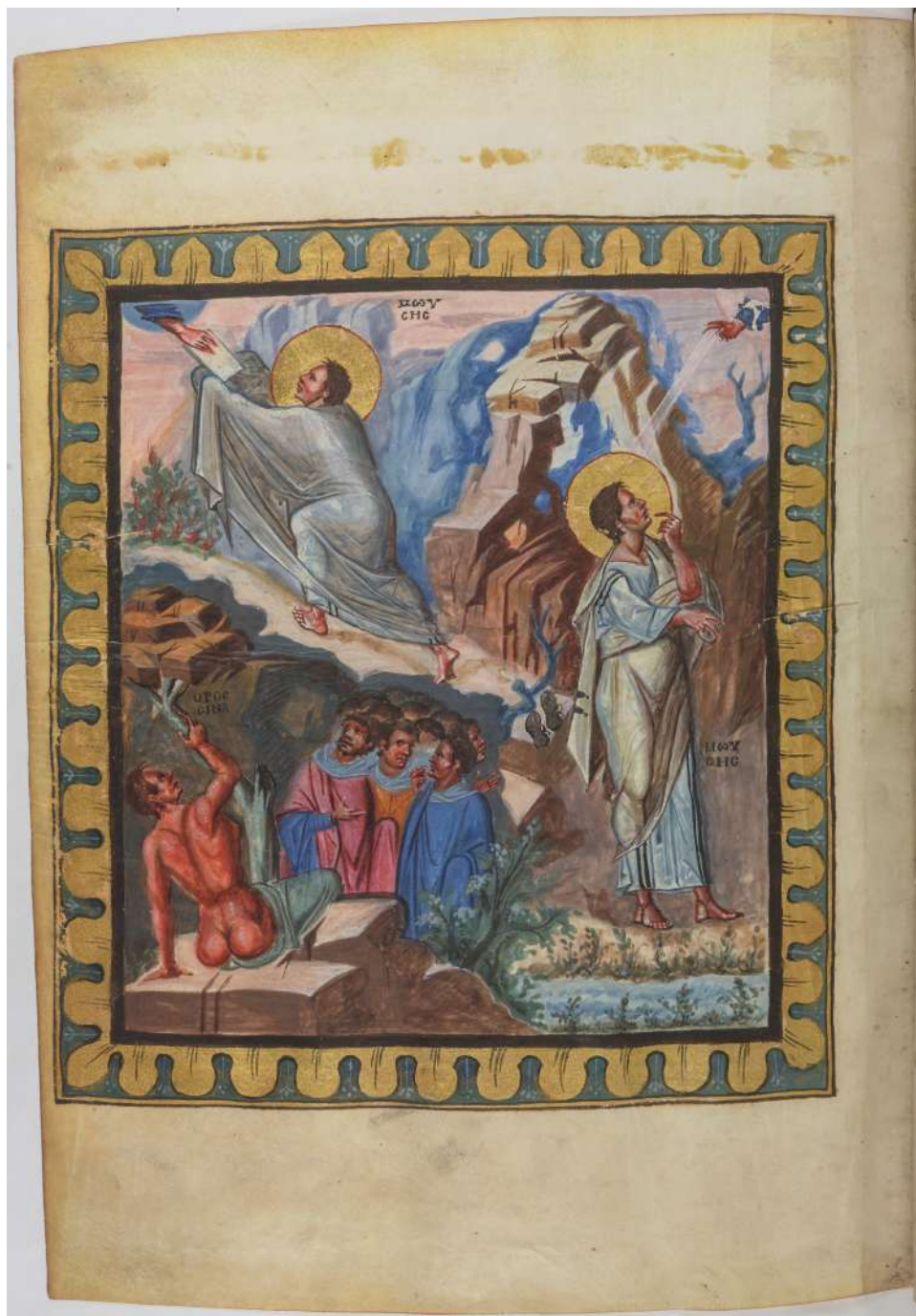


FIGURE 50.2 Canticum of Moses, Paris Psalter, Bibliothèque nationale de France cod.gr.139, fol. 422v

the book of Jeremiah with the portrait of the prophet, in the Copenhagen codex an image with portraits of Solomon and Sirach precedes the Wisdom book, and in Turin a bifolio with busts of the Twelve prophets is placed at the beginning of the codex. Such representations have a long tradition: we know from preserved fragments and from literary evidence that portraits of authors often accompanied their works already in antiquity. There is no evidence to suggest that these particular representations were copied from a Late Antique model.

OCTATEUCHS

The existence of the possible Late Antique archetypes of Byzantine illustrated manuscripts has been much debated in the context of the largest preserved illustrated Byzantine Bibles, the Octateuchs. Whereas scholars like Kurt Weitzmann argued for the Late Antique date of their illustrative cycles, others like John Lowden see them as a Middle Byzantine creation. No manuscript of a Greek Octateuch, illustrated or not, survives from earlier than the tenth century, but a few scattered Late Antique references in Latin and Greek refer to the Octateuch as the first volume of the Holy Scriptures. The name derives from the more widely used term ‘Pentateuch’, to which Octateuchs added the historical books of Joshua, Judges, and Ruth. Six illustrated Byzantine Octateuchs are known. One, the eleventh-century codex in Florence (Laurenziana Library, cod. Plut. 5.38), stands apart from the other five. It contains frontispiece illustrations to Genesis only. Unlike the other Octateuchs, it does not include the marginal catena, but it is the only illustrated Octateuch with liturgical rubrics indicating the start and end of lections. Combined with the large, clear script, this evidence suggests that the codex was made for public recitation in a church.

The other five codices are related in terms of the catenae, and in terms of the extensive cycle of over 350 illustrations. Their original model is lost: the earliest of the five codices, the eleventh-century (Vatican Library, cod.gr.747), could not have been the prototype since its images often represent truncated versions of the scenes in later Octateuchs. Three codices produced in the twelfth century are closely related. One, from Smyrna, destroyed in 1922, and known only through a partial publication (see for example Figure 50.3 from Hesselning 1909: ill. 325), shares its major painter with Seraglio Octateuch in Istanbul (Topkapi Sarai Library, cod.gr.1) which in turn shares one of the scribes with the third twelfth-century codex (Vatican Library, cod.gr.746). The last manuscript served as the model for the thirteenth-century Octateuch in Mount Athos, Vatopedi cod. 602.

The Seraglio Octateuch begins with a paraphrase of the *Letter of Aristeas* attributed in the title to a *porphyrogenetos* (‘born in the purple’, i.e. a child born to an emperor), identified as Isaac, the younger brother of Emperor John II Komnenos (ruled 1118–43). It seems likely that Isaac commissioned the entire volume, attesting to a pattern of aristocratic patronage similar to that of the Leo Bible or the ‘Niketas Bible’.



FIGURE 50.3 Abimelech is killed by a woman dropping a millstone on him (Judg. 9:50–3), Smyrna Octateuch, from D. C. Hesseling, *Miniatures de l'Octateuque grec de Smyrne*, Leiden, 1909, ill. 325. (With kind permission of the Bodleian Library, Oxford)

The evidence of unfinished illustrations confirms that the scribes worked first, page by page. Such a method was imposed by the complexity of codices, where every page had to accommodate varying amounts of biblical text, the relevant marginal catena, and images of different size. The illustrations range in character from standing figures or single objects through simple scenes, to dramatic representations of battles or pursuits. Many go beyond the biblical text, although interestingly these expansions are mostly ignored or even countered in the catenae. An example of a miniature adding to what we can find in the Bible is the portrait of Enoch, accompanied by the busts of months, reflecting a tradition which identified him as the inventor of the calendar (Hesseling 1909: Smyrna f. 18r). In another interesting representation, preserved only in the three twelfth-century Octateuchs, the serpent tempting Eve in Eden is portrayed as a camel-like quadruped. Scholars who believed that the Octateuchs derive from a Late Antique archetype attributed such iconography to this lost exemplar, and argued that it was inspired by rabbinic material. Others noted, however, that a debate on whether the serpent had feet is preserved in several twelfth-century sources. No conclusive argument has been offered for either of these hypotheses, but the question illustrates the complexity of the situation.

We should exercise caution in suggesting lost Late Antique archetypes, but it is worth mentioning that the Octateuchs share several miniatures with the *Christian Topography* of Cosmas Indicopleustes, written and illustrated in the sixth century. Although the

earliest preserved copy of this work dates from the ninth century, the relationship between the extant codices and the close connection between the text and illustrations strongly suggest that the miniatures reflect those in the lost Late Antique manuscript. The similarity between Cosmas and the Octateuchs occurs only within the Pentateuch, which may suggest that the illustrator of Cosmas's treatise had access to an illustrated copy of such codex. It does not necessarily mean that the artists of the first Octateuch copied the entire Pentateuch cycle from an earlier codex. The Octateuchs use compositions from earlier monuments, but this is simply because their designers drew upon existing imagery that they were familiar with.

JOSHUA

It does seem, however, that some cycles may have been copied into the Octateuchs almost wholesale, as in the case of illustrations of the tenth-century Joshua Roll (Vatican Library, cod. Palat. gr. 431). This illustrated scroll made up of fifteen sheets of parchment, 31 cm high and 1,064 cm long, is incomplete at both ends. The text, a paraphrase of Joshua chapters 2–10, is placed in the lower part of the page. Above it, the pictorial frieze is a work of beauty. Landscape settings, suggested by delicate washes, provide backdrop to vivid scenes, divided by trees, mountains, or architecture. Personifications abound. From some omissions in images, scholars like Kurt Weitzmann deduced that the Joshua Roll must be a copy of an earlier scroll, possibly of a pre-iconoclastic date, that in places was difficult to decipher. Although others, like John Lowden, argue that it was copied from a lost Octateuch manuscript, a similar hypothesis does not seem likely. In the Octateuchs the details of iconography in the Book of Joshua set it apart from the rest of the illustrative cycle, but correspond closely to the Joshua Roll. It is moreover clear that the artist of the Octateuchs had some difficulty with dividing scenes copied from a continuous frieze.

Although the circumstances of the commission of the Joshua Roll are not known, it seems that this astonishing work was made out of enthusiasm to copy and imitate a work of antiquity in the tenth century, a period which produced many manuscripts with archaizing qualities.

BOOKS OF KINGDOMS

The eleventh-century Octateuchs are contemporary with the only extant illustrated Byzantine codex of the books of Kings (Vatican Library, cod.gr.333), the biblical unit that follows in the order of the Septuagint. There is no indication, however, that this codex was produced in association with the Octateuchs. Over a hundred miniatures are unevenly distributed. The vast majority appear in Book I, which contains seventy-four illustrations, compared to twenty-two in Book II, seven in Book III, and a single miniature in Book IV.

The style of the images varies. Some are framed, with vivid scenes painted on a striking blue background, such as in the case of the miniature showing the return of the Ark to Jerusalem with the victory of the Israelites in the upper, and celebrations in the lower part. Others, particularly in later books, show simpler compositions, placed on the background of the parchment. Because the codex shares some of the compositions from the story of David with the ninth- and tenth-century Byzantine Psalters, it has been suggested that it must have been copied from an earlier illustrated manuscript of the books of Kings. We cannot exclude, however, that a painter compiled a new cycle from pre-existing visual formulae, which he altered and expanded.

PSALTERS

A majority of preserved Byzantine Septuagint manuscripts are Psalters. About eighty-five of them, that is, 10–15 per cent of all Psalters, are illustrated. No two are the same. Only a handful appear to have been read in church, others were most likely copied for personal use. Perhaps due to this character, Psalter illustrations often engage the viewer in a much more intense and challenging way than it is usually the case.

This is particularly true for Psalters with marginal illustrations. The marginal pictures seem to have emerged in the ninth century, that is, at the same time as the marginal catenae. It seems probable that they were conceived with the same intertextual intent, although, unlike the catenae, they are strongly polemical. The introduction of the debate into the marginal catenae and its translation into the visual realm seems in keeping with the circumstances in which these Psalters were produced. The earliest ninth-century Psalters, all three of a very small size, are among the earliest surviving works of art from post-iconoclastic Constantinople. Framing the text of the Psalms, the vivid illustrations vary in character: sometimes literal, but often exegetical or symbolic, they are frequently demanding on the viewer/reader. Many show heroes and villains of the Iconoclast controversy. These representations closely reflect the contemporary Iconophile texts in designating the Iconoclasts as simoniacs, sorcerers who are inspired by demons, and in likening them to the Jews. A striking image accompanying Psalm 68 in the Chludov Psalter (Moscow, Historical Museum, cod.D.129) draws an analogy between the Crucifixion of Christ by the Jews and the destruction of his icons by the Iconoclasts.

Psalters with marginal illustrations, echoing the ninth-century codices, but revising and adjusting them to particular circumstances continued to be produced. The most famous of them is the Theodore Psalter (British Library, Add. MS 19352), made in 1066 CE in Constantinople for Abbot Michael of the Studios monastery. The codex is named after its scribe and the principal artist, the monk Theodore, identified in the colophon. The miniatures follow the scheme of decoration of the Chludov Psalter, but there is more emphasis on saints, on prayer and liturgy, and the imagery associated with anti-iconoclast polemics is limited.

Roughly contemporary with the Theodore codex is another Psalter (Vatican Library, cod. gr. 752) with images in margins, which does not, however, belong to the same family.

Unlike Psalters with marginal illustrations, it is very large, and the text of Psalms is surrounded by the catenae, intercepted with images. The miniatures are inspired by the commentary, without however illustrating it in a literal sense. Their significance is frequently oblique, with anachronistic representations of Old Testament figures in conversations with bishops or saints. No cost has been spared and all two hundred miniatures are painted on gold leaf.

In the majority of Psalters, the illustrations are far less complex. The simplest form is an image of David playing an instrument, writing, or displaying the book of Psalms, essentially a variation on author portrait. Other Psalters contain more extensive cycles of full-page illustrations. An early very large and splendid example of such codex is a Psalter in Paris (National Library, cod. gr. 139), already mentioned (section 'Illustrated Bibles'). It is almost certainly an imperial commission, tentatively attributed to Constantine VII (reigned 945–59). The Paris Psalter contains fourteen full-page images. Eight images preceding the Psalms illustrated the history of David. Six others, placed at the end of the Psalter, illustrate the canticles, which follow them. The style of the images is very classical, and each miniature is enclosed in a decorative frame.

The first miniature in the Psalter shows David, the shepherd, playing his psaltery in an idyllic pastoral landscape, with the personification of Melodia leaning on his shoulder. The scene, centred on the Orpheus-like musician, looks more like an illustration of a Greek myth of than of a biblical book. The composition was successful: a very similar illustration is preserved in nine later Byzantine Psalters. Several other miniatures reappear in later manuscripts, in Psalters, in the books of Kings, but also in the Prophetic books and even the Octateuchs. If we add to this the compositions that have close analogies in the Leo Bible, we see the pattern of manuscript productions where the same visual vocabulary is employed in diverse contexts. Some books may have been consciously made in imitation of others, but the diversity of preserved codices shows that schemes of decoration could be varied, altered, and adjusted to suit the demands of each commission.

JOB

Although not nearly as widespread as the Psalter, the Book of Job also seems to have been very popular, as suggested by fifteen surviving illustrated codices. It is a relatively short text, but accompanied by commentary and illustrations it could have filled an entire volume. The codices are varied both in terms of the number and placement of their illustrations. Some contain well over two hundred miniatures, in others the cycles are more limited. In some cases, miniatures are dispersed through the codex, in others they are gathered within the prologue. The earliest preserved codex dates to the ninth century, but an illustration serving as a frontispiece to the story of Job in a seventh-century Syriac Bible in Paris suggests that this biblical book may have been illustrated already in Late Antiquity.

THE PROPHETIC BOOKS

In the case of the Prophets, also illustrated in the Syriac Bible just mentioned, each Prophetic book is preceded by the portrait of its author. The same pattern of illustration, with portraits of prophets preceding their books, recurs in all preserved Byzantine manuscripts of Prophets. The seven preserved Byzantine illustrated Prophetic books, including two of the Niketas manuscripts mentioned above, date from the mid-tenth to the second half of the thirteenth century and constitute a small portion of around fifty Byzantine manuscripts of the books of the Prophets preserved overall. As in the case of the codices without miniatures, the content of illustrated manuscripts is heterogeneous. Two contain the twelve Minor and four Major Prophets with a catena; one contains only the Major Prophets; and one only the Minor Prophets, along with catena. Two codices contain the Minor and Major Prophets without catena, and one codex has only the book of Isaiah without catena. In one case, where we have an exemplar and its direct copy, the manuscripts are identical as regards the text, but their respective pictures are entirely different. The images tend to be relatively simple and consist of author portraits with only few narrative scenes, such as the martyrdom of Isaiah. Portraits are strikingly inconsistent in their iconography and—aside from Isaiah, Daniel, Jonah, and Habakkuk—all other prophets appear practically interchangeable. This is in keeping with the scant devotion that Byzantines manifested towards the prophets, with exception of Elijah and John the Baptist, who were not among the sixteen authors of the biblical Prophetic books.

CONCLUSION

The role of the images in Septuagint codices is very diverse. They illustrate the story, sometimes elaborating upon it and adding elements from various extra-biblical sources. They serve as frontispieces marking the beginnings of biblical books or of particular chapters. They provide visual exegesis of the biblical texts. Varied as they are, they use similar artistic vocabulary rooted in Late Antiquity, but revised, adapted, and reinterpreted over centuries.

SUGGESTED READING

Many of the works listed in the Bibliography below provide further information about the illustrations in Septuagint manuscripts, especially Corrigan (1992), Cutler (1984), Lowden (1988 etc.), Weitzmann and Bernabò (1999), and Weitzmann and Kessler (1986).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Anderson, Jeffrey C. (1988). 'On the Nature of the Theodore Psalter'. *The Art Bulletin* 70: 550–68.
- Andrews, Justine (2017). 'The Book of Job', in V. Tsamakda, ed., *A Companion to Byzantine Illustrated Manuscripts*. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, pp. 236–45.
- Barber, Charles, ed. (2000). *Theodore Psalter: Electronic Facsimile* (CD ROM). Champaign, IL.
- Belting, H., and G. Cavallo (1979). *Die Bibel des Niketas: En Werk der hofischen Buchkunst in Byzanz und seine justinianische Vorbild*. Wiesbaden: L. Reichter.
- Corrigan, Kathleen (1992). *Visual Polemics in Ninth-Century Byzantine Psalters*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cutler, Anthony (1984). *The Aristocratic Psalters in Byzantium*. Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologiques 13. Paris: Picard.
- Giannoulis, Markos (2017). 'The Book of Genesis', in V. Tsamakda, ed., *A Companion to Byzantine Illustrated Manuscripts*. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, pp. 197–207.
- Hesseling, D. C. (1909). *Miniatures de l'Octateuque grec de Smyrne: Manuscrit de l'École évangélique de Smyrne*. Edition phototypique. Leiden: A. W. Sijthoff.
- Kalavrezou, Ioli (2017). 'The Vatican Books of Kings (Vat.gr.333)', in V. Tsamakda, ed., *A Companion to Byzantine Illustrated Manuscripts*. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, pp. 227–35.
- Kominko, Maja (2013). *The World of Kosmas: Illustrated Byzantine Codices of the Christian Topography*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lassus, Jean (1973). *L'illustration Byzantine du Livre des Rois*. Paris: Klincksieck.
- Lowden, John (1988). *Illuminated Prophet Books: A Study of Byzantine Manuscripts of the Major and Minor Prophets*. University Park, PA, and London: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Lowden, J. (1992a). 'Concerning the Cotton Genesis and Other Illustrated Manuscripts of Genesis'. *Gesta* 31.1: 40–53.
- Lowden, J. (1992b). *The Octateuchs: A Study in Byzantine Manuscript Illustration*. University Park, PA, and London: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Lowden, J. (1999). 'The Beginnings of Biblical illustration', in J. Williams, ed., *Imagining the Early Medieval Bible*. University Park, PA, and London: Pennsylvania State University Press, pp. 9–59.
- Lowden, J. (2010). 'Illustrated Octateuch Manuscripts: A Byzantine Phenomenon', in P. Magdalino and R. Nelson, eds., *The Old Testament in Byzantium*. Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Symposia and Colloquia. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, pp. 107–52.
- Papadaki-Oekland, Stella (2009). *Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts of the Book of Job: A Preliminary Study of the Miniature Illustrations, Its Origin and Development*. Athens and Turnhout: Astrid-Zoé Økland and Brepols.
- Parpulov, Georgi (2010). 'Psalms and Personal Piety in Byzantium', in P. Magdalino and R. Nelson, eds., *The Old Testament in Byzantium*. Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Symposia and Colloquia. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, pp. 77–106.
- Parpulov, Georgi (2017). 'Psalms and Books of Hours (Horologia)', in V. Tsamakda, ed., *A Companion to Byzantine Illustrated Manuscripts*. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, pp. 300–9.

- Takiguchi, Mika (2017a). 'The Octateuch', in V. Tsamakda, ed., *A Companion to Byzantine Illustrated Manuscripts*. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, pp. 214–27.
- Takiguchi, Mika (2017b). 'The Prophet Book', in V. Tsamakda, ed., *A Companion to Byzantine Illustrated Manuscripts*. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, pp. 246–57.
- Tsamakda, Vasiliki (2017). 'The Joshua Roll', in V. Tsamakda, ed., *A Companion to Byzantine Illustrated Manuscripts*. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, pp. 207–13.
- Weitzmann, Kurt, and Massimo Bernabò, with Rita Tarasconi (1999). *The Byzantine Octateuchs*. Princeton, NJ: Dept. of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University in association with Princeton University Press
- Weitzmann, Kurt, and Herbert L. Kessler (1986). *The Cotton Genesis: British Library, Codex Cotton Otho B VI*. Princeton, NJ: Dept. of Art and Archaeology, Princeton University in association with Princeton University Press.
- Yota, Elizabeth (2017). 'The Complete Bible', in V. Tsamakda, ed., *A Companion to Byzantine Illustrated Manuscripts*. Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, pp. 185–96.
- Zimmermann, Barbara (2003). *Die Wiener Genesis im Rahmen der antiken Buchmalerei: Ikonographie, Darstellung, Illustrationsverfahren und Aussageintention*. Wiesbaden: Reichert.

INDEX TO SCRIPTURES AND OTHER ANCIENT SOURCES

For the benefit of digital users, indexed terms that span two pages (e.g., 52–53) may, on occasion, appear on only one of those pages.

Genesis

- 1:1 463–4, 513, 608–9
1:2 608–9
1:4 513
1:26–27 115
1:27 472
2:7 115, 174, 577, 608–9
2:11 428
2:18 577
2:22 577
2:23–24 577
3:10–12 137
3:15 113
3:19 375–6
4:1–5 95
4:1 96, 98
4:2–3 96
4:2 96, 98, 699–700
4:5–7 137
4:8 493–4
4:9 426
4:23 137
5:25 493–4
6:3 484–5
6:6–7 109–10
7:17–20 137
9:20 408
10:14 165–6
11:2 251
11:10 186
13:10 109–10
15:1 138
15:6 531
16:3 184–5
17:1 462
18:16 426
18:18 438–9, 464
18:24 138
19:33 98
21:1 138
21:15 426
22:1 472–3
26:29 85–6
29:1 138
29:35 194
30:14 426
30:36 491
34:4 184–5
34:18 184–5
34:22 138
34:61 138
35:4 138
35:13 138
36:11 138
36:33 375
37:3 495
37:34–38:1 137
38:7 109–10
38:10–12 137
41:37 184–5
41:45 428
42:16 491
42:21 194
45:16 184–5
46:3 438–9
49:10 113–14, 474
50:19 494

Exodus

- 2:1 189–90
2:2 410

Exodus (cont.)

2:5 184
2:14 97-8
2:15 426
2:16 427
3:1 425
3:4 497
3:5 490
3:6 495, 497
3:7 410
3:14 109-10, 579
3:15 109-10
3:22 494
4:12 463
4:15 463
4:24 109-10
4:27 425
5:21 109-10
6:2-3 109-10
6:3 462
13:13 494
15:1-19 396, 575-6
15:3 391
18:22 425
20:2-3 632
20:13-14 531
20:24 187
22:1-2 188-9
23:15 344
23:19 493-4
23:20 529-30
24:1 611
24:9-11 611
25:28 184-5
28:4-8 428
28:4-7 437
28:9 495
29:18 579
29:25 579
30:22 427-8
31:18 426
34:23 344
36:2 187-8

Leviticus

1:10 184-5
1:11-6:5[LXX 5:24] 439
1:15 495

2:8 184-5
3:9 194
3:16 184-5
4:2 193
4:7 439
4:20 185
4:27 439
5:1-5 190
5:1 190
5:3 185
5:4 185
5:5 185
5:15 185
6:13 184-5
7:20-27 185
8:15 495
11:30 171-2
13:18-24 185
15:3 495
15:8 495
16:16 185
18:6 187
18:19 187
18:20 187
19:2 531
19:16 438-9
19:18 111, 531
20:18 187
22:16 168-9
23:22 184-5
24:16 109-10
25:5 494
25:25 495
26:2-16 438
26:12 438-9
26:20 171-2
26:24 495
26:41 495
26:43 495
27:23 495

Numbers

1:2 440
3:40-4:16 439
3:40 440
4:6 440
4:8 440
4:11 440

4:12 440
 6:22-27 140, 496
 8:24 463
 10:31 578
 11:16-17 611
 11:24-25 611
 11:29 98
 13:1 489-90, 492-3
 14:25 682
 15:30 109-10
 16:22 578
 21:11 492-3
 chs. 22-24 114
 23:4 493
 23:5 493
 23:19 110
 23:22 493
 24:7 113
 24:17 113, 474
 26:10 493
 26:55 184-5
 27:16 578

Deuteronomy

1:1 169-70
 1:6-8 492-3
 4:29 579
 5:17-18 531
 10:17-33 137
 11:4 441
 12:5 110
 12:26 110
 14:20(21) 493-4
 15:9 596
 16:16 344
 21:33 472
 27:4 490, 495-6
 27:12 490
 27:26 493-4
 28:22 140
 28:28 140
 31:11 344
 31:30 525-6
 ch. 32 443
 32:1-43 396, 443, 575-6
 32:2 137
 32:4 137
 32:8 168-9

32:9-10 443
 32:36 530-1
 32:37-43 443
 32:43 443
 chs. 33-34 443

Joshua

2:5-8 202
 2:15 203-4
 3:8 203-4
 3:13 203-4
 3:16 203-4
 3:17 203-4
 4:10 203-4
 4:23-24 201
 5:1 201
 5:6 203-4
 5:13 203-4
 5:15 203-4
 6:9 203-4
 6:19 203-4
 7:3 203-4
 8:30-35 202
 9:2 202-4
 9:5 203-4
 9:27-11:3 201
 10:8 203-4
 10:13 203-4
 10:17-18 202
 10:19 203-4
 11:13 203-4
 12:2-20 201
 12:23 201
 12:24 201
 13:1-4 201
 13:6-22 201
 13:11 203-4
 13:12 203-4
 13:14 203-4
 13:24-32 201
 13:30 203-4
 13:31 203-4
 14:1-4 201
 14:7-8 203-4
 17:1 203-4
 17:5 203-4
 18:12 203-4
 19:49 203-4

Joshua (cont.)

ch. 20 202
20:8 203-4
20:9 203-4
21:2 203-4
21:4 203-4
21:5 579
21:27 203-4
22:7 203-4
23:9 203-4

Judges

1:16 210
1:27 210
2:13 452-3
2:20 205-6
3:7 452
3:19 171
4:6 205-6
4:7-11:2 205-6
4:17 700
6:11-24 210-11
8:12-9:54 506-7
10:4 452
10:6 453
10:10 453
13:5 529-30
13:7 529-30
15:3 165-6
15:8 511
16:1-4 140

Ruth

1:1 323
1:5 322-3
1:12 322-3
1:20 462
1:21 462
2:5 322-3
2:6 322-3
2:8 322-3
2:13 322-3
2:15 322-3
2:16 322-3
2:21 322-3
2:22 322-3
2:23 322-3
3:2 322-3
3:7 323
3:12 322-3

3:13 322-3
3:14 322-3
4:1 323
4:4 322-3
4:8 323
4:10 322-3
4:11 60
4:12 322-3

1 Samuel = 1 Kingdoms

chs. 1-2 222-3
1:6 219
1:9 222
1:11 222-3
1:13 221, 699
1:14 222
1:22-23 222-3
2:1-10 396
2:18 218-19
2:28 218-19
3:6 221
5:10 541
6:2 541
10:1 222
12:3 218
13:19 219-20
14:3 219-20
14:8 219
14:9 219
14:11 219
14:41-42 222
15:3 218-19
15:8 218-19
15:11 220-1
15:29 220
15:35 220
17:12-31 222-3
18:17-19 222-3
20:34 222
21:3(2) 323
21:14 221
25:9 222
25:22 222
28:3 674-5, 682
30:1 221-2
30:11 219-20

2 Samuel = 2 Kingdoms

7:16 113
8:3 168-9

- 11:7 700
 14:30-31 170
 24:16 220
- 1 Kings = 3 Kingdoms*
 1:13 664-5
 1:52 229
 2:12-21:43 226
 2:35 225
 6:1-10:12 226
 8:22-31 237
 11:1-3 231
 13:24 674-5
 13:31 226
 14:25 226
 16:28 225
 18:19 453
 19:10 226
 19:14 226
 19:18 449-50, 453, 530
 22:17 229
- 2 Kings = 4 Kingdoms*
 1:6 229
 5:10 699
 6:8 323
 14:23 486
- 1 Chronicles = 1 Paralipomena*
 1:1-20:1 238-9
 3:21 237
 20:2-29:30 238-9
- 2 Chronicles = 2 Paralipomena*
 6:13-22 237, 629
 chs. 18-36 238-9
 28:7 236
 33:12-13 396
 33:14 236
 33:18-19 396
- Nehemiah*
 4:11[17] (= 1 Esdras/Esdras B 14:11) 440
- 1 Esdras*
 2:2 238
 3:1-5:6 388-9
- 2 Esdras*
 1:1-3 237
- Esther*
 1:17 326, 682
 1:18(19) 326
- 1:19 326
 2:11 326
 2:14 326
 4:5 326
 4:9 326
 5:1-2 324
 5:14 326
 7:22 327
 10:3 325-6
 10:4-11:1 324
 11:2-12:6 324
 13:1-7 324
 13:8-14:19 324
 15:1-16 324
 16:1-24 324
 Additions A-F 324-5, 429-30
- Job*
 1:3 372-3
 1:5 375-6
 1:21 375-6
 2:8 375-6
 2:9 375
 2:10 375-6
 2:11 372-3
 3:4 376
 3:7 376
 4:14 376
 4:16 376-7
 4:21 375-6
 5:7 376, 486
 5:13 376
 5:17 376
 7:2 375-6
 8:9 376
 8:12 375-6
 8:19 375-6
 9:3 373
 9:15 373
 9:34 376
 10:4 373
 11:4 484-5
 11:17 376
 11:19 375-6
 12:17 375-6
 12:19 375-6
 13:6 375-6
 13:10 375-6
 13:12 375-6

Job (cont.)

13:15 375-6
13:16 375-6
13:18-20 376-7
13:23-27 376-7
13:25 375-6
14:12 373
14:13-17 115
14:13-18 376-7
14:14 472
14:20 472
16:9 377
16:20 376
17:16 373
18:9-10 371, 373
18:17 371
19:25-27 115
20:3-4 373
20:4 377
20:20-21 371
21:15 373, 462
21:22 372, 378
22:3 371
22:15 378
22:18 378
22:20 370
22:23 372
22:24 378-9
23:9 373
24:4 373
24:5 373
24:20 376
25:6 373
26:5 475-6
28:10 376
28:26 373
29:11 372-3
30:6 371
30:16 486
30:22 373
30:27 373
31:2 462
31:18 373
31:35 373
32:4-5 373
32:19 377
chs. 33-34 374
33:8 371

33:28-29 373
34:6-7 373
33:29 377
34:11 371
34:13 375-6
34:15 375-6
34:22 371
34:23 371
35:9 377
35:15 377
37:9 373
38:1 375-6
39:6 371
40:2 462
40:11 372-3
40:19 371
42:7-8 372-3
42:11-12 138
42:11 375
42:17 115, 375

Psalms

1 112
1:5 732
2:6 475
2:9 531
2:12 555
3:4 696
3:8 555
5:12 578, 582
7:2 582
7:6 698
8:6 696
9:21 112
10(11):4 464
14(15):4 701
15(16) 732
15(16):4 339-40
16(17):7 578
16(17):15 344
18(19):5 725
19(20):6 339-40
21(22): 114, 156
22(23):2 578
24(25):8 112
24(25):12 112
25(26):8 578
26(27):9 578
26(27):11 112

27(28):6-9 156
 27(28):9 578
 28(29) 108
 28(29):3 139-40
 30:6(5) 254
 30(31):20 345
 33:9(34:8) 531
 33:13-16(34:14-17) 531
 36(37):20 339-40
 37(38):22 578
 39(40) 726
 39(40):7-9 726
 46(45):9 464
 48(49):13 339
 50(51) 575
 58(59):11 340
 67(68):23 337
 68(69) 753
 68(69):10 724
 70(71):9 578
 70(71):18 578
 71(72):17 732-3
 73(74):17 175
 73(74):19 339-40
 75(76):3 613-14
 77(78):2-3 337, 529-30
 77(78):71 342
 83(84):5 582
 85(86):2 578
 87(88):3 345
 87(88):11 475-6
 88(89):49 578
 89(90):17-91(92):10 504
 90(91) 504
 90(91):1 462
 90(91):1 139-40
 90(91):8 337
 91(92):15 579
 93(94):9 530-1
 93(94):19 345
 94(95):6 577-8
 95(96) 734
 95(96):7-12 504
 95(96):11 578
 97(98):3 504
 101(102):16-102(103):13 504
 101(102):27 530-1
 103(104) 575

103(104):4 530-1
 105(106):1 337
 108(109):4 337
 108 (109):21 582
 109(110):3 113, 732-3
 112(113):2 575
 112(113):5 579
 112(113):7 338
 113(114) 629-30
 115(116):11 613-14
 117(118):20 139-40
 117(118):22 531
 118(119) 330, 575
 118(119):7 345
 118(119):57 112
 118(119):62 579
 118(119):124 582
 118(119):142 578
 120(121):8 139-40
 121(122):6 339-40
 127(128):2 629, 702
 129:5(130:4) 112
 134(135):17 344
 135(136):25 504
 134(135):17 344
 138(139):18 472
 139(140):10 340
 151: 152, 341, 396, 629-30
 151:1-5 396

Proverbs

chs. 1-2 406
 1:8 361
 1:21 361
 2:21 363
 3:15 363
 3:34 531
 5:21 169-70
 6:20 361
 8:3 361
 8:21 360
 8:22-27 361-2
 8:25 358
 8:27 358
 8:30 357
 9:1-6 356, 358
 9:6 356-7
 9:18 475-6
 10:7 504

Proverbs (cont.)

10:12 531
14:22 363
15:6 363
15:27 195
16:7 357
16:14 195
16:30 362
17:12 360
21:16 475-6
26:11 362
27:20 362
28:4 362
28:15 360
31:1 361
31:25(26) 112
31:28(26) 112

Ecclesiastes (Qohelet)

1:14 327
2:13-2:23 502
2:13-23 507-8
9:15 327

Canticles (Song of Songs)

1:2 328-9
1:4 328-9
1:13 329
1:14 329
1:16 329
2:3 329
2:7 329
2:8 329
2:9 329
2:10 329
2:16 329
2:17 329
3:8 329
4:4 328-9
4:9 328-9
4:10 328-9
4:14 328-9
4:16 329
5:2 329
5:4 329
5:5 329
5:6 329
5:8 329
5:9 329

5:10 329
5:16 329
6:1 329
6:2 329
6:3 329
7:1 625-6
7:2 328-9
7:6 328-9
7:9 328-9
7:10(9) 329
7:11 329
7:12 329
7:13(12) 328-9
7:14 329
8:1 329
8:5 329
8:7 329
8:11 329
8:14 329

Isaiah

1:4 251
1:8 476
2:2-4 254, 475
2:22 249-50
3:18-23 702
3:22 702
4:2-6 254
5:1-9 396
6:2 254
6:3 585
6:7 195
6:13 474, 476, 484-5
7:2 253
7:4 254
7:6 253
7:9 733-4
7:14 22-3, 108-9, 113-14, 245, 459, 470,
525-6, 529-30, 613
8:12 474, 484-5, 531
8:13 531
8:14-16 253
8:14 725-6
8:23-9:1 529-30
9:3 251
9:4 251
9:5-6 113, 474-5
9:6 662

9:9 252
 9:11 252
 10:9 251-2
 10:25 254
 10:28-32 613-14
 11:3 484-5
 11:4 113
 11:9 474-5
 11:11 251
 11:16 251
 13:21 511
 14:29-32 113
 16:6-14 469
 19:19 248-9
 19:20 474
 22:4 195
 ch. 23 249, 253
 23:1 249
 23:6 249
 25:1-5 253
 25:2 254
 25:5 254
 25:6-8 469
 25:7-8 474-5
 25:8 450, 530
 26:1 254
 26:9-20 396, 575-6
 26:13 627-8
 26:14 472
 26:16 254
 28:9-13 613-14
 28:16 725-6
 28:18 195
 29:15-16 613
 30:15 473-4
 33:5 579
 35:2 254
 35:10 578
 38:10-20 396
 40:2 248-9
 40:3 529-30
 40:24 375-6
 40:29 464
 42:1-9 111
 42:1-4 111, 529-30
 42:1 113
 42:13 254
 43:10-11 632

44:6 632
 44:21 254
 46:1 632
 47:11 195
 51:11 578
 51:22 473-4
 52:7 724-5
 53:1 725
 53:4 529-30
 54:5 254
 54:7-8 254
 56:12 249-50
 57:1 250
 57:15 579, 584-5
 57:17 254
 58:3 699
 58:5 699
 58:11 612
 61:1-10 576-7
 63:3 473-4
 66:11-24 506

Jeremiah

1:6 511
 2:2 511
 3:19 473
 9:22-10:21 260
 10:2-15 395
 11:18-12:6 260
 18:23 195
 24:6 362
 25:14 263
 31:15 529-30
 31:31-34 MT = 38:31-34 LXX 264
 31(38):33 106
 43:5-6 MT 265
 51:58 MT = 28:58 LXX 462
 51:31-35 LXX 263
 51:59-64 MT 265
 51:64 MT 263
 52:31-4 MT 266

Ezekiel

1:24 462
 ch. 7 282-4
 7:1-11 283-4
 7:2-12 282-3
 9:11 507
 10:2 484-5
 10:5 462, 507

Ezekiel (cont.)

12:21-25 283-4
 12:26-28 283-5
 17:22-24 284-5
 20:1 138
 20:6 473
 20:15 473
 21:15 284-5
 21:30-32 112-13, 284-5
 26:3 278
 26:4 278
 26:7 278
 26:15 278
 27:2 278
 27:3 278
 27:8 278
 27:32 278
 28:2 278
 28:12 278
 29:18 278
 29:20 278
 32:24-26 283-4
 34:23-24 284-5
 ch. 36 280
 chs. 36-39 275
 36:1-23 280
 36:16-32 280-1
 36:22-32 280-1
 36:23-38 276, 280-4
 36:23 283-4
 36:32 283-4
 36:33-36 280-1
 36:37-38 280-1
 ch. 37 280
 37:22-25 284-5
 ch. 39 280
 chs. 40-48 281-2, 284
 40:1-4 284
 42:15-20 284
 ch. 43 282
 43:1-12 284
 43:3 113
 47:1-12 284

Lamentations

1:2 331
 1:8 331
 1:9 331
 1:17 331

1:18 331
 1:20 331
 2:9 331
 3:22-24 330
 3:27-30 330
 3:29 330
 4:3 331
 4:4 331
 4:15 331
 4:20 113, 733
 4:21 331
 5:3 331
 5:7 331
 5:8 331

Daniel

1:2 294
 1:3 294
 1:8 293-4
 1:12 294
 1:16 294
 1:17-20 291-2
 1:20 294
 1:21 301
 2:1 293-4
 2:4 293-4
 2:6 293-4
 2:7 293-4
 2:9 293-4
 2:10-23 303
 2:10 293-4
 2:11 293-4
 2:26 293-4
 2:27 294
 2:34 294-5
 2:36 293-4
 2:45 294
 3:3 294
 3:22 294
 3:26-45 396
 3:26-56 575-6
 3:49 298
 3:50 294
 3:52-88 396
 3:57-88 575-6
 3:91 295
 3:92 293-4
 3:94 294
 4:1 138

- 4:3-6 291-2
 4:5 301-2
 4:7 293
 4:8 294
 4:10 293-4
 4:19 296-7
 4:30 294
 4:34 138
 chs. 5-6 303
 5:2-3 302
 5:7 294
 5:25-28 302
 6:11 584
 6:19(20) 295
 6:29 297
 chs. 7-9 303
 7:1 293-4
 7:9 301
 7:13 113-14, 301
 7:23 294
 chs. 8-9 282-3
 8:1 138
 8:2 293-4
 8:5 283-4
 8:7 294
 8:9 295
 8:13 294-5
 8:14 295
 9:4-19 584
 9:24-29 291-2
 9:24 195
 9:25-26 113
 9:26-27 301
 9:27 295
 10:5 294
 10:6 294
 10:13 293-4, 302-3
 10:21 293-4
 11:1 296-7, 301
 11:6 295
 11:30 294
 11:41 294
 12:1 293-4
 12:2-4 115
 12:6 294
 12:11 294
- Hosea*
 4:16 314, 702-3
- 6:2 472
 8:10 113
 9:2 313
 11:1 529-30
 13:1 313
 13:4 311-12
- Joel*
 1:7 313
 1:9-10 313
 1:11 313
 1:15 314
 2:6 315
 2:29 529-30
 2:32 (MT 3:5) 309
 3:5 724-6
- Amos*
 1:1 315
 1:4 315
 1:7 315
 1:10 315
 1:11 486
 1:14 315
 2:5 315
 2:16 313
 3:9 315
 3:10 315
 3:11 315
 4:5 313
 4:13 113
 6:8 315
 8:12-9:10 310
 9:4 362
 9:11-12 701
 9:13 701
- Obadiah*
 7 311-12
 12 313
 18 309, 314
- Jonah*
 2:3-10 396, 575-6
 2:3 578
 2:6 311
 3:3 311
 3:4 311, 617
 3:8 311
 3:9 220
 3:10 220

Jonah (cont.)

4:6 616

4:8 315

Micah

1:10–15 613–14

1:11 311–12

1:16 613–14

7:18 313

Nahum

1:6 313

1:7 314

1:9 314

1:12 312–13

1:14 313

1:15 314

2:3 313

2:11 315

3:1 315

3:3 313

3:12 311

Habakkuk

1:5 314, 486

1:11 313

1:12 313

2:2 464

2:6 311

2:11 483, 486

2:15 313

3:1–19 575–6

3:2–19 396

3:5 313

3:10–11 313

3:13 486

3:14 311

Zephaniah

1:3 311

1:4 311

2:5–7 613

3:7 313

3:9 313

Haggai

2:5 311–12

2:9 311–12

2:14 311–12

Zechariah

2:11 314

3:8 315–16

5:1 314

6:9–15 613–14

6:12 579

9:9 529–30

9:10 113

11:7 312–13

11:11 312–13

11:13 529–30

12:6 507

12:10 313

14:8 175

14:12–21 314

Malachi

2:2 507

3:1 507, 529–30

Tobit

1:1 390

2:2–3 390

5:17 390

11:4 390

14:4 390

Judith

6:16–17 391

7:1–2 391

8:6 631

8:19 627–8

9:7 391

10:21 391

13:9 391

13:15 391

15:1–7 391

16:19 391

Wisdom of Solomon

2:23–4 737

5:15 356

14:23 735–6

Sirach

4:21 362

7:17 732–3

25:24 737

45:25 113

46:19 218

47:11 113

47:22 113

49:10 307

Baruch

1:1 266

- 1:2 266
 1:1-2 268
 1:1-4 267-8
 1:1-14 266-7
 1:1-3:8 268-9
 11:15-3:8 267
 2:29 268
 3:9-5:9 268-9
 3:10-12 267
 3:36 632
- Susanna*
 54 386
 58 386
- 1 Maccabees*
 2:57 113
 3:3-9 113
 4:24 337
 5:4 337
 7:17 337
 8:17-20 75-6
 8:17 76
 9:21 113
 9:23 337
 14:20-3 75-6
 14:41 337
 16:23-24 393
- 2 Maccabees*
 1:1-10 393
 1:10 361
 1:24-9 584
 2:1-4 395
 2:23 393
 2:24 76
 Ch. 3 394
 7:28 737
 12:39-45 737
- 3 Maccabees*
 1:3 82
 6:1-23 82
- 4 Maccabees*
 17:8-10 394
 18:12 394
 18:24 582
- Psalms of Solomon*
 17 113-14
 18 113-14
- 1 Enoch*
 1:9 446, 526-7
 37-71 113-14
 103:3-4 442
- 4 Ezra*
 3:21 737
 7:116-18 737
- Matthew*
 1:18-23 470
 1:22-23 529-30
 1:23 108, 525-6
 2:15 529-30, 613
 2:17-18 529-30
 2:23 529-30
 4:14-16 529-30
 5:17 526-7
 7:12 526-7
 8:17 529-30
 12:17-21 529-30
 12:18-21 111
 13:35 529-30
 21:4-5 529-30
 23:2-3 611
 24:15 296, 446
 27:9-10 529-30
- Mark*
 1:2-3 529-30
- Luke*
 1:46-55 575-6
 1:68-79 575-6
 4:17 583-4
 4:18-19 576-7
 6:16 526-7
 7:5 583
 11:52 611
 18:10-13 584
 24:44 526-7
- John*
 1:1 608-9
 1:23 530
 2:17 530
 6:31 530
 6:45 530
 7:38 530
 10:34 530
 12:15 530

John (cont.)

12:38 530
12:40 530
13:18 530
15:25 530
19:7 450
19:24 530
19:36 530

Acts

1:15–26 727
2:18 529–30
2:31 732
2:39 724–5
4:24–30 584
7:2–53 525
8:26–31 679–80
13:15 583–4
13:16–41 525
13:27 583–4
18:2 461
19:39 112

Romans

8:3 525–6
9:30 725–6
9:30–10:13 724–5
9:32 725–6
9:33–10:13 725–6
9:33 531, 725–6
10:4 725–6
10:6 725–6
10:8 725–6
10:9 725–6
10:10 725–6
10:11 725–6
10:13 724–6
10:14–15 724–5
10:15 725
10:16 725
10:18 725
11:4 453, 530
15:3 724

1 Corinthians

8:6 110–11
9:9 530
9:21 112
15:45–9 115
15:54 450, 530

2 Corinthians

13:1 530

Galatians

1:5 582
2:11–14 614–16
3:13–14 613
3:13 472
4:24 607–8

Ephesians

5:19 584

Colossians

3:16 584

1 Timothy

5:18–19 530

2 Timothy

2:19 530
3:8 526–7

Hebrews

8:10 106
10:1–10 726
10:5 726
10:7 726
10:10 726
10:36 726
11:35–36 393
11:37 386, 526–7
11:38 393
13:21 726

James

2:8 531
2:11 531
2:23 531
4:5 531
4:6 531

1 Peter

1:16 531
1:24–25 531
2:3 531
2:6 531, 725–6
2:6–8 531
2:8 725–6
2:7 531
2:12 531
2:22 531
2:24 531
3:10–12 531

- 3:14 531
 3:15 531
 4:8 531
 4:18 531
 5:5 531
Revelation
 1:12–16 114
 1:14 301
 2:27 531
- Dead Sea Scrolls**
- 1QM (War Scroll)
 ix:1–11 474
 2QJer (2Q13) 260
 4QJer^a (4Q70) 260
 4QJer^b (4Q71) 260
 4QLXXLev^a (4Q119; Ra 801) 437–9
 4QpapLXXLev^b (4Q120; Ra 802) 437, 439
 4QLXXNum (4Q121; Ra 803) 437,
 439–41
 4QLXXDeut (4Q122; Ra 819) 437, 441
 4QSamuel^{a-c} (4Q21, 4Q52, 4Q53) 429, 443
 4QUnid gr (4Q126) 437, 442
 4Qpap paraExod gr (4Q127) 437,
 442–3
 4QFlorilegium (4Q174) 260, 296
 4QCommGen^a (4Q452)
 5:3–4 474
 7QpapEpJer (7Q2; Ra 804) 437, 442
 7QpapEn gr? (7Q4) 437, 442
 7QpapLXXExod (7Q1; Ra 805) 437–8
 8HevXIIgr (= Ra 943) 151, 220, 310–11, 436–9,
 441–2, 539
 11QT Temple Scroll (11Q19–20)
 lxiv, 6–13 472
 Hodayot 260
- Second Temple and Jewish Hellenistic Literature**
- Letter of Aristeas*
 §2 125
- §§9–11 14
 §13 81
 §14 83
 §§19–25 81
 §§22–5 128–9
 §36 81
 §37 81
 §39 14
 §§51–83 124
 §§83–120 124
 §§128–72 124
 §139 362
 §152 128
 §173 14
 §§187–300 124–5
 §189 125
 §195 125
 §222 125
 §307 14, 606
 §§310–11 14, 83, 183
- Sibylline Oracles*
 3 78
- Josephus**
- Against Apion (C. Ap.)*
 1.1–46 421
 1.9, 51 76–7
 1:37–43 385–6
 2.44 81
 2.49 82
 2.49–56 82
 2.63–4 83
 2.53–5 394
 2.151–235 421
- Jewish War (B.J.)*
 2:385 83–4
 2.497 84–5
 5:362–419 421
 7:369 84–5
 7.218 85
 7.421 84–5
 7.448–50 84–5
- Antiquities (Ant.)*
 1.5 424
 1.10 424
 1.17 424

Antiquities (Ant.) (cont.)

- 1.27-8 425
 1.38 428
 1.129 428
 1.203 426
 1.218 426
 2.91 428
 2.257 426
 2.259 427
 2.261 425
 2.264 425
 2.279 425
 3.72 425
 3.101 426
 3.151-78 427
 3.162 428
 3.197 427-8
 3.309 473-4
 10.218 424
 11.33-67 388-9
 12.20 424
 12.14 424
 12.15 424
 12.20 424
 12.107 424
 12.11-118 105-6, 605
 12.45 81
 13.3.1 §68 248-9
 13.75-8 83
 14.117-18 83
 14.127-36 83
 19.280-92 84
 18. 259-60 405
 20. 260-1 424
 20.263 76-7

Life (Vita)

- 418 421-2

Philo*Against Flaccus (Flacc.)*

- 43 83-4
 55 83-4
 74 83-4

Embassy to Gaius (Leg.)

- 132 83-4
 143-7 83-4

Life of Moses (Mos.)

- 2.12 413-14
 2.14 413-14
 2.17-20 413-14
 2.20 413-14
 2.26-44 413-14
 2.27 413-14
 2.25-44 413-14, 605
 2.32 413-14
 2.36 414
 2.40 413-14
 2.37 413-14
 2.41-2 130, 414
 2.42-3 414

Special Laws (Spec. Leg.)

- 1.76-8 85
 3.1-6 405

Classical Authors

Suetonius

- Dom.* 12.2 85

Dio

- 68.1.2 85
 68.32 86
 69.8 86

Diogenes Laertius

- 2.17 606-7

Rabbinic Sources

Mishnah

- m.Ned. 1:1 472
 m.Sot. 9:14 461
 m.Sanh. 6:4 472

Tosefta

- t.Sot. 15:8 461

Palestinian Talmud

- y.Sukkah 5.1 86
 y.Meg. 1:11 (71c) 461-2
 y.Qidd. 1:1 (59a) 461-2

Babylonian Talmud

- b.Ned. 9a 472
 b.Sot. 49b 461
 b.Sanh. 46b 472

- bMen. 81a 472
 b.Hul. 2a 472
 Midrash Bereshit Rabbah (Genesis Rabbah)
 8:11 472
 21:1 463
 46:3 462
 55:1–6 472
 Mekhilta de-Rabbi Ishmael
 I, 1 296
 Sifra
 be-har pereq 1 (Lev. 25:7) 461
 Midrash Tanḥuma
 mishpaṭim 3 [ed. Buber, 41a–b] 461
 ki tissa [ed. Buber 58b–59a] 460–1
 Avot de-Rabbi Nathan 363
- Patristic Sources**
- Adrian
 Introduction to the Divine Scriptures 590
 Ambrose of Milan
 Ob. Val. 59–61 632
 Spir. II, 6 627
 Apostolic Constitutions
 2.22 237
 7 585
 Athanasius of Alexandria
 Epistle to Marcellinus 599
 Athenagoras
 Embassy for the Christians (Leg.)
 §9 632
 Augustine of Hippo
 Annotations on Job (Adnot. Iob) 374
 On Christian Teaching (Doctr. Chr.)
 2.8.13 627
 2.11.16 609, 614
 2.13 307
 2.15.22 615, 615
 4.7.15 616–17
 4.20.41 616–17
 City of God (Civ. Dei)
 15:23 459
 18:36 388–9
 18.29 151, 307
 18:36 388–9
 18.42–44 523, 616–17
 18.43 616–17
 18.44 617
 Epistles
 28 614–16
 28.2 614–15
 40 614
 71 615–16
 71.2 615–16
 71. 615–16
 71.4 613, 615–16
 71.6 609
 75 616
 82 614, 616
 112 614
 Questions on the Heptateuch (Quaest. Hept.)
 Qu. 8 608–9
 Enarrations on the Psalms (Enarrat. Ps.)
 113 629–30
- Bachiarius
 De reparatione lapsi 630–1
 Bede
 De ratione temporum 4 374
 Clement of Alexandria
 Stromata 1.22.148–9 115–16, 130, 361–2, 606
 Exhortation to the Greeks (Protr.) 606–7
 Cyprian of Carthage
 To Quirinius: Testimonies against the Jews
 (*Test.*) 625–6
 Decretum Gelasianum 627
 Epiphanius of Salamis
 On Weights and Measures (Mens. et
 Pond.) 459–60, 470–1, 482
 §§2–21 567
 §4 387–8
 §7 556
 §11 611
 §15 461
 §16 460
 §17 450, 459–60
 §18–19 483
 Panarion (Pan.)
 8.6.1–4 387–8
 64.3.5–7 567
 Epistle of Peter
 1.2 611

- Eusebius of Caesarea
Comm. Isa.
 1.71 on 16:6–14 469
 1.85 on 25:6–8 469
Ecclesiastical History (Hist. eccl.)
 3.10.6 394
 4.2 86
 4.26 308, 386
 5.8.10 459
 6.6 553
 6.16.1–3 481–2, 553
 6.17 470
 6.25.1–2 393
 7.32.16 361
 8.2 566
Preparation for the Gospel (Praep. Ev.)
 7.13 361
 8.9.38 361
 9.6.6–8 361
 13.12.1 130, 361–2
Life of Constantine (Vit. Const.)
 4.37.1 567–8
- Gregory the Great
Moralia on Job (Moral.) 374
Ep. 5 618
- Gregory of Nazianzus
Carm. I.12 151
- Hilary of Poitiers
Tractates on the Psalms
 2.2 611
- Innocent I
Letter to Exsuperius 627
- Irenaeus
Against Heresies (adv. Haer.)
 3.21.1 459, 470
 3.21.1–10 523
 3.21.2 606
 3.23 450
- Isidore of Seville
Etymologies
 6.4.5 618
- Jerome
Comm. Amos
 3:11 469
Comm. Daniel
 Prologue 613
 I.4.5 291–2
Comm. Eccles.
 Prologue 612
Comm. Ezech.
 33:23–33 613
Comm. Gal.
 3:13–14 613
Comm. Habac.
 2:11 483
 3:13 483
Comm. Isa.
 Bk. XV, Prol. 613
 Bk. XVI, Prol. 612
 7:14 613
 8:11–15 461
 10:28–32 613
 28:9–13 613–14
 29:15–16 613
 49:5 461
 58:11 612
Comm. Jer.
 Prol. 613
 17:1–4 613
 18:1–10 613
 19:6 613
 22:13–17 613
 22:29–30 613
 23:36–40 613
 27:18–22 613
 30:12–15 613
 31:15 613
 31:21–2 613
 31:37 613
Comm. Matt.
 2:15 613
Comm. Mich.
 1:10–15 613
 1.16 613
Comm. Tit.
 3:9 482–3, 556, 566–7
Comm. Zach.
 6:9–15 613–14
Comm. Zeph.
 2:5–7 613
Epistles
 20.2 612

- 25 137
 32.1 612
 34.4 612
 57 460, 463–4, 613, 616,
 71.5 612
 106 454, 612–13
 112 612, 616
 134.2 612
Hebrew Questions on Genesis (Qu. Hebr. Gen.) 493–4
 Prol. 613
 1:1 608–9
Pref. to Eusebius's Chronicon 482–3
Pref. to Origen's Hom. Cant. 482–3
Pref. Chronicles (IH) 612–13
Pref. Chronicles/Paralip. (LXX) 23, 206, 537, 565–6, 594, 613
Pref. Dan. 613
Pref. Ezra-Neh. 613
Pref. Gosp. 612
Pref. Job. (IH) 613
Pref. Josh. 613
Pref. Nom. Hebr. 612
Pref. Pent. 613
Pref. Prov. (LXX) 612
Prologus Galeatus 137
Prol. Iudith 391
Prol. libro Regum 386–8, 393
Prol. in libris Salomonis 388
Prol. Tobiae 389
Against Rufinus (adv. Ruf.)
 2.24 612–13
 2.34 486, 613
 3.25 612
Tractates on the Psalms (Tract. Ps.)
 75:3 (MT 76:3) 613
 115:11 (MT 116:11) 613
De viris illustribus (Vir. illus.)
 54 482–3
 75 566
 113 566
- John of Damascus
Sacra Parallela 624
- Julianus Africanus
Letter to Origen (Ep. ad Orig.)
 §5 386
 §6 386
- Justin Martyr
 1 *Apology (1 Apol.)*
 31.1–5 606–7
Dialogue with Trypho (Dial.)
 71.1–2 523, 606
 71–72 523
Liber de diuinis scripturis 625, 629–30
- Olympiodorus
Comm. in beatum Job
 42:11 375
- Origen
Letter to Africanus (Ep. Afr.)
 §2 21
 §§3–4 369–70
 §§3–7 563
 §4 459
 §5 386
 §8 386
 §13–14 386, 389
 §§18–19 386, 391
Comm. Matt.
 15.4 23–4, 369–70, 563
Contra Celsum (Cels.)
 7.25 330
Exhortation to Martyrdom 394
Homiliae in Canticum (Hom. Cant.)
 §1 395–6
Homiliae in Jeremiam. (Hom. Jer.)
 15:5 555
 16:18 555
Homiliae in Psalmos (Hom. Ps.)
 77.1.1 564
Philocalia (Philoc.)
 2.2 611
Selecta in Genesim (Sel. Gen.)
 2:4 555
Selecta in Psalmos (Sel. Ps.)
 2:12 555
 3:8 555
- Palladius of Galatia
Lausiaca History (Hist. Laus.)
 §64 471
De Pascha Computus 610
- Prosper of Aquitaine
De Ingratis
 1.55–60 618

- Pseudo-Chrysostom
Synopsis of Sacred Scripture 387
- Pseudo-Jerome
Quaestiones Hebraicae in Paralipomena 237
- Pseudo-Justin
Cohortatio ad Graecos
 §13 523
- Rufinus of Aquileia
Apology Against Jerome (Apol. Hier.)
 2.32-7 613
Synopsis Scripturae Sacrae
 (Ps.-Athanasius) 481, 484
- Tertullian
On the Soul (An.)
 11.1-2 608-9
Apology (Apol.)
 18.5-9 606-7
On Baptism (Bapt.)
 3.2 608-9
The Apparel of Women (Cult. fem.)
 §1.3 387
Against Hermogenes (Herm.)
 19.1-4 608-9
 19.5 608-9
 20.1-5 608-9
Against Marcion (Marc.)
 2.9.1-2 608-9
 4.1.1 -607 607-8
 5.4.8 -607 607-8
On Monogamy (Mon.)
 11.10-11 607-8
Against Praxeas (Prax.)
 5.1 608-9
 5.2-3 608-9
- Verecundus
Commentarii super Cantica 2, 4 627-8
- Papyri**
- Pap 967 (*see also* P.Chester Beatty IX/X)
 138, 275-86, 292-3, 296-8, 302-3,
 629-30
- P. Alex. Inv. 203 (= Ra 850) 149
- P. Ant. 8 and 210 (= Ra 928) 557
- P. Berlin 6788 (= Ra 834) 379
- P. Berlin 11,778 (= Ra 974) 379
- P. Bodmer III 673
- P. Bodmer VI 672
- P. Bodmer XXIV 456, 726
- P. BodmerXXIX 629-30
- P. Bodmer 861 292-3
- P. Carlsberg 49 (Copenhagen,
 Univ.-Bibl.) 490
- P. Chester Beatty V-XVIII 138
- P. Chester Beatty V (= Ra 962) 138, 379
- P. Chester Beatty VI (= Ra 961, 963) 138
- P. Chester Beatty VII + P. Mert. 2
 (= Ra 965) 138
- P. Chester Beatty VIII (= Ra 966) 138, 379
- P. Chester Beatty IX/X (= Ra 967) 138
- P. Chester Beatty XI (= Ra 964) 138
- P. Chester Beatty XIII (= Ra 2149) 138
- P. Chester Beatty XIV (= Ra 2150) 138
- P. Chester Beatty XV (= Ra 2151) 138
- P. Chester Beatty XVIII (= Ra 854) 138, 379
- P. Fouad (= Ra 942, 848, 847) 18, 137
- P. Gen. Inv. 99 (= Ra 883) 490
- P. Grenf. 1.5 (= Ra 922, Ox. Gr. Bibl. D. 4)
 557, 562
- P. Harrauer 33 84
- P. Inv. 19 (= [Ra 884] Gießen Univ.-Bibl.) 490
- P. Oxy 1007 137
- P. Oxy 1166 (= Ra 944) 149
- P. Oxy 1168 (= Ra 946) 201
- P. Oxy 2193 379
- P. Oxy 3522 (= Ra 857) 138, 379
- P. Oxy 4443 139, 631-2
- P. Oxy 5101 138-9
- P. Oxy 75.5020 391
- P. Ryl.458 18, 137, 435
- P. Vindob. G. 35,767 (= Ra 855) 379

PSI 1163 (= Ra 955) 379
 Schøyen MS 2648 (= Ra 816) 201
 W = Codex Washingtonianus/
 Washingtonensis 151, 201, 308, 311

Ostraca

Cairo Ostrakon 215 (= Ra 999) 391

Parchment

(see also Subject Index for Alexandrinus,
 Sinaiticus, Vaticanus)
 A = Codex Alexandrinus (BL, London Royal
 1 D. V–VIII) 151, 154
 B = Codex Vaticanus (Rome, Vat. gr.
 1209) 151, 153
 C = Codex Ephremi rescriptus (Paris, BnF,
 Gr. 9) 150–1
 G = Codex Sarravianus-Colbertinus (Leiden,
 Univ.Bibl., Voss. graec. in qu. 8) 157, 557,
 562, 655
 Q = Codex Marchalianus (Rome, Bibl. Vat.,
 Vat. gr. 2125) 41, 157, 267, 557, 567
 S = Codex Sinaiticus (London, Leipzig,
 Petersburg, Sinai; BL Add. 43,725 etc.)
 151–2, 557
 V = Codex Venetus (Rome, Bibl. Vat., Vat. Gr.
 2106, and Venice, Bibl. Marc., Gr.1) 151,
 153–4, 557, 562
 CPJ 1.127a–e 82
 CPJ 2.151 (= BGU 4.1140) 83–4
 CPJ 2.153 (= P.Lond. 6.1912) 84
 CPJ 2.227 85
 CPJ 2.238 85–6
 CPJ 2.435 (= P.Mil.Vogl. 2.47) 84–5
 CPJ 3.460 85
 CPJ 3.445 86
 CPJ 3.448 86
 CPJ 3.450 86
 CPJ 3.473 (= P.Oxy 9.1205) 86–7

Inscriptions

JIGRE 5–8 83
 JIGRE 22, 117 81–2
 JIGRE 114.6f. (P.PolitIud 1.17f.) 83–4
 JIGRE 125 81–2
 JIGRE 129 81–2

List by Rahlfsnummer

Ra 46 (= BnF, Coisl. 4) 151
 Ra 68 (= Venice, Marc. gr. 5) 151
 Ra 88 (= R. VII Chigi. 45) 157, 293, 296, 557
 Ra 106 (= Biblioteca Comunale 187
 I. II + 188 II) 151
 Ra 122 (= Venice, Marc. gr. 6) 151
 Ra 130 (Vienna, Österreichische
 Nationalbibliothek Theol. gr. 23) 151
 Ra 413 592–3
 Ra 420 (= BL Add. 21259) 151
 Ra 631 (= Prague, E. VI. f. 19) 151
 Ra 801 (= 4QLXXLev^a /4Q119) 437–9
 Ra 802 (=4QpapLXXLev^b /4Q120) 437, 439
 Ra 803 (= 4QLXXNum /4Q121) 437, 439–41
 Ra 805 (= 7QpapLXXExod /7Q1) 437–8
 Ra 816 (= Schøyen MS 2648) 201
 Ra 819 (= 4QLXXDeut /4Q122) 437, 441
 Ra 834 (= P.Berlin 6788) 379
 Ra 847 (= P.Fouad) 18, 137
 Ra 848 (= P.Fouad) 18, 137
 Ra 850 (= P.Alex. Inv. 203) 149
 Ra 855 (= P.Vindob. G. 35,767) 379
 Ra 857 (= P.Oxy 3522) 138, 379
 Ra 883 (= P.Gen. Inv.99) 490
 [Ra 884] (= P.Inv. 19) 490
 Ra 922 (= P.Grenf. 1.5, Ox. Gr. Bibl. D. 4)
 557, 562
 Ra 928 (= P.Ant. 8 + 210) 355–6, 557
 Ra 942 (= P.Fouad) 18, 137

- Ra 943 (= 8HevXIIgr) 151, 220, 310-11, 436-9, 441-2, 539
Ra 944 (= P.Oxy 1166) 149
Ra 946 (= P.Oxy 1168) 201
Ra 952 632
Ra 955 (= PSI 1163) 379
Ra 962 (= P.Chester Beatty VIII) 379
Ra 974 (= P.Berlin 11778) 379
Ra 999 (= Cairo Ostrakon 215) 391
Ra 1098 (= Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana Ambr. sup. O. 39) 464, 565
Ra 1133 (= Paris, BnF, Par. gr. 139) 147-8
Ra 1173 (= Rome, Vat. gr. 752) 155
Ra 2005 (= Camb. Univ. Libr., T-S 12. 182) 156, 464

INDEX OF SUBJECTS

For the benefit of digital users, indexed terms that span two pages (e.g., 52–53) may, on occasion, appear on only one of those pages

Note: Page references followed by a “*t*” indicate table

- Alexandria 14, 19, 77, 128–9, 131–2, 360, 362,
405, 413–14, 455, 470, 554, 561, 659, 672
Great Synagogue in 86, 363
Jewish *Politeuma* in 83–4, 126
Jews and Judaism in 25, 81–7, 93, 105–6,
114, 123, 129–32, 191–2, 248, 357–8, 394,
405, 407, 455
Library of 14, 36, 105–6, 121, 126, 192, 554,
564–5
Museion, Museum 105–6, 192, 248
Alexandrinus, Codex (Ra A) 24–7, 33, 42–7,
145, 151, 154, 201, 205–6, 227, 245–6,
260, 322, 369, 375, 387–8, 395–6, 439
Allegory, allegorical exegesis (*see also* Philo of
Alexandria) 406–9, 630–1
Ambrose of Milan 484–5, 610–11, 624, 627, 632
Antioch 77–8, 391, 394
Antiochian/Lucianic text, Antiochian/
Lucianic recension 24, 60, 201–2, 205,
205–6, 206, 206–7, 207, 208, 211, 221–2,
228, 228, 228, 229, 229, 231–2, 232,
235–6, 238–9, 239–40, 323–4, 340, 369,
373, 373–4, 375, 392, 423, 424, 428–9,
442, 445, 454, 454, 455, 456, 481, 485,
530, 487, 537–47, 547, 594, 612, 628–9,
631–2, 641–2, 648, 662, 662, 662–3,
665–6, 693, 694
Antiochus IV Epiphanes 85–6, 203–4, 282–4,
296–7, 392–3
Apocrypha (*see also* Canon; Deuterocanonical
works) 13, 19–20, 24–5, 41, 43, 109,
112–13, 292–3, 385–96, 410–11, 442,
526–7, 531, 627, 657, 736–8, 740–1
Apologetics 129, 406, 410, 425, 459–60,
523–4, 565, 595–6
Aquila 21–3, 78, 149, 156–7, 189–90, 207, 226,
236, 260, 295, 299–300, 311, 327, 331,
343–4, 377, 412–13, 440–1, 450, 459–65,
469–70, 473, 475–6, 481–2, 485, 502,
504–11, 513, 515, 553, 562–3, 566–8, 595,
611, 613, 616, 657, 660
Arabic versions 41, 374, 673, 675–9, 683
Aramaic
Knowledge of among Jews 73–6, 81–3,
91–2, 98–9, 137, 149, 194, 238, 255, 307,
328–9, 344, 354, 391, 421–4, 427, 462–3,
502, 511, 525
Targum of Job at Qumran 376–7
as Vorlage of scriptural works 268, 295–7,
299–303, 385, 389, 391, 429–30
Aristarchan signs (text-critical symbols) 37–8,
44, 157, 207, 221, 293, 355, 369–70,
555–6, 562, 564–8, 614–16, 624, 655–6,
662–3, 665–6
Aristarchus of Samothrace 554^t, 555, 564–5
Aristeas, Letter of 14–15, 18–19, 34–6, 39–40,
43–4, 47, 73–4, 81, 83, 105–6, 121–32,
183, 360, 362, 387, 413–14, 422, 425, 436,
589–90, 592–3, 599, 605–7, 734–5, 750
Aristobulus 14, 83, 130, 353, 360–2
Armenian version 60, 229, 543, 631–2, 639–42
Augustine of Hippo 25–6, 39–40, 151, 236,
307, 374, 388–9, 523, 609–11, 614, 617,
624, 626–7, 629–30, 734–5
Authority (of forms of scripture *see also*
Canon) 15, 17–20, 23, 25–6, 33–5,
38–9, 41–3, 390, 410–11, 430–1, 436,
454, 459–62, 469–70, 566–7, 590,
593–4, 605–9, 614–18, 623, 640–1, 715,
734–5, 740

- Barhebraeus 491, 658–9
 Baruch, book of 259, 263, 266–70, 627–9, 632
 Ben Sira, book of (*see* Sirach)
 bilingualism 91–2, 192, 414, 421–2
 bilingual texts 446, 496, 639–40, 673–4, 676, 678–81
 Bohairic version 373, 673–4
 Byzantine exegetical literature 35, 388, 412, 482, 506, 590–2, 596–9
 Byzantium 21–2, 503–6, 589, 594

 Caesarea Maritima 21–2, 24–5, 34–5, 153–4, 412–13, 470–1, 491–3, 553, 561–2, 565–7
 Cairo Genizah 22, 156, 469–70, 507, 509, 565
 Canon, canonical works of Scripture (*see also* Authority) 18, 20, 23–5, 35–6, 38, 148–54, 296, 355, 386–7, 395–6, 442, 526–7, 627, 682–3, 712, 715, 731–2, 734–42
 Canon, Alexandrian 19–20, 526–7, 735
 Canon, Hebrew/Jewish 19–20, 25, 363, 377, 385–7, 390, 392, 395–6, 471, 526–7, 624, 731–2, 735–7, 741
 Canonical lists 308, 386–9, 395, 623, 626–7, 682, 741
 Canticles (Song of Songs) 19, 62, 78, 173–4, 321, 328, 331–2, 386–8, 482–6, 526–7, 568, 612, 624–6, 632, 645, 661–3, 673–4, 745
 Catenae 21, 35, 146, 154–6, 237, 374–5, 482–4, 487, 491, 493–4, 497, 591–3, 596–9, 663, 750–1, 753–5
 Chronicles, books of (Paralipomena, Paralipomenon) 110, 195, 235–40, 537, 539, 545, 612, 641–2, 644, 648–9, 657
 Church, Greek Orthodox 573–85, 732
 Church Slavonic version 646–50
 Clement of Alexandria 115–16, 361–2, 392, 606
 Codex form 24–5, 53–4, 148–50
 Colophons 77, 130, 152–3, 263, 265, 267–8, 326, 555–62, 565–7, 658–9, 661–2, 748–50, 753
 Commentaries, ancient 35, 237, 291–2, 316, 373–5, 386, 388, 406–10, 461, 469–70, 484, 507, 555, 566, 595–7, 610–14, 616, 625–6, 633, 657–8, 661, 703–4
 Constantine the Great 154, 476, 567–8, 590
 Constantinople Pentateuch 464, 511–14
 Coptic versions (*see also* Bohairic; Sahidic) 41, 311, 373, 633, 671–5, 683, 709–10

 Court, Hellenistic Alexandrian royal 76–7, 81–3, 122, 126, 131, 240
 Court, Herodian 75–7
 Covenant 107, 111, 171–2, 525–6, 580, 738–9, 741–2
 Critical signs—*see* Aristarchan signs
 Cyprian of Carthage 373, 538, 542, 546, 607–10, 629–30

 Daniel, book of 18, 21, 24–5, 25, 78, 78, 115, 154, 195, 275, 291–303, 386, 446, 450, 527, 531, 546, 563, 563–4, 595–6, 610, 613, 627, 629, 639–40, 641–2, 659, 666, 693, 740
 Hymns in 292–3, 297–8, 575–6
 Dead Sea Scrolls *see also* Qumran; Naḥal Ḥever) 74–5, 230, 259–60, 358, 392, 435–46, 524, 527, 595, 710–12, 716–18
 Deissmann, Adolf 92–3, 106–7, 700–1, 723, 727–8
 Demetrius of Phalerum 121–2, 130, 606–7
 Demetrius the Chronographer 17, 226
 Descriptive Translation Studies 28–9
 Deuterocanon, deuterocanonical works (*see also* Apocrypha) 13, 55–8, 62, 109, 291–3, 296–8, 301–3, 385–96, 442, 526–7, 618, 627, 680, 682, 731–2, 736, 739–40
 Deuteronomy, book of 137, 169, 267, 411, 435, 441, 445, 490–3, 495, 527, 530, 641–2, 644, 748
 Didymus the Blind 373–4, 633
 Dionysios Bar Salibi 658
 Divine Liturgy (Greek Orthodox) 573–86
 Citation of LXX in 577–9
 Divine names (*see also* Nomina sacra; Tetragrammaton) 109–11, 137–9, 169–70, 184, 196, 278–9, 285–6, 329, 346, 439, 462, 491, 506, 513–14, 599, 724–5, 734–5
 Documentary texts (*see also* Papyri) 74–5, 83–7, 92–4, 99–100, 136–7, 184, 446, 583, 591, 676, 701
 Doublets, double translations 204, 206–9, 221–2, 235–6, 299–303, 354–5, 363–5, 380, 392, 444, 473, 476, 540, 642, 681

 Ecclesiastes (Qohelet) 19, 78, 321, 327–9, 331, 386–7, 487, 502, 568, 658, 663, 665–6, 673–4

- Ecclesiasticus (*see also* Sirach) 237, 618, 627, 629–30, 633, 639–42
- Education, Jewish, in Greek 16–17, 75–7, 98–100, 105, 192, 338–9, 376, 505–6
- Egypt (*see also* Alexandria; Cairo Geniza; papyri) 17, 19, 23, 73–8, 81–7, 92–3, 121–4, 126, 129, 131, 136, 140, 149, 153–4, 201–4, 209, 240, 246, 248–9, 251, 265, 275, 308, 326, 338, 340, 360, 373–4, 388, 391–4, 405, 411–12, 454–5, 490, 494, 497, 503–4, 506, 580, 583–5, 594, 606–7, 659, 672–3, 677, 679–81, 698, 700–1
- Egyptians 16, 75, 83–6
- Enoch, book of First 78, 113–14, 386–7, 442, 446, 526–7, 682, 740, 751
- Epigraphy, inscriptions 19, 22, 73–5, 81–3, 92–4, 135, 139–41, 211, 346–7, 394, 464, 490, 504, 583, 591, 644–5, 679–81, 723–4, 727
- Hefzibah stele 74–5
- Maresha 74–5
- Nicea 464, 504
- Theodotos inscription 583–5
- Thessalonica 495–7
- Yavneh-Yam 74–5
- Epiphanius of Salamis 295–6, 387–8, 450, 459–61, 470–1, 481–4, 494, 556, 567, 611
- Eschatology 109, 113, 115, 254, 276, 283–4, 346, 357, 359, 475, 532, 732–3, 737–8, 741–2
- Esdras, First book of 19–20, 78, 237–40, 294, 321–2, 387–9, 429, 627–8, 644, 657
- Esdras, Second book of 152, 239–40, 387–9, 440, 627, 661–2
- Esther, book of 18–19, 57, 77, 130, 153, 275, 321, 323–6, 331–2, 387–8, 391, 629, 631–2, 693–4, 741–2
- Additions to 324–5, 386, 429–31, 623, 627, 737
- Alpha-Text of 323–4, 693
- Colophon to, in Sinaiticus 77, 130, 152–3, 559
- Josephus's retelling of 429–31
- Oxyrhynchus fragment of 139
- Ethiopic versions 41, 236, 374, 679–83
- Ge'ez 679–82
- Etymology 171, 187, 191, 195, 281, 315, 328–9, 342, 344, 460, 464, 554–5, 599, 625–6, 701
- Eupolemos 239–40
- Eusebius of Caesarea 39–40, 76, 86, 154, 361, 369–70, 394, 459–60, 462, 469–70, 476, 481–3, 491, 494, 553–4, 560–8, 596, 660–1
- Exegesis (*see also* allegory; eschatology; messianism; Philo of Alexandria; theology) in LXX 106–8, 113, 189–92, 195, 221, 246, 248, 250–4, 277, 282, 311–12, 345–6, 361, 363–4, 377
- medieval Jewish 506–7, 511, 514
- New Testament 724
- rabbinic 197, 299–300, 451, 462–4, 471–2
- patristic and Byzantine 28, 35, 152, 154–6, 269, 291–2, 373, 483, 485, 565, 593, 595–9, 610–11, 613, 633–4, 658, 663
- Samaritan 491, 493–4, 496–8
- Visual 746–7, 753, 755
- Exodus, book of 84, 97–8, 128–9, 165–6, 173, 186–91, 197, 204, 219–20, 388, 406–7, 409, 423–8, 437, 442–3, 445, 450, 476, 490–1, 497, 508, 512, 629, 631, 633, 662–3, 665, 748
- Ezekiel, book of 97–8, 138, 195, 275–86, 296–7, 310, 475, 629–30
- Ezekiel the Tragedian 411
- Ezra-Nehemiah, books of (*see also* Nehemiah) 296, 309, 388–9, 429
- Fortschreibung 266, 713–14
- Frankel, Zacharias 92–3, 106–7, 166–7
- Genesis, book of 45, 97–8, 105–7, 109–10, 115, 139, 174–6, 186–7, 190, 193, 197, 337, 388, 406–8, 410–11, 414, 426, 428, 445, 490–1, 507–8, 512, 514, 527, 530, 563–4, 608–9, 658, 746–7
- Georgian version 229, 543, 643–6
- Glossaries 22, 426, 428, 506–7, 510–11, 514–15, 593, 599, 657
- Gospels 111, 114, 149, 346–7, 450, 470, 526, 528–30, 733–4
- Göttingen Unternehmen (*see also* Septuagint editions—Göttingen) 27, 58, 60, 135, 137, 157, 205–6, 436, 438–9, 465, 484–5, 543, 545, 591, 641, 662
- Grabe, Johann (John) Ernst 19–20, 33, 44–7, 57
- Graecus Venetus 501–2, 510, 593
- Greek language
- Atticism 206–7, 221–2, 235–6, 405–6, 501–2, 505

- Greek language (*cont.*)
 'Biblical' 92-3, 95, 218-19
 Jewish-Greek dialect 92-3, 727
 Koine 16-17, 91, 97-100, 165, 184, 218, 226,
 376, 486-7, 505, 513, 573-4, 727
 Ptolemaic 81-2, 204-5, 580-1, 700-1
 Register of 92-3, 593, 727
 'Translation' Greek 91-3, 95-7, 204, 208, 343
 used in LXX 91-100, 203-4, 208-9, 315, 698
 use in Jewish worship 149, 339, 422, 504,
 583-6
 in Christian liturgy 573-85
 Gregory the Great 374, 618, 623
- Hebraisms, Hebraic style in LXX 78, 91-2,
 96-7, 184-7, 204, 238, 268, 299-300,
 311-12, 315, 388, 391, 526, 539, 544,
 581-2, 695-6, 698-700, 727
- Hebrew Bible (*see also* Hebrew text; Old
 Testament)
 Corpus and canon of 13, 18, 24-5, 35-6,
 203-4, 308, 321, 385-6, 526-7, 735, 740
- Hebrew language 78, 97-8, 459-61, 562-3
 Significant features of, for LXX
 translators 165-72, 175, 184-9, 375-6
 Treatment of idioms by translators 16-17,
 96, 172, 208, 250, 294, 322-3, 326, 582,
 699-700
 Treatment of hapax legomena by translators
 173, 208-9, 315, 329, 370
 translators' knowledge of 344, 380, 614-15
 vocabulary of 171-4, 190-1, 220
 wordplay in 174, 315, 386, 461-2
- Hebrew text
 As Vorlage of LXX 18, 106-9, 166, 169-70,
 173, 175, 201-4, 217-18, 239, 245-6,
 259-63, 268, 285, 292-3, 299-300,
 311-13, 323, 339, 343, 345, 354, 360,
 363-4, 371, 396, 438-9, 443-5, 449-50,
 453, 455, 527-8, 531-2, 540-1, 543,
 681, 715-16
 Masoretic Text, reading of 18, 106, 114-15,
 138-9, 169-70, 202, 207-8, 210-11,
 230-1, 245-6, 269, 295, 302-3, 308-9,
 330, 339-40, 358-9, 369, 449-50,
 523-4, 541, 628-9, 675, 678-9, 696-7,
 702, 709, 724-5
 proto-Masoretic text 230-1, 239, 260, 311,
 339, 453, 455, 541, 639-40, 723
 at Qumran 202, 205, 222, 230-1, 239-40,
 260-2, 275, 282, 295, 301-2, 308, 311,
 339, 376-7, 389-90, 396, 429, 527-8,
 538-40, 543, 631, 716-18, 739
 Redactional activity in 210, 231-2, 262, 264,
 266-7, 282-4, 299-300, 303, 363, 712-14
 Status of, among Christians 25-7, 41-3, 45,
 47, 523-4, 564, 731-2, 739
- Hebrews, Letter to the 346-7, 393, 450, 526-7,
 530-1, 726
- Heptateuch, *Eptaticus* 610-11, 627
- Hesychian text, Hesychian recension 23, 53,
 60, 206, 454, 538, 594
- Hexapla (*see also* Origen) 21, 34-5, 41, 44, 53,
 156-7, 363, 369-70, 464, 475, 481-2,
 485, 553-68, 594-5, 615-16, 655-6,
 660-1, 734-5
 Readings from (*see also* Aquila; *recentiores*;
 Symmachus; Theodotion) 58, 61, 156,
 211, 221-2, 291-2, 295-6, 311, 327, 331, 355,
 370, 450, 463-5, 469, 483, 487, 489-91,
 493, 501, 507-9, 544-6, 567, 592-5, 598,
 610-12, 641-2, 655, 658, 663, 666
- Hexaplaric (Origenian, Origenic) text,
 Hexaplaric recension 27, 34-5, 152-4,
 205-9, 221, 227-31, 235-6, 285, 292-4,
 296, 330, 355-6, 363, 365, 369-70,
 373-4, 392, 454, 491, 538-40, 542, 544,
 565-6, 594, 612-16, 618, 624-7, 629,
 641-2, 648, 655-6, 659-60, 662-3,
 666, 678-9, 682
- Hexateuch, Ambrosian 157, 508
- Hilary of Poitiers 611, 627
- Hody, Humphrey 14-15, 43-4, 47, 122
- Illustrations 155, 745-55
- Inscriptions *see* Epigraphy
- Interlinear Paradigm 16-17, 95, 170, 338,
 341, 696
- Intertextuality 19, 238, 314, 362, 528-9, 678-9,
 724-5, 753
- Irenaeus of Lyons 450, 459, 470, 523, 538, 542,
 546, 606
- Isaiah, book of 19, 106-7, 109-10, 153, 194-5,
 245-55, 309, 312, 392, 396, 446,

- 469–70, 473–4, 527, 530–1, 561, 579–80,
584–5, 612, 632, 662–3, 725–6, 733, 755
- Isho'dad of Merv 658, 678–9
- Jason of Cyrene 76, 78, 393
- Jeremiah, book of (*see also* Baruch) 18, 110,
195, 230, 249–50, 259–68, 278–9, 362,
387–8, 395, 446, 451–3, 530–1, 627–9,
632–3, 645, 717–18, 739, 748–50
Letter/Epistle of Jeremiah 19–20, 385,
387–8, 395, 442, 446
- Jerome, St. 23, 25–6, 39–40, 53, 60, 137, 206,
259, 267, 291–2, 324, 338, 375, 377,
386–9, 391, 393, 454, 460–1, 463–4,
469, 482–3, 485–6, 493–4, 523, 537, 556,
565–7, 594, 611–18, 623–9, 734–5, 737
Iuxta Hebraeos version (*see also*
Vulgate) 259, 324, 374, 469, 594, 612,
618, 623, 627–8, 632
Hebraica veritas 25–6, 259, 267, 626–7,
734–5
- Jews, Judaism
Byzantine 21–2, 149, 503–11
Diaspora 20–2, 73–8, 137, 248, 265, 346,
422, 430–1, 455, 583–5
Diaspora Revolt 20, 85–6, 394
Egypt (*see also* Jews, Alexandrian,
above) 85–7, 126, 131, 388, 391, 580,
584–5
Hellenistic 15, 20, 28, 40, 105–7, 248, 255,
359, 501–2, 525, 727
Palestinian 21–2, 73–8, 113–14, 192, 248,
358–60, 455, 583
Rabbinic 20, 269, 412–13, 460–3, 471–5,
526–7
- Job, book of 19, 21, 358, 361–2, 369–80, 386–7,
462, 472, 476, 487, 561, 563–4, 568, 598,
610, 614–15, 624, 629, 666, 754
- John Chrysostom 24, 296, 375, 537, 545, 596
- John, Gospel of (Fourth Gospel) 346–7, 530
- Jonah, book of (*see also* Minor Prophets;
Prayer of Jonah) 308, 315, 422–3, 502,
510, 615–17
- Jonathan ben Uzziel 450–1
- Josephus, Flavius 14–15, 17–18, 43, 76–8, 81–5,
105–6, 121–2, 206–9, 231, 239–40, 260,
296, 299, 385–6, 388–9, 393–4, 405,
421–32, 443, 449–50, 538, 543, 546–7,
583–4, 605–7, 735–6
- Joshua, book of 35, 37–8, 43, 195, 201–5, 212,
410–11, 450, 507, 659, 752
- Jude, Letter of 442, 446, 526–7, 531
- Judea 73–8, 128–9, 392–3, 583
- Judaeo-Greek 45, 464–5, 502, 513–14
- Judeo-Spanish (Ladino) 511–12, 514
- Judges, books of 18, 196, 204–11, 411, 510–11, 657
A and B texts 60, 456, 693–4
- Judith, book of 78, 385–8, 390–1, 618, 623, 631,
741–2
- Julian of Eclanum 375, 623
- Justin Martyr 22–4, 34–5, 106, 108–9, 114,
450, 606, 734
- Justinian, emperor 21–2, 460–1
Novella 146 21–2, 460–1, 504–5
- Justus of Tiberias 76–8
- Kahle, Paul 15–16, 35, 129, 436, 438, 442, 446,
481–3, 486, 493–4, 527–8, 710
- Kaige revision, Kaige recension 20–1, 73,
77–8, 205–9, 211, 219–22, 226–9, 231–2,
235–6, 238–9, 363, 450–1, 485, 529–30,
538–9, 543, 546, 675
Characteristics of 207, 220, 225, 227, 230–1,
322–3, 327, 329, 331, 338, 363, 449,
451–2, 463–4
Kaige group 311, 340–1, 363, 450–2, 455,
486
Kaige-Theodotion 20–1, 221–2, 295, 331,
370–1, 441, 449–56, 463–4, 469
Semi-Kaige 449–56
Pre-Kaige 278–9
- Kingdoms, books of (Reigns; 1–2 Samuel
and 1–2 Kings) 110, 217–23, 225–32,
235–7, 411, 451–2, 464, 487, 543, 547,
560–1, 576–7, 597–9, 633, 657, 659,
661, 663, 752–3
- Lactantius 609
- Lagarde, Paul de 15–16, 59–61, 145, 205–6,
235–6, 353–6, 363, 374, 435–6, 440, 442,
446, 449–50, 527–8, 538–9, 594, 599,
625, 657, 710
- Lamentations, book of 78, 260, 266, 321,
329–31, 387–8

- Latin *see* Old Latin version (Vetus Latina),
and St Jerome *–Iuxta Hebraeos* version
- Law of Moses (*see also* Pentateuch;
Torah) 14–16, 19, 25, 105–6, 112, 121,
124, 126, 128–30, 308, 343–4, 362,
405–6, 409–11, 421, 445, 526–7, 576–7,
583–4, 748
- Lectionary 146, 576, 625, 640–1, 644–5,
648–9, 657, 661–2, 671–2
- Lemmata 408, 412–13, 497, 511, 513, 531, 597–8,
612–14, 625–6, 660
- Leontopolis/Heliopolis 81–6, 248–9
- Leviticus, book of 171–2, 184–5, 187, 190–1,
195–6, 438–9, 445, 484–5, 493, 497, 531,
576–7, 628, 740
- Lexicography 94–5, 209, 726–7
- Liber de diuinis scripturis* 625, 629–30
- Liturgy (*see also* Divine Liturgy) 24, 259,
514–15, 573–9, 581, 583–5, 591,
626–9, 647–8, 661, 672–3, 676–7,
680–1, 693, 753
- Lucian of Antioch 23, 53, 60, 211, 373–5, 454,
481, 483–4, 487, 537–8, 540–1
- Lucianic text *see* Antiochian/Lucianic
recension
- Lucifer of Cagliari 228–9, 236, 373,
609–10, 625
- Luke, Gospel of 123, 396, 526–7, 529–30,
575–7, 580, 727
- Maccabean revolt, Maccabean period 73–6,
81–2, 86, 115, 203–4, 248, 267, 309,
359–60, 391–2, 394
- Maccabees, First book of 19–20, 76, 322, 337,
387–8, 392–3, 618, 623, 625, 644, 647, 748
- Maccabees, Second book of 19–20, 76, 78, 82,
109, 248, 385, 391–4, 618, 623
- Maccabees, Third book of 82, 385, 387, 392–3
- Maccabees, Fourth book of 54–5, 78, 322,
392–4, 698
- Mark, Gospel of 529–30
- Marriage service, Greek Orthodox 577, 579
- Matthew, Gospel of 111, 470, 525–6, 529–30,
733–4
- Megillot (and *see* Ruth; Canticles/Song
of Songs; Ecclesiastes; Lamentations;
Esther) 511
- Menedemus 606–7
- Messianism, messianic 43, 107–9, 111–15, 129,
151–2, 247, 254, 269, 284–5, 315–16, 346,
473–5, 732–3, 738–9, 741–2
- Minor Prophets/the Twelve Prophets, books
of (*see also* Naḥal Ḥever) 20–1, 94,
110, 151, 278–9, 307–16, 327, 422–3, 441,
446, 451–2, 455, 484–5, 487, 507, 527–8,
539, 565, 641–2, 648–9, 657, 662, 675,
692, 748–50, 755
- Moses 109–10, 210, 361, 408, 410, 413–14, 428,
442–3, 496, 611, 632, 748
- Naḥal Ḥever, Greek Minor Prophets scroll
from (8ḤevXIIgr) 20–1, 308, 310, 437,
441, 446, 449–52, 527–8, 539
- Names, treatment of personal and
geographic 165–6, 173–4, 201–4,
208–10, 239–40, 249, 251–2, 262–3,
278, 315, 345, 414–15, 428, 452–3, 559,
598–9, 660, 665, 682
- Nehemiah, book of (*see also* Ezra–Nehemiah)
194, 451–2, 628
- New Testament 20–1, 24–5, 40, 42–7, 139–40,
295, 396, 450, 459, 523–7, 532, 583–4,
595–6, 639–40, 659, 662, 664, 674–7,
703, 723–4, 727–8, 733–41
- Citations of and allusions to Scripture
in 20–1, 41, 139–40, 245, 295, 316, 386,
396, 449–50, 527–9, 584, 595–6, 613,
694, 723–4, 726–7, 736
- Influence of LXX on theology of 106, 108,
110–16, 245, 459, 525–7, 532, 590–1, 723
- Vocabulary of, and LXX 580–2
- Nomina sacra (*see also* Divine names) 138–9,
149, 278, 285–6, 390, 503–4
- Novatian of Rome 609, 626
- Numbers, book of 291–2, 440, 445, 491–3,
497, 568, 576–7
- Octateuch 151–2, 155, 592–3, 599, 644–5,
750–4
- Odes 24–5, 152, 237, 291–3, 301, 395–6, 575–6,
584, 593
- Odes of Solomon 387
- Oea, Bishop of 615–16
- Old Latin/Vetus Latina 35, 38–9, 41, 57,
206–11, 228–9, 236, 259–60, 266–7,
291–2, 296–7, 365, 373–4, 414, 454–5,

- 495-6, 538, 542-3, 547, 607-12, 614-16, 618, 623-5, 629-31, 633-4, 648, 709-10
- Old Testament (*see also* Canon; Hebrew Bible; Hebrew text; Septuagint) 13-26, 33-47, 106-13, 353, 357, 385-7, 523-5, 531, 574-82, 589-99, 611-12, 614-16, 623, 626-7, 632, 659-60, 709, 712, 731-42
- Onias, temple of — *see* Leontopolis/Heliopolis
- Onomastica 414-15, 428, 599
- Origen (*see also* Hexapla, Hexaplaric) 21-6, 34-5, 37-9, 41-4, 46-7, 53, 60, 135, 139, 157, 201-2, 221, 227, 259, 266, 268, 291-6, 299-300, 308, 316, 327, 330-1, 355, 363, 369-71, 377, 386-7, 389, 391-6, 412-13, 450, 454, 459-60, 463, 469-71, 481-3, 486-7, 489-90, 495, 546, 553-7, 559-68, 593-8, 610-12, 614-15, 627, 629-30, 632-3, 655-6, 660-1, 663, 734-5
- Orthros (prayer) 575-9, 581
- Palaeography 44-5, 141, 152, 154, 435, 450-1, 503-4, 506-7, 625, 649, 657, 679-80
- Palestine, in relation to Greek scriptures 17, 19, 21-4, 73-7, 113-14, 140, 201-2, 209, 240, 248, 308, 338-9, 358-60, 391, 445, 451-2, 454-5, 463, 474, 503-4, 540-1, 553, 561, 565-6, 568, 643-4
- Pamphilus (*see also* Eusebius of Caesarea) 21, 24-5, 152-3, 369-70, 559-62, 564-8, 660-1
- Pandect bibles 150-2, 387-8, 561-2, 618, 623, 626-7
- Papyri 18-19, 36-7, 75, 82-7, 92-4, 99-100, 126, 128-9, 135-41, 149, 151, 201, 204-5, 235-6, 240, 249, 251, 308, 340, 343, 355-6, 373-4, 379, 390-1, 412, 428, 435, 437, 439, 442-3, 446, 464, 503-4, 556-7, 562, 566, 591, 629-30, 632, 672-3, 700-3, 723-4, 726-7
- Papyrus 967 275-86, 292, 296-7, 302-3, 629
- Papyrus 971 235-6
- Rylands Papyrus 458 18, 137, 435
- Parabiblical texts 302, 385, 723
- Parallelism 175, 253, 315, 357, 359-60, 365
- Patristic sources, patristic tradition (*see also* Church Fathers) 20-1, 34-5, 45, 61, 121-2, 146, 154, 156, 228, 291-2, 296, 308, 386, 388-9, 449, 455-6, 461, 469-70, 484-5, 537-8, 542, 544-5, 553, 555-6, 566-8, 589, 591-4, 596-8, 624-7, 633-4, 671-2, 734-6
- Paul, Apostle; Pauline literature 78, 106-7, 115, 250, 461, 525-6, 528-31, 605-6, 724-8, 734-6, 742
- Paul of Tella 656-7, 659, 663-6
- Pentateuch, LXX (*see also* Torah; Law of Moses) 13, 15-18, 22-4, 27, 73-5, 91, 95, 97-8, 100, 105-6, 108-10, 114, 122, 126, 138, 140, 154, 175, 183-90, 192-6, 205-6, 218-20, 226, 357, 361, 363, 424, 449-50, 455, 471, 527, 530-1, 537, 556-7, 580, 590-1, 594, 605, 613, 709-10, 723, 737, 740, 750-2
- Translation of, in *Letter of Aristeas* 73-4, 121, 124, 126, 131, 183, 613
- Influence of later LXX translations 111-12, 238, 249, 281-2, 340-2, 362, 574
- Philo of Alexandria 16-18, 21, 77, 83-5, 105-6, 114-15, 121-2, 130-1, 183, 195-6, 346-7, 358-9, 362, 388, 405-15, 422, 527-8, 583-5, 595-6, 605-6, 633, 692, 734-5
- Philoxenian version (Syriac) 662-3
- Pluriformity, textual 231, 389-90, 435, 527-9, 710-12, 716-18, 723
- Polyglot editions 26-7, 33, 35-8, 41-5, 54-8, 236, 374, 377-8, 389-90, 489, 511, 528, 543-4, 648-9, 675-9
- Prayer 112, 148, 266-7, 395-6, 475, 510, 561, 575, 577-9, 581-2, 584-5, 590-2, 737, 753
- Petitionary language within 579-82
- Prayer of Azarias 24-5, 298, 396
- Prayer of Daniel 303
- Prayers of Esther and Mordechai 324, 429-30, 631-2
- Prayer of Hannah 222-3, 396
- Prayer of Habakkuk 396
- Prayer of Hezekiah 396
- Prayer of Jonah 396
- Prayer of Joseph 387
- Prayer of Manasseh 237, 396
- Prayer of Nabonidus 302
- Prayer of Solomon 237, 629-30
- Pre-Hexaplaric, pre-Origenic 135, 139, 276, 293, 355-6, 374, 538, 542, 544
- Pre-Lucianic 373-4, 538, 542, 544, 546-7, 675

- Procopius of Gaza 154, 237, 407, 492-3, 597
Proseuchai 'prayer houses' (*see also*
 Synagogue) 81-2, 583-4
 Proto-Lucianic text 211, 228-9, 373-4, 423,
 537-44, 547
 Proverbs, book of 19, 59, 112, 125, 187-8, 195,
 250, 346-7, 353-65, 376, 386-7, 411,
 464, 476, 484-5, 531, 556-7, 560, 576,
 612, 639-41, 696
 Psalms, book of; Psalter 19, 24-5, 35, 77, 108,
 110, 112, 139-40, 147-8, 151-2, 156-7,
 194-5, 209, 220, 309, 337-47, 362,
 386-8, 392, 396, 410-11, 414, 422-3,
 449-56, 463-4, 469-70, 475, 481-7,
 525-7, 530-1, 562-5, 574, 579-81, 584,
 593-4, 597-9, 605-8, 610-11, 616,
 627-30, 633, 640-2, 644-5, 647-8,
 657-8, 662-3, 666, 672, 693, 726, 732,
 740, 748
 Gallican Psalter-612, 618, 624, 629
 Roman Psalter 629
 Popularity in Christianity 592, 745, 753
 Rewriting of 593
 Illustrations in 752-5
 In Greek Orthodox liturgy 574-5
 Psalms of Solomon 113-14, 154, 385, 387,
 387-8, 395, 693
 Pseudepigrapha 113-14, 266, 346-7, 373, 385,
 388, 526-7, 590-1, 632, 682, 738
 Ptolemy II Philadelphus 14, 81, 121, 126,
 413-14, 422, 606-7
 Ptolemy III Euergetes 81-2, 126
 Ptolemy IV Philopator 82, 394
 Ptolemy VI Philometor 82-3, 360
 Ptolemy VIII Euergetes 82, 392
- Quinta 311, 463-4, 481-6, 553, 594-5,
 657, 663
 Qumran
 Hebrew and Aramaic manuscripts
 from 74-5, 202-3, 205, 222, 230-1,
 239-40, 259-62, 275, 282, 295-6,
 301-2, 308, 311, 339, 371-2, 376-7, 385,
 389-90, 396, 429, 527-8, 538-40, 543,
 629-31, 692, 716-18, 723-4, 739
 Greek scriptural fragments from 15-16,
 196, 395, 437-46, 449-50, 694-5
 Quodvultdeus 296-7, 629
- Rabbi Judah ha-Nasi 471-5
 Rabbi Meir 471-4
 Rahlfs, Alfred 27, 59-61, 296, 301, 340, 343,
 355, 365, 436, 490, 538-9, 657
Recentiores (*see also* the Three; Aquila;
 Symmachus; Theodotion) 449, 495-6,
 553, 564, 655, 663
 Reception history 106, 113, 115-16, 123, 129,
 196, 339, 385, 692, 697, 734
 Revelation, book of 450, 531
 Rhetoric, classical 123-5, 248-9, 424
 Rhetoric, in LXX 19, 28-9, 93-4, 98-100, 250,
 327-8, 393-4, 702
 Romans, Paul's Letter to 346-7, 530-1, 605,
 724-6, 735-6, 740
 Rufinus of Aquileia 482, 555-6, 566, 625, 627
 Ruth, book of 19, 25, 61, 78, 106, 154, 321-3,
 328-9, 331-2, 594, 625, 627, 639-42,
 661-2, 750
- Sahidic version (*see also* Coptic) 60, 229, 355,
 373, 454-5, 629-30, 671-5
 Samareitikon 489-90, 494, 496-7
 Samaritans 74-6, 83, 86-7, 225, 470-1, 496
 Samaritan Pentateuch (SP) 41, 439-40,
 489-97, 523-4, 663, 709-10
 In Greek 489-97
 Samaritan Targum (ST) 489-90, 493-7
 Samuel, books of (*see also* Kingdoms,
 books of) 25, 217-23, 225-6, 230,
 238-9, 307, 410-11, 423-4, 428-9,
 443, 449-53, 537, 539-43, 545, 641-2,
 657, 692
 Serapeum 606-7
 Scaliger, Joseph 40, 43-4, 47
 Schleusner, Johann Friedrich 94
 Scribes/copyists, scribal activity 53-4, 138,
 146-7, 152-3, 169-70, 222, 226, 235-7,
 248, 260-3, 269, 276, 282, 284, 292-3,
 337-8, 354-5, 363-4, 369-70, 435,
 452-3, 504, 508, 555, 557, 559-63, 591,
 594-5, 625-6, 629-30, 658, 660,
 712-14, 750-1
- Scripture
 Allusions to 115-16, 141, 246, 260, 267, 269,
 295, 316, 337, 361-2, 386, 388, 391, 406,
 410-11, 422, 442, 526-31, 574, 577-8,
 580, 582, 584, 590-1, 723-6

- Echoes of in NT 141, 528–9, 724–5
- Pluriformity of 231, 389–90, 435, 527–9,
710–12, 716–18, 723
- ‘Rewritten’ 108, 205, 389, 421, 425–6, 431–2
- Septima 481–4, 486–7, 553, 594–5, 663
- Septuagint
- Actualization in 19, 105, 252
 - Contemporization in 249, 251
 - Definition(s) of 13
 - Canon of 738–9
 - Canonicity of 501, 512, 715, 734–5, 739
 - Citations of
 - In New Testament 41, 295, 309, 316,
523–5, 527–32, 723–6, 733–4
 - by patristic writers 34–5, 37–9, 61, 291–2,
294, 389, 391, 484–5, 590–1, 594,
607–8, 613, 624–5, 627–8, 671–2, 674–7,
679–80, 734–5
 - Editions of, in modern period 26–7,
33–47, 53–62, 93–5, 106–7, 135, 138–9,
145–6, 148–9, 201–8, 211, 231, 235–6,
246, 259, 275–7, 292, 301–3, 310,
322–4, 327–32, 340, 364, 369–74,
377–9, 390, 395–6, 407, 436, 438–9,
441, 446, 452–3, 456, 465, 489–90,
492–3, 497, 502, 504, 510–12, 530–1,
537, 539–40, 543, 545, 568
 - Collations 27, 33, 37–9, 42, 46, 55–7, 60,
153, 157, 201–2, 205–6, 491, 493, 594, 661
 - Critical editions 26–7, 27, 46, 60, 135,
146, 201–2, 204–5, 205, 205–6, 206,
207, 211, 235–6, 275–6, 302–3, 322–3,
323–4, 327, 329, 331–2, 340, 379, 390,
395, 407, 407, 412, 436, 438, 438–9, 439,
439, 446, 559, 568, 595, 598, 624–5, 665,
671–2, 672–3, 693–4
 - Diplomatic editions 26–7, 57–9, 201–2,
390, 456
 - Cambridge 27, 59, 201–2, 723–4
 - Göttingen 61–2, 206, 246, 275–6, 302–3,
340, 395, 465, 530–1, 537, 545, 589–90,
594, 692–5, 717–18, 723–4
 - Influence on New Testament 525–6, 723–8
 - Influence of, on Greek Orthodox
liturgy 573–86
 - Inspiration of (*see also* Septuagint–
canonicity) 33–6, 39, 301–2, 388, 395,
523–4, 616–17, 733
 - Language of 16–17, 19, 91–5, 97, 99–100,
106, 112, 184, 187–8, 192–4, 203–5,
207–9, 211, 218, 221–2, 226, 240, 248,
250, 268, 279, 312, 315, 344, 393, 410,
430–2, 525, 544, 574, 580, 593, 693,
697–8, 700–1, 716, 726–7
 - Hebraisms in 91–2, 95–7, 184–5, 204,
238, 268, 299–300, 312, 315, 388, 391,
526, 539, 544, 695–6, 698–9, 727
 - Neologisms in 203–4, 209, 211, 226, 329,
580–2
 - Vocabulary of (*see also* lexicography) 77,
91–3, 96–9, 171–4, 184, 190–2, 203–6,
208–9, 211, 218–20, 235–6, 238, 246,
249, 251, 253, 268–9, 280–1, 315, 329,
340–2, 344, 359, 363, 371–2, 388, 392,
394, 405–6, 423–4, 427–8, 439,
449, 505, 507–9, 574, 580, 582–3,
593, 703, 727
 - Revision of (*see also* Aquila; Dan. θ ;
Hexaplaric; Kaige; Proto-Lucianic;
Symmachus; Theodotion 15, 17–18,
20–1, 24, 53, 129, 183, 196, 219–20, 225,
228, 230–1, 235–6, 239, 260, 262,
268–9, 278–80, 285, 292–3, 295, 310–11,
323–5, 338–41, 356, 363–5, 373–4, 378,
436, 438–41, 444, 449–56, 485, 495–6,
514, 527–8, 531, 553, 565, 609, 628, 633,
725–6
 - Theological renderings in 107, 109–10,
189–91, 195–6, 208, 210–11, 220–2,
231, 246, 252–5, 260, 276, 279–80,
282–4, 314–16, 343–6, 355, 357, 360,
372–3, 436, 525, 532, 539, 579, 695–6,
703, 713–14
 - Translation technique in 15–16, 19, 27, 76,
91, 93–4, 97–8, 166–8, 170, 172–5,
184–8, 202, 204, 208–9, 211, 217–18,
225, 228, 230–1, 253, 261–2, 269, 279,
300, 331, 339–41, 343, 362–5, 392, 455,
469, 473, 645–9, 692–3, 699, 715–16
 - isomorphism 16–17, 187–8, 261–2, 322–3,
326–9, 389, 452–5, 463–4, 473, 664–5
- Sexta 481–4, 486, 553, 594–5, 663
- Sinaiticus, Codex (Ra S) 24–5, 27, 33, 46–7,
145, 150–3, 201, 205–6, 235–6, 308, 322,
369, 372–3, 387–90, 435, 456, 559,
567–8, 629–30, 709–10

- Sirach, book of (Ben Sira; Ecclesiasticus) 19, 54–5, 218, 260, 355–6, 358, 387–8, 392, 392, 410–11, 411, 526–7, 556–7, 627, 629, 631, 633, 693–5, 732–3, 737, 739, 740, 748–50
- Skopostheorie 281
- Solomon (*see also* Odes of Solomon; Prayer of Solomon; Psalms of Solomon; Wisdom of Solomon) 229–31, 354, 361, 386, 593, 627, 629, 664–5, 748–50
- Song of Azarias 298
- Song of Deborah 207–9
- Song of Hannah 222–3
- Song of Moses 396, 443
- Song of the Sea 396
- Song of the Three Youths/Three Children 24–5, 396, 575–6
- Song of the Vineyard 396
- Symmachus 21, 38–9, 53, 106, 138, 156–7, 211, 221–2, 236, 260, 311, 331, 377–9, 392, 440, 449–50, 462–3, 465, 469–76, 481–2, 485–6, 504–5, 527–8, 553, 562–3, 566–8, 594–5, 610–11, 613, 655, 657, 660, 663, 723–6
- Synagogue 16, 20–1, 81–2, 85–6, 137, 139, 280–1, 363, 407, 423, 460–1, 464, 496, 501, 504–6, 514–15, 576–7, 583–5
- Syriac 22, 35, 37–8, 41, 86, 236, 260, 291–3, 354, 374–5, 391, 395, 442, 459–60, 464, 471, 475, 482, 484, 547, 560–1, 567, 629, 639–42, 655–66, 675–81, 734–5, 746–8, 754–5
- Syrohexapla, Syrohexaplaric 60, 221, 236, 268, 291–3, 296, 327, 374, 484, 486, 490, 492–3, 511, 547, 554–8, 562, 564–5, 567–8, 655–66, 675–6, 678–9
- Tabernacle accounts (Exodus) 427–8, 629
- Targum
Aramaic 113, 140, 187–8, 252, 376–7, 423–4, 429–30, 463, 472, 474, 489–90, 495–7, 502–3, 511, 515, 530, 672, 709–10, 723–4
LXX as Greek 'targum' 15–16, 22, 35, 300, 357–8, 524
- Tertullian of Carthage 538, 542, 546, 606–10, 626
- Testament of Job* 373, 379–80
- Tetragrammaton (*see also* Divine names; Nomina sacra) 137–8, 169–72, 278, 293–4, 300, 311, 464, 495–6, 503–4, 525–6
- Tetrapla 45, 561–5, 567–8, 661
- Text-type ('group' 'family' 'recensions'; *see also* Kaige) 53–4, 60, 92–3, 201–2, 205–9, 228–9, 235–6, 294, 424, 429, 436, 537–8, 545, 594, 598, 610–11, 640–6, 662, 672–5, 678–9, 682, 710–11
- Textual corruption 39–41, 45–6, 139, 202, 207–9, 222, 299–300, 378–9, 452–5, 541, 545
- Textual criticism 15, 23–4, 27, 40, 93, 175, 204–5, 217–19, 222, 225, 230, 259, 262, 275–6, 339–40, 353, 355, 365, 373–4, 445, 503, 509, 543, 554, 592, 594, 640–1, 645–6, 648–50, 656, 663, 680–1, 692, 694–5, 709–16, 745–6
- Textual transmission 21, 28, 33–5, 45, 53–4, 135, 202, 204, 211, 219–20, 254, 260–2, 264, 267–9, 278, 280–2, 284–5, 311–12, 330, 343, 355, 369–70, 389, 395–6, 440, 444, 452–5, 465, 502, 505–6, 508, 510, 528, 542, 554, 566, 585, 589–90, 592–4, 598–9, 625–6, 633, 639–41, 644–5, 647, 658, 665, 672, 678–81, 694–5, 710–13, 723–6
- Theodoret of Cyrrihus 24, 206–7, 228, 235–7, 296, 308, 316, 487, 495–6, 537, 545–6, 555–6, 596–7, 702
- Theodotion (*see also* Daniel, book of; Kaige-Theodotion) 21, 23–4, 38–9, 53, 106, 157, 211, 236, 239–40, 260, 268, 295–6, 327, 331, 363, 369–71, 373–4, 376–9, 424, 440, 449–52, 455–6, 459, 462–5, 469–70, 473, 475–6, 481–3, 486, 527–8, 530–1, 553, 562–8, 594–5, 610–11, 613, 631, 655, 657, 660, 663, 723–4
- Three, The (*see also recentiores*; Aquila; Symmachus; Theodotion) 22–5, 331–2, 363, 388–9, 396, 486, 507, 527–8, 562, 564–6, 575–6, 595, 665–6, 734–5
- Timothy I, Catholicos of Church of the East 658, 660–1
- Tobit, book of 18–20, 78, 386–90, 544, 596, 618, 623, 629–31, 648–9, 657, 741–2

- Trisagion 579, 585
 Tyconius 609
- Urtext 15–16, 35, 58, 61, 108, 196, 302,
 710–12
- Variant literary editions 211, 225, 230–1,
 262–70, 276–7, 283–4, 339, 395–6
- Vaticanus, Codex (Ra B) 24–7, 33, 38–9, 41,
 44–7, 56–7, 139–40, 145, 150–3, 156,
 201–2, 205–6, 227, 235–7, 260, 267,
 275–7, 294, 321–2, 340, 369, 372–3, 375,
 378–9, 387–8, 390–1, 407, 411, 435, 437,
 439, 451–3, 455–6, 527–8, 537, 567, 591,
 624, 675, 682, 709–10
- Vespers (Greek Orthodox) 575–8
- Visigothicum 629
- Vossius, Isaac 43–6
- Vulgate (*see also* Jerome, St, *Iuxta Hebraeos*
 version) 19–20, 26, 35, 37–41, 228–9,
 236, 259–60, 267, 299, 375, 378, 469,
 512, 618, 623–9, 646, 648–9, 709–10,
 723–4, 731–2
- Wackernagel's Law 97–8
- Washingtonensis, Codex 201, 308, 311
- Wisdom of Solomon 19–20, 355–6, 361–2,
 385–8, 410–11, 526–7, 556–7, 576–7, 596,
 618, 623, 698, 735–7, 740
- Worship, Jewish (*see also* Liturgy; Synagogue;
Proseuchai) 149, 339, 422, 504, 573,
 584–5

